

PROCEEDINGS

of the
20th International Congress of Papyrologists
Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992



Collected by
ADAM BÜLOW-JACOBSEN



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PREFACE

Almost twenty years ago the editors of *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* wrote about the importance of publishing congress proceedings so that they arrive soon after the congress at a moderate price. I could not agree more. Their way of attaining this object was printing photographically the manuscripts received and the results were as good as the techniques of the time permitted. After several congresses with lavish 'real-printing' proceedings, a similar method was tried for the proceedings of the Cairo congress. Now, in 1992-3, technology seems to have progressed and spread to such a point that trying a slightly different method of publication might be worthwhile. The readers will have to decide whether the inconsistencies in the presentation are justified by the relative speed of arrival. The contributors will decide whether this speed of arrival justifies all the work they have had to do themselves.

Of some 120 papers read to the congress 95 authors decided to publish in the Proceedings. Among these five only were unable to submit their paper on a computer disk. The vast majority submitted in the requested format (MS Word for Macintosh) and had observed the editorial practices described in the programme of the congress.

It remains for me as editor to thank contributors for prompt delivery of disks and return of proofs in the cases where they have been necessary.

AB-J

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PAPERS

PROBLEMI E PROSPETTIVE DELLA PAPIROLOGIA NELLE INTUIZIONI DI UN PIONIERE: AMEDEO PEYRON

Orsolina Montevocchi

Il decennio 1820 - 1830 rappresenta la protostoria della Papirologia, allora non ancora distinta, con un proprio nome, dalla Egittologia. Fu un momento magico ed esaltante per coloro che si trovarono a viverlo, in primo luogo Young e Champollion, Letronne e Peyron. Fu una generazione fortunata, da questo punto di vista, anche se dovette operare in un'età travagliata, tra la rivoluzione francese, il periodo napoleonico e la Restaurazione; una generazione prodigiosa di maestri, che diedero un impulso decisivo per un totale rinnovamento degli studi filologici e storici. Nacque allora quella che noi chiamiamo "scienza dell'antichità", *Altertumswissenschaft*.

Ricorderò solo alcuni di quegli uomini: Buttmann,¹ Niebuhr,² Boeckh,³ Bernhardt a Berlino,⁴ e ancora, sempre in Germania, Matthiae,⁵ Sturz,⁶ Schömann,⁷ Bekker,⁸ Winer;⁹ in Francia Letronne¹⁰ e Champollion;¹¹ in Italia Peyron,¹² il cardinal Mai¹³ e Leopardi;¹⁴ in

¹Philipp Karl Buttmann (1764- 1829), professore all'Università di Berlino, editore di classici, autore fra l'altro di una *Griechische Grammatik* (1792, 1869²²) e di un *Lexilogus, Beiträge zur griechische Worterklärung* in due volumi (1818 - 1825; I vol. 1865⁴, II vol. 1860²).

²Berthold Georg Niebuhr (1776 - 1831), professore all'Università di Berlino dal 1808, autore della *Römische Geschichte* (1820 - 1821), si occupò, fra l'altro, nel 1820 - 1821, delle epigrafi greche della Nubia e della lingua greca d'Egitto (*Inscriptions commentées* par M. de Niebuhr, in *Antiquités de la Nubie, ou monuments inédits des bords du Nil, situés entre la première et la seconde cataracte, dessinés et mesurés* en 1819 par F.C. Gau, Stuttgart - Paris 1822, pp. 1-25).

³August Boeckh (1785 - 1867), professore a Berlino dal 1811, autore della *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (1817), iniziatore del *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1827 - 1877), pubblicò nel 1821 un papiro greco, il P. d'Anastasy ('Erklärung einer aegyptischen Urkunde auf Papyrus in griechischer Cursivschrift vom Jahre 104 von der Christliche Zeitrechnung', *Abh. Ak. Berlin* 1821 pp. 1 - 36, =UPZ 181).

⁴Gottfried Bernhardt (1800 - 1862), professore di lingua greca a Berlino, poi, dal 1829, ad Halle, editore dei frammenti di Eratostene (1822) e autore di una *Wissenschaftliche Syntax der griechischen Sprache* (1829).

⁵August Matthiae (1769 - 1835), filologo e filosofo, autore di una *Ausführliche griechische Grammatik* (1807, 1835³), che fu tradotta in italiano da Peyron, con aggiunte.

⁶Friedrich Wilhelm Sturz scrisse un saggio *De dialecto macedonica et alexandrina* (Lipsiae 1808).

⁷Georg Friedrich Schömann (1793 - 1879), si occupò soprattutto di diritto attico (*De comitiis Atheniensium*, 1819; *Der attische Prozess*, 1824), ma anche di questioni grammaticali.

⁸August Immanuel Bekker (1785 - 1871), grande editore di classici, tra cui gli *Anecdota graeca*, 3 voll. (1814 - 1821).

⁹Georg Benedict Winer (1789 - 1858) scrisse una *Grammatik des neutestamentliche Sprachidioms* (1821), fondamentale per il rapporto tra il greco biblico e la *koinè*.

¹⁰Jean Antoine Letronne (1787 - 1848), autore, fra l'altro, delle *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte* (1823), e del *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Égypte* (1842, 1848).

¹¹Jean François Champollion (1790 - 1832): a lui si deve la decifrazione dei geroglifici e vari scritti che presentano i primi dati da essi ricavati: *Lettre à M. Dacier relative à l'alfabet des hiéroglyphiques phonétiques* (1822); *Précis du système hiéroglyphique* (1824); *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X* (1827). Postumi uscirono i *Monuments de l'Égypte* (1835 - 1845), la *Grammaire Égyptienne* (1836 - 1841) e il *Dictionnaire de la langue égyptienne*. Nel 1824 era a Torino per studiare la collezione Drovetti ivi appena pervenuta; il Peyron lo presentò (per lettera) al card. Mai, che lo invitò a Roma a redigere il Catalogo dei monumenti egizi dei Musei Vaticani. Fu in Italia fino al 1826: in quell'anno, a Livorno, assicurò al Museo Egizio del Louvre la collezione Salt. Nel 1828/9 fu in Egitto con Ippolito Rosellini, professore a Pisa. Di Champollion il Peyron conosce anche e cita scritti ancora inediti.

¹²Amedeo Peyron (1785 - 1870), professore di letterature orientali e classiche all'Università di Torino dal 1815, fu uomo di grande dottrina, scopritore di codici e palinsesti. Tra i suoi scritti: *Empedoclis et Parmenidis*

Inghilterra Young.¹⁵ Droysen,¹⁶ allievo di Bernhardt e di Boeckh, era allora studente a Berlino.

Questi uomini erano tutti attivi tra il 1820 e il 1830, e tutti - ad eccezione di Leopardi, Mai e Droysen - sono citati dal Peyron, insieme a non pochi altri, nel suo commento ai papiri torinesi, uscito nel 1826 e nel 1827. Boeckh nel 1821 aveva pubblicato il cosiddetto P.d'Anastasy (UPZ 181), Buttmann nel 1824 aveva edito un altro papiro, registrazione greca di un contratto demotico (UPZ 175 b) e aveva comunicato a Peyron il testo di due papiri demotici; Young aveva fatto conoscere a Peyron due note di registrazione greche di contratti demotici (P.Grey A = UPZ 165 e P.Grey B = UPZ 166 b) e nel 1823 aveva pubblicato il cosiddetto Antigraphon Grey (UPZ 175 a). Nel 1826 e nel 1827 Peyron all'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino rende noti 14 papiri della collezione di antichità egiziane Drovetti,¹⁷ pervenuta a Torino nel 1824 (di cui erano certo gli oggetti meno vistosi e apparentemente meno importanti). Contemporaneamente Letronne dà alla luce il papiro Passalacqua (UPZ 159)¹⁸ e nello stesso anno appaiono a Vienna i papiri di Zois e l'imprecazione di Artemisia:

fragmenta, Lipsiae 1810; 'Saggio di studi sopra papiri e codici copti ed una stele trilingue del R. Museo Egiziano', *Atti R. Acc. Sc.Torino* 29 (1825); 'Illustrazione di una stele greca del R. Museo Egizio di Torino', *ibid.* 34 (1830); *Lexicon linguae copticae*, Torino 1835 (rist. anastatica Berlino 1896); *Grammatica linguae copticae*, Torino 1841; *Fragments des discours de Cicéron pour Scaurus*, Torino 1842; *Codicis Theodosiani fragmenta*, Torino 1842. I papiri torinesi furono pubblicati fra il 1827 e il 1829 (vd. più avanti).

Su Peyron: F. Sclopis, 'Della vita e degli studi di Amedeo Peyron', *Atti R.Acc.Sc. Torino*, 1860, pp. 768 ss.; M. Norsa, 'Papiri e Papirologia in Italia', *Historia* 3 (1929) pp.208 - 237, alle pp.214 - 216; V. Bartoletti, 'La Papirologia in Italia', *Atene e Roma* 4 (1954) pp.3 - 20; P. Treves, A. Peyron in *Lo studio dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento*, Riccardi, Milano - Napoli 1962, pp.871 ss.; G. Bona, 'Amedeo Peyron e lo studio dei papiri (Appunti e notizie dall'archivio Peyron)', *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. Papirologia*, I, Napoli 1984, pp.179 - 186.

¹³ Angelo Mai (1782 - 1854), curatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano dal 1813, poi, dal 1819, a Roma, bibliotecario della Vaticana, fortunato scopritore ed editore di manoscritti di classici, ebbe relazioni epistolari col Peyron almeno dal 1814. Nel 1825 accolse a Roma lo Champollion, presentatogli dal Peyron, e lo incaricò di redigere il Catalogo dei papiri egiziani della Vaticana, che fu pubblicato nello stesso anno. Nel 1831 e nel 1833 pubblicò sei papiri greci (nei volumi IV e V dei *Classici Auctores e codicibus Vaticanis editi*) che egli stesso sottopose alla revisione del Peyron: sono ripubblicati in UPZ sotto i nn. 7, 15, 16, 45, 51, 60. Sul Mai e i papiri: O. Montevecchi, 'Angelo Mai e gli studi papirologici', *Bergomum* 28 (1954) N.4, pp.155 - 166. Si veda anche G. Gervasoni, *Angelo Mai*, Bergamo 1954.

¹⁴ Giacomo Leopardi (1798 - 1837), insigne filologo non meno che grande poeta, scrisse al Peyron congratulandosi per l'edizione dei P. Tor., che questi gli aveva inviato; per incarico del Vieusseux avrebbe dovuto farne la recensione per l'*Antologia*, ma la malferma salute glielo impedì.

¹⁵ Thomas Young (1773 - 1829), medico e fisico inglese, validamente collaborò alla decifrazione dei geroglifici. Scrisse: *Hieroglyphics*, e *An Account of some recent discoveries in hieroglyphical literature and Egyptian antiquities* (London 1823), in cui rese noti papiri demotici e greci (i P. Grey).

¹⁶ Johann Gustav Droysen (1808 - 1884): *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (1833); *Geschichte der Diadochen* (1836); *Geschichte der Epigonen* (1843); tutti e tre riuniti nel 1877 sotto il titolo di *Geschichte des Hellenismus*.

¹⁷ 'Papyri Graeci Regii Musei Aegyptii Taurinensis', lecti a die 13 ianuari ad 27 aprilis 1826, editi atque illustrati ab Amedeo Peyron, *Atti R. Acc. Sc. Torino*, XXXI (1827) pp. 9 - 118; Pars altera, 'Papiri lecti a die 18 ianuarii 1827 ad 15 martii 1827', *ibid.* XXXIII (1829) pp.1 - 80. Qui di seguito li citerò come I (la 1ª parte), e II (la 2ª parte), secondo la numerazione delle pp. come è negli *Atti*; i P. Par. e il Wilcken citano con 8 pp. in meno (da un estratto?). I P. Tor., oggetto di studio da parte di numerosi dotti, soprattutto giuristi, furono ripubblicati, ad eccezione del n.10, da U.Wilcken nelle UPZ. La corrispondenza con i P. Tor. è la seguente: P. Tor.I = UPZ II 162; P. Tor.II = UPZ II 160; P. Tor.III = UPZ II 170; P. Tor.IV = UPZ II 171; P. Tor.V = UPZ II 192; P. Tor.VI = UPZ II 193; P. Tor. VII = UPZ II 191; P. Tor. VIII = UPZ II 196; P. Tor. IX = UPZ II 194; P. Tor. XI = UPZ II 189; P. Tor.XII = UPZ II 197; P. Tor.XIII = UPZ I 118; P. Tor. XIV = UPZ II 195. Ulteriori notizie sul testo dei P. Tor. in G.Traversa, 'I papiri Peyron del Museo Egizio di Torino. Complementi e nuove letture', *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) pp.235 - 245.

¹⁸ *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Egypte par M.Joseph Passalacqua de Trieste*, Paris 1826, pp.265 ss. (= P. Par.70 = UPZ 159).

appena conosciuti Peyron pubblicherà la revisione dei papiri di Zois.¹⁹ Dopo la Charta Borgiana (1788) è tutto quello che si conosce di papiri greci d'Egitto. I papiri carbonizzati di Ercolano, scoperti tra il 1752 e il 1754, erano di tutt'altro genere e presentavano altri problemi: Peyron era al corrente della loro scoperta, ma è naturale che non abbia occasione di ricordarli nel suo commento. Seguiranno nel 1831 e 1833 i sei papiri Vaticani editi dal Mai (UPZ 7, 15, 16, 45, 51, 60). Nel 1829 Droysen aveva ripreso il papiro pubblicato dal Buttmann e ne aveva editi altri quattro (UPZ 174, 179 a, 182, 183);²⁰ nel 1831 pubblicava la sua dissertazione dottorale *De Lagidarum regno Ptolemaeo VI Philometore rege*.

Ma l'avvenimento più importante di quel decennio era la decifrazione dei geroglifici ad opera dello Champollion.

Peyron vive ed opera in questo clima culturale europeo, con vivace ed attiva partecipazione, mediante rapporti epistolari, incontri e viaggi. Non è chiuso nella sua Torino, ma attento e aperto ai fermenti rinnovatori di quell'epoca straordinariamente feconda in campo filologico e storico. E' certo che la scoperta dell'Egitto e dei papiri (in quei primi tempi quasi tutti tolemaici) fu uno dei motivi - e non l'ultimo - che orientarono l'attenzione degli studiosi verso quello che noi chiamiamo "ellenismo":²¹ un interesse e una problematica che si approfondirono e si allargarono durante tutto il secolo ed oltre. Il concetto di ellenismo in quei primi tempi veniva riferito alla lingua: si avvertiva che dopo la conquista di Alessandro Magno, e con la formazione di quei regni che appunto diciamo ellenistici, era in atto un'evoluzione - vista allora come un deterioramento - della lingua greca. Inoltre si andava formando l'idea di una "mescolanza" o addirittura "fusione" tra la civiltà greca e quelle orientali: un'interpretazione diffusa già prima che Droysen la sviluppasse e ne divenisse l'esponente più autorevole. Nel commento di Peyron ai papiri torinesi, scritto quando Droysen aveva diciott'anni, essa appare già come comunemente ammessa, anche se in contrasto con la situazione che i papiri vanno rivelando e che non sfugge all'attenta analisi del Peyron.

Per ciò che riguarda l'impressione generale del mondo colto di allora per le nuove scoperte, c'è da dire che, se la Charta Borgiana era stata una delusione (una lista di lavoratori alle dighe!), la grande aspettativa era per i geroglifici, da cui si attendevano rivelazioni sul mistero della vita; cosa secondaria, quasi trascurabile, sembravano i papiri greci. Il Mai, pubblicando i papiri greci vaticani, che fanno parte dell'archivio del Serapeo, trova che "papyrorum... exilia sane argumenta et vulgaria sunt".²² Del resto, anche oggi c'è chi pensa come lui, ed apprezza solo i papiri letterari...

Dei papiri torinesi e di quelli fino a quel momento pubblicati - questi ultimi cinque in tutto - Peyron presenta un prospetto nell'Introduzione. Oltre ai papiri editi ne conosce alcuni tuttora inediti: è quindi in grado di identificare un gruppo omogeneo di documenti esistenti in luoghi diversi (Londra, Parigi, Berlino, Torino): un piccolo archivio di una ventina di testi che si riferiscono alla controversia di Hermias con i coachiti. Il suo è un bilancio completo e accurato, una sintesi di ciò che era stato pubblicato e degli inediti a lui noti: ha letto alcuni dei papiri parigini e ne ha preso appunti; in particolare nel 1826 ha potuto vedere, a Livorno, per concessione di Champollion, quelli della collezione Salt ("eos vidi atque in usus meos

¹⁹*Papiri greco - egizi ed altri monumenti dell'I.R. Museo di Corte* tradotti ed illustrati da Giovanni Petrettini corcirese, Vienna 1826. L'edizione riveduta è di due anni dopo: 'I papiri greco - egizi di Zoide dell'I.R. Museo di Vienna' illustrati da Amedeo Peyron, *Mem. R. Acc. Sc. Torino*, 33 (1828) pp.151 - 192.

²⁰Die griechischen Beischriften von funf Papyren zu Berlin', *Rhein.Mus.* 3 (1828) pp.491 - 541, poi ripresi in *Kleine Schriften zur Alten Geschichte I* (1893).

²¹Pagine illuminanti sul concetto di ellenismo e su gli uomini che lo elaborarono in L. Canfora, *Ellenismo*, Laterza, Bari 1987.

²²Introduzione ai papiri pubblicati nei *Classici Auctores V*, 1833; vd. Montevecchi, op. cit., p.162.

exscripsi”) ed altri a Parigi, ma si è impegnato a non pubblicarne alcunchè (“data fide me ipsos non esse editurum”, I p. 23 nota).²³ Ciò spiega perchè dopo i P.Tor. e la riedizione del P.Zois (1829) non si sia più occupato di papiri se non per incoraggiare il nipote Bernardino Peyron a ripubblicare i papiri di Londra editi senza commento dal Forshall nel 1839.²⁴ E' ben vero che dopo le scoperte di quel fortunato periodo non ne comparvero altri fino al 1877. Rimanevano i papiri di Leida, editi nel 1843 dal Leemans,²⁵ e i papiri parigini, i quali, dopo la morte del Letronne, rimasero in eredità ai suoi discepoli Brunet de Presle ed Egger, e videro la luce nel 1865.²⁶ Le scoperte dei papiri parevano cessate. Comparve solo nel 1876 un papiro del Serapeo di Menfi edito dall'abate Antonio Ceriani.²⁷ Il grande afflusso ebbe inizio nel 1877 con i papiri del Fayum: la Papirologia stava per entrare nella sua piena fioritura, e pochi anni dopo acquistava dignità di scienza autonoma con il suo nome specifico.²⁸

Per noi, che disponiamo di alcune decine di migliaia di documenti, e abbiamo il problema dell'euristica, riesce veramente stupefacente quello che Peyron riuscì a ricavare da una ventina di testi, e ammirevole la chiara intuizione che egli ebbe dell'importanza e del valore di questo tipo di fonti storiche. E' interessante quanto egli scrive nel 1826 nell'Introduzione ai P.Tor., prevedendo le impressioni dei contemporanei:

"Vereor... ne quis, audiens Papyrorum omnium principem exhibere acta litis de domo... controversa, ceteros vero esse vel privatorum contractus, vel supplices libellos, quibus vulgares homines illatas iniurias deprecaturi magistratus adibant, vereor, inquam, ne ille ineptis chartis haec monumenta deputet... Atque utinam edenda mihi contigissent Pleiadum poemata, vel acta Musei Alexandrini, vel historiae, quae omne Aegyptium aevum complexae essent!... Me tamen in lucem proferentem acta litium, contractus, aliaque his similia Ptolemaicae aetatis, fortunatum credo, quippe cui contigit res non levis momenti enarrare. Hisce enim prima fronte humilibus Papyrus constat sua utilitas, constat, inquam, et latissime patet in Aegyptiorum religionem, iurisprudentiam, rei publicae formam, magistratus et mores... Quae cum ita sint, maximam Taurinensibus Papyrus utilitatem constare affirmo. Etsi enim nulla publica facinora narrent - si tamen excipias motum aliquem primis Epiphanis annis exortum in superiore Aegypto -, at multa de magistratibus, de honorum cursu, de legibus, de religione nos edocent, praesertim vero de iudiciali ordine, ac de rei publicae temperatione, quibus in rebus internae eventuum causae positae sunt" (I pp. 9 - 12 *passim*).

Peyron si rende conto della complessità dei problemi derivanti dalla convivenza in Egitto dei Greci e degli indigeni; dai documenti deduce che i Tolemei "Graecis hominibus peculiarem legislationem ex variis Graecorum populorum consuetudinibus conflata proposuisse (dunque ipotizza una specie di *koinè* giuridica greca, attribuendola all'iniziativa dei sovrani), Aegyptiis vero permisisse ut suis legibus uterentur, posset tamen Aegyptius

²³Peyron inoltre conosce e cita gli splendidi volumi della *Description de l'Egypte*, ha sottomano le *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte* di Letronne, le due iscrizioni dell'Oasi di El Kargeh edite dal medesimo nel *Journal des Savants* (1822), ed altri scritti di Letronne. E naturalmente gli è familiare tutta l'opera di Champollion, che aveva soggiornato a Torino nel 1824. Conosce e cita spesso i *Voyages en Egypte et en Nubie* di G.B. Belzoni.

²⁴Papiri del Museo Britannico di Londra e della Biblioteca Vaticana' tradotti e illustrati da Bernardino Peyron, *Mem.R. Acc.Sc. Torino*, 33 (1841).

²⁵*Papyri Graeci Musei antiquari publici Lugduni Batavi*. Edidit, interpretationem latinam, adnotationem, indices et tabulas addidit C.Leemans, Lugduni Batavorum 1843.

²⁶*Notices et textes des papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibl. impér. et autres Bibl., 18, 2), ed. A.J. Letronne, et W. Brunet de Presle, Paris 1865.

²⁷A. Ceriani, 'Un papiro greco del 162 a.C.', *Rend. R. Ist. Lombardo di Sc. Lett.*, Serie II vol. IX pp.582 ss. (1876).

²⁸Il nome "Papirologia" comparve nel 1898 nell'*Oxford English Dictionary*. Cf. M. Manfredi, Nota bibliografica in appendice a *Papiri e Papirologia* di V. Bartoletti, uscito postumo nel 1976.

homo lubens et volens ad graeca instituta vivere, at caverent omnes ne alteram cum altera legislatione confunderent" (I p.16). Dunque non fusione nè mescolanza: un'aporia che egli risolve supponendo che le leggi emanate di mano in mano dai Tolemei fossero gradualmente restrittive nei riguardi delle consuetudini giuridiche indigene, così che gli Egiziani fossero indotti ad adottare le consuetudini greche (*ibid.*). Un tentativo per conciliare quanto veniva ricavando dai papiri con l'opinione che si era andata formando nella cultura di allora.

Ma esaminiamo più da vicino il suo lavoro di lettura e d'interpretazione dei singoli papiri, per renderci conto dei criteri da lui seguiti nello studio e nell'edizione di essi.

Quanto alla lettura, egli non incontra particolari difficoltà nel primo papiro (UPZ 162), il più importante (e non solo della raccolta torinese), un bellissimo esemplare di piccola maiuscola greca del II sec. a.C., completo; ma occorre dire che lo legge e ne coglie in pieno il significato in meno di un mese (sono 10 colonne, per un totale di 311 righe!).²⁹ Della sua lettura dirà il Wilcken: "Kaum ein paar Kleinigkeiten zu verbessern sind",³⁰ fra le quali il ben noto $\chi\omicron\lambda\chi\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ per $\chi\omicron\alpha\chi\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, che potè essere rettificato solo dopo alcuni decenni: Letronne e i suoi discepoli nei P.Par. leggono ancora $\chi\omicron\lambda\chi\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. Altri papiri gli presentano maggiori difficoltà: basta confrontarli con l'edizione del Wilcken nelle UPZ per rilevare i miglioramenti di lettura e le integrazioni delle lacune, frutto del lavoro di parecchi studiosi nel corso di molti anni, e del confronto con altri documenti pubblicati in seguito.

Peyron ha cura di distinguere nei documenti le diverse mani e di trarne le logiche conseguenze (cfr. per es. P.Tor.VI; II pp.43-44 = UPZ 193). Ma per lui l'ostacolo per una corretta comprensione è solo raramente la scrittura, anche se talora estremamente corsiva e legata (come avviene per la postilla di P.Tor.VII = UPZ 191); più spesso la difficoltà dipende dall'assoluta novità del contenuto, del formulario e in parte del lessico. Ciò nonostante egli affronta il rischio della traduzione in latino, che obbliga a precisare il significato dei vocaboli e del contesto senza lasciare alcunchè nel vago.

Della lingua dei papiri così scrive: "Dialectus Papyrorum est Alexandrina. Hinc sunt illae formae οὐθέν, μηθέν, ποῖν, λήμψομαι, aliaeque a Sturzio diligentissime adnotatae; hinc sunt verba dupliciter composita περισυγχωρεῖν, συνεισδιδόναι, συναναγκάζειν..." (I pp.29 - 30). Di questo dialetto "ellenistico", il cui interesse era stato suscitato soprattutto da epigrafi (il Monumentum Adulitanum, recentemente fatto oggetto di studi, e alcune iscrizioni greche della Nubia da poco scoperte) si erano occupati Buttmann, Matthiae, Sturz, Winer, Niehbur e Bernhardy;³¹ oltre che "alessandrino" lo si era chiamato "macedonico-egizio" e "greco-egizio". Per conoscere questo dialetto Peyron sottolinea l'importanza dei documenti papiracei, in quanto scritti di prima mano, esenti da alterazioni dovute alla tradizione manoscritta, e in un dialetto non letterario ma parlato;³² nota in essi la presenza di *addenda lexicis* ("verba inaudita") e di vocaboli noti ma con significato mutato; e indica i termini di confronto più vicini, a cui è ricorso: i Settanta, il Nuovo Testamento, Polibio, la Lettera di Aristeia; infine rileva la presenza frequente dell'iotacismo (I pp. 29 s.)

Già nel 1824 in un *Saggio*³³ aveva scritto: "Il dialetto Alessandrino è pressochè nuovo, la sintassi del volgo inudita (*sic*)", e aveva messo in guardia dall'"esercitare una critica

²⁹Nel 'Saggio di studi sopra Papiri, Codici Cofti e una stele trilingue del Regio Museo Egiziano' (*Memoria* letta all'Acc. delle Scienze di Torino il 27 maggio 1824) il Peyron informa che il P. Tor. I "fu preso a svolgere" il 12 maggio; "terminato lo svolgimento io aveva pur terminato di copiarlo, e ora ve ne do ragguaglio". Cf. Bona, op.cit. p.184.

³⁰UPZ II, p.60

³¹Vd. sopra le note 1,2, 4, 5, 6, 9.

³²"Ad hanc vero dialectum penitus aestimandam eo magis conferunt Papyri, quo eorum lectio certior est, nec ullis amanuensium erratis deturpata; sunt enim monumenta autographa... Nec praetermittendum est, Papyros puram putamque dialectum referre, quae per ora vulgi volitabat..." (I, pp. 29-30)

³³*Saggio di studi sopra Papiri*, cit. sopra, nota 29.

correttiva in modo troppo dotto, epperò non Alessandrino". Di conseguenza, con vivo senso storico della lingua, si astiene dall'emendare, e perfino di fronte ad un ἐπιχειροῦντος (P.Tor. VII 7), che il Wilcken segnala con un (*sic*) (UPZ 191, 7) spiegando in nota: I. ἐπιχειροῦντος vel ἐπιχειρηκότος, Peyron cerca una legittimazione di quella forma: "declarat Alexandrinis etiam arrisisse eiusmodi formas praesentis ex perfectis effectas" (II p. 43).

Anzitutto si preoccupa di stabilire l'esatto significato dei vocaboli nuovi che incontra ("verba inaudita"): così ἐστυριωμένη, στυρίωσις (P.Tor. I col. IV, 17); ζημιοπρακτεῖν (P.Tor. VII 7-8); συμπαίγμός (P.Tor. I col. VI 15); νεκρία (P.Tor. I col. I 20). Nel P. Tor. XIII = UPZ I 118), di difficile lettura ed interpretazione (e non solo per lui),³⁴ di fronte a τροφῖτις riesce ad orientarsi rettamente ("inauditum derivatum quod a τρέφω verti alimentariam: sane contractus infra descriptum eo spectabat ut alimenta Thaueti suppeditarentur"). E' naturale che non riesca a leggere correttamente i nomi dei tre demi alessandrini che compaiono qui per la prima volta, ma traduce esattamente εὐδοκησάσης: "verbum εὐδοκεῖν pro assentiri contractui eumque probare ac ratum habere" (II p. 74).

Di fronte a un problema d'interpretazione Peyron non lascia nulla d'intentato: presenta tutte le possibili ipotesi di soluzione, anche le meno probabili, indicando poi quella che gli sembra più attendibile. Parte sempre dall'analisi filologica: significato dei vocaboli e struttura sintattica, ma non si ferma mai a questo, che è, per lui, il punto di partenza per comprendere istituzioni, costumi, fatti storici, ambientazione geografica.

Spesso s'imbatte in espressioni e vocaboli non nuovi, ma usati nell'Egitto tolemaico con un preciso significato tecnico, e si studia di definirlo: tali ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπιστράτηγος, στρατηγός, νομάρχης, ἐπιστάτης. Di questi ultimi Letronne aveva già trattato, in base ad iscrizioni, per l'età romana; Peyron ne ridiscute il significato e le funzioni in età tolemaica, e talora è indotto ad anticipare a tale età ciò che si riferisce all'Egitto romano: è il caso delle tre epistrategie, che suppone già d'istituzione tolemaica (I p. 17).

Cerca di definire e distinguere κάτοικοι, ἐγγώριοι, ξένοι, μισθοφόροι. Non di rado, a chi legge il suo commento crea ambiguità l'uso che egli fa della parola Αἰγύπτιος, riferendola sia ai Greci d'Egitto sia agli Egiziani, e ciò perchè pensa che "ex duobus populi ordinibus, iisque dissimilibus, nova illa natio conflabatur ex Graecis et Aegyptiis" (I p. 13). Crede di vederne una prova nella mescolanza di nomi greci e nomi egiziani (II p. 8). L'idea di una progressiva fusione tra Greci e indigeni non è sua, ma rientra in quella concezione, a cui si è accennato, della "mescolanza" tra Greci e orientali dopo la conquista di Alessandro Magno, secondo un'interpretazione della storia ellenistica che solo ai nostri tempi sarà corretta e ridimensionata, sulla base di una documentazione molto più vasta - soprattutto papirologica - che ha permesso di vedere i molteplici aspetti del complesso problema.³⁵

Peyron precisa il significato e le funzioni dell' ἄγορανόμος (P.Tor. I p. 81): Brunet de Presle in proposito (P.Par. 7 p. 173) rimanda a Peyron come a trattazione esauriente. Per ἡγεμῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν (P.Tor. I col. I r.15) esamina tutte le spiegazioni possibili e conclude definendolo "qui revera homines ducit ac stipendia meret" (I pp. 83 - 84): in una nota scritta nel 1838 (cf. P.Par. pp. 163-164) il Letronne cortesemente gli contesta questa definizione, che invece viene accolta dal Boeckh (CIG II p. 439). S'imbatte in un ginnasiarco e ne deduce che "a Ptolemaeis primum" fu portata in Egitto l'istituzione del ginnasio (I p. 63).

Sui χρηματισταί si ferma per dieci pagine in un'accurata analisi filologica, storica e giuridica (I pp. 99 - 109), motivandola con questa premessa: "Quum saepe sive Papyri sive alia Lagidarum monumenta exhibeant verbum χρηματίζειν eiusque derivata χρηματισμός,

³⁴Cf. P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and matrimonial property in ancient Egypt*, Lugdunum Batavorum 1961, pp. 45-46.

³⁵Cito solo i due volumi di Cl. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, Clio, Paris 1978.

χρηματιστής, quae ad Aegyptiam iurisprudentiam et oeconomiam pertinent, paulo accuratius de iis agendum est, licet Letronnius (*Recherches*, p. 331) nonnulla iam recte preoccupaverit". Si ha l'impressione di una cortesissima ma serrata gara fra i due... Brunet de Presle dirà in proposito: "Toutes les questions relatives aux fonctions des chrematistes ont été savamment discutées par M.Peyron" (P.Par.XIV r.35 p. 217), e lo stesso ripete a proposito del διάγραμμα (P.Par. p. 44).

Peyron distingue e definisce nelle loro competenze i tribunali dei crematisti e quello dei laocriti, rilevando l'esistenza di un "duplex iudiciarius ordo": due tribunali, due specie di contratti, due consuetudini giuridiche (I p. 169 ss.); i contratti greci in lingua greca, i contratti egiziani in lingua egiziana, questi ultimi nulli se non registrati nell' ἀναγραφή del γραφεῖον (I pp. 121 - 122). La chiarezza con cui prospetta tutto ciò è in contrasto con l'idea della "fusione": si è detto sopra come cerchi di risolvere l'aporia.

Completa trattazione anche a proposito dell' ἔντευξις (I pp. 109 - 110): in questo caso gli serve il ricorso alla Lettera di Aristeia e al II Maccabei, 4,8. Quando s'imbatte con ὁ τῆς χώρας νόμος non ha dubbio che si tratti della "Aegyptia lex, quae ante Ptolemaeorum tempora sancita Aegyptios reges habuerat conditores", distinta "a recentioribus Lagidarum statutis quae προστάγματα appellantur" (I p. 123). Più avanti dichiara il suo imbarazzo di fronte ai πολιτικοὶ νόμοι: "equidem τοὺς πολιτικούς νόμους patrias leges esse credo, et ψηφίσματα Ptolemaeorum decreta" (I p. 172). Ma che cosa intende con patrias? della patria d'origine dei Greci, o della nuova comune patria egiziana? Infatti aggiunge: "qua ratione inter se distinguantur οἱ πολιτικοὶ νόμοι et οἱ τῆς χώρας νόμοι... certo constitui nequit". Nè si può pretendere di più, dal momento che ancor oggi, benchè sia ormai chiaro che con i πολιτικοὶ νόμοι siamo in ambito greco, sul loro preciso significato non si è finito di discutere.

Cerca di definire la posizione e le competenze del βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, del τοπογραμματεὺς e del κωμογραμματεὺς, dei quali discute a lungo (I pp. 118 ss.); ritiene che la κώμη sia suddivisa in τόποι, e perciò il τοπογραμματεὺς sia subordinato al κωμογραμματεὺς. Su questo punto crede che Strabone sia in errore e polemizza col Letronne (P.Tor.VIII II pp. 54 s.). La sua opinione fu seguita per lungo tempo: il Wilcken la controbatte ancora nel 1885.³⁶

Lunga e complessa è la sua trattazione su ἀναγραφή, ἀναγράφειν, γραφεῖον: precisazioni puntuali vengono date di formule come κεχρημάτικα e μετείληφα e dell'espressione ὁ παρά τινος (II p. 33). L'esame del significato di ἀπαρχή gli offre l'occasione di osservare l'inopportunità di un emendamento ad un passo di Tucidide (VI 20): l'edizione critica oxoniense gli dà ragione.

Precisa il significato tecnico giuridico di καταστάντος: "cum in iudicium venisset" (P. Tor. I col. I 9; cf. pp. 66 - 67), di λειτουργία, in base a Polibio e ai LXX (I p. 85); di ἀντίγραφον (I p. 82); ricerca il significato di δικαίωμα (I p. 117), di ἀναφορά (I p. 118); sottolinea la distinzione fra κράτησις e κυριεῖα (I p. 117). Non coglie perfettamente il segno per ἔφοδος, che solo nei papiri ha il senso di procedimento giudiziario contro qualcuno (P. Tor. VIII II p. 58).

Riconosce il valore formulare dell'espressione finale dell' ἔντευξις: τούτου δὲ γενομένου... e della clausola di rispetto ἐὰν φαίνεται, e nota che in quest'ultima non va inserito ὑμῖν (come supponeva il Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 319), poichè l'omissione conferisce alla frase un tono solenne: si orienta con intuizione sicura in un mondo allora tutto da scoprire, valendosi degli scarsi elementi a sua disposizione.

³⁶*Observationes ad historiam Aegypti provinciae romanae depromptae e papyris graecis berolinensibus ineditis*, Berolini 1885, pp.20 ss.

Non gli sfugge la necessità dell'ambientazione geografica e topografica: si vedano le sue precisazioni sui nomi della Tebaide (II pp. 27 ss), sull' 'Αμμωνιῆιον e i Μεμνόμεια (P.Tor.VIII; II pp. 55 s.); sul significato di τῆς Λιβύης (II p. 53), di ἀναπλοῦν (I p. 113), sulle varie qualità di terreni e di coltivazioni in Egitto, e le conseguenti tassazioni. Dei toponimi che trova in P.Tor. VIII tenta, con alquanto scetticismo, l'interpretazione con l'aiuto del copto, che egli conosceva bene.

Quanto alle usanze e cerimonie funebri e religiose, gli forniscono materia di ampie trattazioni gli stessi coachiti (anche se la falsa etimologia dovuta alla errata lettura lo porta alquanto fuori strada nel definire le loro funzioni), i paraschisti e i taricheuti. Ma accanto a qualche inevitabile inesattezza, in un campo tanto nuovo ed inesplorato, vi sono, nella ricostruzione della loro vita e delle loro mansioni, molti aspetti che ulteriori scoperte e studi hanno confermato.

Da giovane Peyron si era avviato dapprima agli studi matematici: non fa meraviglia perciò che nel suo commento riconosca e spieghi molte sigle di misure e monete (si veda P.Tor. IV, VIII, XIII; II pp. 18 - 19), e perchè rilevi per prima cosa, nei papiri di Zois, pubblicati dal Petretini nel 1826 (UPZ I 114), che i conti non tornano: li ripubblicherà riveduti e corretti.

Si occupa anche di problemi numismatici (II pp. 20 ss.), per i quali si avvale della *Doctrina numorum veterum* dell'Eckhel;³⁷ tratta del rapporto bronzo - argento; le sue ipotesi e soluzioni saranno ampiamente citate e discusse in P.Par. 10.

Le misure della casa oggetto di controversia (P.Tor. I col. V r.5) lo portano ad addentrarsi in una lunga e vivace discussione, con se stesso e col lettore, sul valore del πῆχυς come misura di superficie: ed è interessante vedere come egli arrivi, per primo e da solo (lo riconosce il Wilcken, UPZ II 161, r. 42 nota), alla esatta interpretazione, grazie al suo spiccato senso pratico e valendosi di un aggancio con la realtà agraria del suo paese e del suo tempo (I pp. 141 ss.).³⁸

Soprattutto ha cura di rilevare i dati e gli eventi storici che emergono dai papiri: affronta il problema cronologico dei regni dei Tolemei Epifane - Filometore - Evergete II (I pp. 149 ss.), con un'esatta conoscenza del computo degli anni allora in uso; identifica la ταραχή del 1° anno di Tolemeo Epifane; i φιλόανθρωπα (di cui stabilisce esattamente il significato) dell'Evergete II (uno di essi attribuisce erroneamente al Filometore, cf.P.Par. 15, p. 225). Coglie bene l'interesse storico-cronologico di P.Tor.III (di cui dà una trascrizione pressochè perfetta): è l'*enteuxis* indirizzata a Tolemeo Evergete II e a Cleopatra III quando non era ancora avvenuta la riconciliazione con Cleopatra II. Ne ha visto un duplicato nei P.Salt, della stessa mano (Wilcken, UPZ II 170 A e B lo conferma).

Tenta di ricostruire la carriera di qualche funzionario (I pp. 57 - 58); riconosce nel loro valore e significato i titoli aulici ("nomina honoraria") e ne propone una graduatoria (I pp. 64; 71 - 72).

Naturalmente per la parte storica molto deve ai lavori di Champollion e di Letronne, che puntualmente cita; ma spesso egli va oltre. Anzi, la sua grande capacità di dedurre, argomentare, collegare e sintetizzare, unita a un notevole intuito, che si dispiegano in questo amplissimo commento, lo portano talora ad andare troppo oltre, come quando suppone che anche ἐπιστάτης, ἡγεμών, ἱπάρχης, ἐπιστολογράφος ed altri possano essere stati usati come titoli aulici (I pp. 83 - 84). D'altra parte è ammirevole lo sforzo di collegare tutte le nozioni e i dati in suo possesso, per dare, oltre all'esatto significato del documento, anche

³⁷J.H. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, 8 voll., 1792-1798.

³⁸E' interessante che a suggerirgli la via per la soluzione sia stato il conte Prospero Balbo (il padre di Cesare Balbo), già ministro della Pubblica Istruzione (1819) e degli Interni (1820) del regno di Piemonte, uno dei fondatori dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino.

un'interpretazione giuridica e storica; il che, data la scarsità degli elementi a sua disposizione, lo porta a conclusioni talora esatte in modo stupefacente, talora, inevitabilmente, poco fondate o errate. Egli stesso, del resto, è consapevole del rischio e della provvisorietà di molte sue ipotesi, e dei suoi dubbi mette a parte il lettore con una vivacità discorsiva che rende veramente godibile la lettura del suo pur tanto dotto commento.

Peyron ha dato prova di ardimento lanciandosi su di un terreno del tutto nuovo, senza aspettare l'edizione dei papiri parigini (fra i quali sapeva, per averli visti, che vi erano alcuni documenti affini ai torinesi, anzi, riguardanti la stessa controversia), affrontando così il rischio di errori e di ipotesi scarsamente fondate: è il rischio di un autentico pioniere, ed egli se ne rende conto. Ma non aspetta, e pubblica. In questa sua determinazione ha avuto qualche parte lo spirito d'emulazione nella gara con i francesi, in particolare con Letronne? Non lo escluderei. Gli editori dei P.Par. nell'introduzione a P.Par. 15 si dolgono che "la publication des papyrus de Turin et le savant commentaire dont l'abbé Peyron les a accompagnés, ... enlèvent à notre édition, malheureusement beaucoup tardive, l'intérêt de la nouveauté". Già il Letronne aveva espresso il suo giudizio favorevole sul valore dei P.Tor. e sull'ampiezza e completezza del commento.³⁹ E forse la rapidità e la completezza dell'opera del Peyron lo indussero a rimandare ad altro tempo l'edizione dei papiri parigini, da lui letti nel 1828 (cioè subito dopo l'edizione dei P.Tor.) e lasciati senza commento, per dedicarsi prima di tutto alle iscrizioni d'Egitto, che era il campo nel quale già da tempo lavorava. La fiducia nella correttezza del Peyron, che si era impegnato a non pubblicare nulla dei papiri parigini (benchè di più d'uno avesse la trascrizione fatta da lui stesso) era sufficiente a rassicurarlo. Ma la morte lo colse anzitempo.

Così per quasi quarant'anni l'edizione dei P.Tor. rimase un lavoro esemplare ed isolato. Dopo oltre cent'anni, nel 1935, il Wilcken scriveva: "... mit seiner vielseitigen Gelehrsamkeit einen Kommentar schaffen konnte der für die damals aufkeimende Papyrusforschung geradezu grundlegend gewirkt hat. Auch künftig wird man trotz allem, was wir inzwischen hinzugelernt haben, wodurch natürlich manches sich geändert hat, in diesem Kommentar mit Genuss und Bewunderung lesen" (UPZ II pp. 60 - 61).

CONCLUSIONE

Peyron ha riconosciuto nei papiri greci, prima pressochè sconosciuti, le fonti più genuine e attendibili, accanto alle epigrafi, per la conoscenza della civiltà dell'Egitto nel periodo ellenistico; ne ha messo in luce l'importanza unica sia per lo studio della lingua, in quanto documenti diretti di una *koinè* parlata, sia per la conoscenza delle istituzioni religiose e politiche, del diritto, dell'amministrazione e del costume. Ha visto chiaramente come essi si collocassero nell'ambito della scienza dell'antichità allora nascente.

Quanto alla lingua, si è reso conto della necessità di identificare quel tipo di *koinè*, nel suo lessico e nella sua struttura grammaticale e sintattica, partendo da salde conoscenze filologiche e congetturando con prudenza, ma guardandosi dall'emendare secondo modelli classici: lo dichiara esplicitamente.

Quanto all'interpretazione, egli insegna ad affrontare il rischio di formulare delle ipotesi, anzi, a non trascurarne nessuna, pur sempre consapevoli della provvisorietà di esse. Ci saranno problemi davanti ai quali sarà bene confessare di non capire: altri studiosi, con nuovi documenti, potranno andare oltre ("maiora dabunt illi quibus maiora monumenta consulere continget", giacchè "nova monumenta atque integra sunt expectanda", II pp. 23 - 24 : sembra preconizzare lo sviluppo futuro della Papirologia).

³⁹Amplissime recensioni nel *Journ. des Savants*, ottobre 1827, pp.614-622 e febbraio 1828, pp.102-111.

E poichè nei papiri non si tratta di testi letterari ma di documenti della vita reale in tutti i suoi aspetti, per risolvere i problemi che essi presentano occorre far ricorso a tutte le discipline affini, e anche, non di rado, all'esperienza concreta della vita.

Con le sue assidue consultazioni di studiosi italiani, tedeschi, francesi, inglesi, Peyron fornisce già da quei primi inizi la prova di quanto nella nostra disciplina sia proficua la collaborazione, e come ne sia caratteristica la interdisciplinarietà.

E infine, indirettamente e senza volerlo, Peyron con il suo commento dimostra che è bene credere ai documenti più che alle idee correnti, anche se si tratta di tesi di uomini illustri: così per la "Vermischung" greco - orientale dell'età ellenistica, che egli tenta invano di conciliare con quanto rileva con chiarezza nei papiri. La Papirologia può essere in molti casi la coscienza critica della storiografia, e il suo vaglio documentale, in quanto fonte di graduali ma sicure acquisizioni.

THE ORIGIN AND FUTURE OF PAPYROLOGY*

from Mommsen and Wilamowitz to the Present,
from *Altertumswissenschaft* to Cultural Studies

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Theodor Mommsen has said the following: the twentieth century will be the century of papyrology, just as the nineteenth century has been the century of epigraphy.¹ The twentieth congress of papyrologists, celebrating one hundred years of papyrology as an independent discipline, warrants a reconsideration of this prophetic statement in its historical context. To be sure, the beginning of our discipline has been arbitrarily set a hundred years ago in 1892. However, that year marks the inauguration of the longest-running series of papyrus editions: *BGU*. The first fascicle of the first volume came out in 1892. The driving force behind its publication was Theodor Mommsen.²

In the second half of the nineteenth century Mommsen's scholarly production had decided the old German battle between classicism and *Altertumswissenschaft* in favour of the latter. Classicism, i.e. the study of literary texts belonging to the traditional canon, had given way, by the end of the nineteenth century, to *Altertumswissenschaft*, i.e. the study of ancient cultures and embracing all that remains of those cultures: literature, artifacts and documents. Mommsen himself had devoted most of his life to the study of Latin documents written on stone. He also laid the foundation for the study of Roman law in its historical context. Now, in his long life (1817-1903) he became acquainted with documents written on papyrus as well, but the limited number of texts that became available in the course of the nineteenth century combined with the fact that most of them dated from the Ptolemaic period, with which Mommsen was less familiar, as well as the difficulties in reading the script encountered by the early editors kept him from getting too much involved.

Towards the end of Mommsen's life there were three reasons for him to get more involved in papyri. First, the increasing number of papyrus texts from the Roman period that became available in the late seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century. Second, the interest of some of these papyri for the history and the application of Roman law. Not unimportantly, 1891 marks the inauguration of what is known as juristic papyrology.³ Third, the quality of the scholars devoting themselves to the study of these papyri. On the British side the Oxford papyrological twins Grenfell (1869-1926) and Hunt (1871-1934) were soon to become the most prolific contributors to the field, but in Berlin there was Ulrich Wilcken (1862-1944), Mommsen's best student, who was to lead the field for half a century after the inception of *BGU*.

So, there is more to the seemingly arbitrary choice of *BGU* as the first papyrological edition. In fact, the idea of calling scholars dealing with papyri 'papyrologists' first came up in relation to *BGU*. In the preface to P.Gen. 1, dated March 1, 1896, Jules Nicole first referred to the editors of *BGU* as 'les papyrologistes de Berlin'. The same preface refers to papyri as 'les

* An expanded version of this paper with full notes will be published in *BASP* 30 (1993) under the title: 'The century of papyrology (1892-1992).'

¹This saying is reported by E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed.; Oxford 1980) 23, who picked it up from K. Preisendanz, 'Papyruskunde,' in: G. Leyh ed., *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* 1 (2nd ed., Stuttgart 1950) 163.

²As is clear from U. Wilcken, 'Zu Mommsens Gedächtnis,' *APF* 3 (1906) 149-150, as well as K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig 1933) 163.

³With L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* (Leipzig 1891).

textes papyrologiques.’ There is therefore every reason to regard 1892 as the birth date of our discipline. Looking back a hundred years from that pivotal date in the history of our discipline might be as rewarding as looking forward to what Mommsen prophetically called the century of papyrology. As is well known, the first papyrus from Egypt, the so-called *Charta Borgiana*, was published in 1788 (P.Schow). The excitement aroused by the text before it was published matched the lack of interest shown afterwards, when it turned out to be a dull list of forced labourers on the dikes. In the preface to the edition, the editor, an otherwise unknown Danish philologist,⁴ anticipated this reaction by carefully listing what, in his view, could nevertheless be learned from the text by both philologists and historians. In the next fifty years after the publication of the *Charta Borgiana* a limited number of papyri was published by philologists and historians in their spare time. From 1839 onwards several catalogues of collections started to appear such as those at London (P.Forshall) and Leiden (P.Lugd.Bat.).⁵

The reason for the negative reaction to the new texts until about the middle of the nineteenth century lies in the fact that the scholarly public expected to see new literary texts and was greatly disappointed by the documents. This expectation is most eloquently expressed in a poem by William Wordsworth, written in 1819 and originally published in 1820:⁶

O ye, who patiently explore
the wreck of Herculanean lore,
what rapture, could you seize
some Theban fragment, or unroll
one precious, tender-hearted, scroll
of pure Simonides.

Indeed, most philologists of Wordsworth’s days were only interested in literary texts to start with. It took another fifty years for Mommsen’s version of *Altertumswissenschaft* to come to full maturity. During the half century until 1892 several papyri with literary texts were published, and these as a rule attracted the attention of philologists. Among these papyri figured some hitherto unknown texts, like the speeches of the Attic orator Hyperides.

The turning point came only in 1891, when the poems of Herodas and, more importantly, the Aristotelian tract on the *Constitution of the Athenians* were published from papyri in London. After that, the study of literary papyri has become an accepted practice among philologists, and their appetite has been satisfied again and again, from the comedies of Menander from a papyrus codex in Cairo to the biblical papyri in the Chester Beatty and the Martin Bodmer collections. It would be impossible to study the lyric poetry of archaic Greece, to write a history of Hellenistic poetry, or to reconstruct the nature of early Christian gnosticism without the material base provided by the new texts preserved on papyrus. The watershed of information that has become available in the past hundred years has greatly expanded research in these fields, and it has fundamentally changed the study of *testimonia* to the study of actual texts.

The way literary papyri function among philologists and papyrologists is not unproblematic. There is a tendency to separate literary from documentary papyri.⁷ True,

⁴cf. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, ‘Niels Iversen Schow og papyrologiens fødsel [birth]’. *Museum Tusulanum* 57, Copenhagen, 1987, pp. 82-91.

⁵Preceded in 1826-1827 by the inimitable *PTor*.

⁶Quoted from no. 28 of the *Poems of Sentiment and Reflection*. In the stanza quoted Wordsworth is alluding to the papyri found at Herculaneum, but what does he mean by ‘some Theban fragment’? Presumably a papyrus from Egyptian Thebes. The earliest Ptolemaic papyri that surfaced in Europe did indeed come from Thebes.

⁷A few years ago a separate introduction to documentary papyrology appeared: I.F. Fikhman, *Vvedeniye v dokumentalnuyu papirologiyu* (Moskva 1987). O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia* (2nd ed., Milano 1988)

allowance is made for the existence of an intermediate category of sub-literary texts such as magical papyri, but that hardly serves as a bridge between the two other categories. As a consequence, literary papyri are accepted in philological circles, documentary papyri are nowadays despised or simply ignored. The problem, however, goes much deeper and its roots can be traced back at least to the time immediately following the death of Mommsen.

The version of *Altertumswissenschaft* embodied by Mommsen and accepted by many of his contemporaries, philologists and ancient historians alike, was a product of nineteenth-century historicism. It aimed at encompassing all there is to know about the ancient world, and then to reconstruct ancient culture as a whole. The major drawback of this rather positivistic approach lies in the discrepancy between its ultimate goal, no less than a *Totalitätsideal*, and the fact that all our evidence from the ancient world taken together is still a mere collection of fragments. No wonder, then, that notwithstanding the lip service paid to *Altertumswissenschaft* during much of the twentieth century the direction actually taken by classical scholarship has been either towards a narrow approach to Greek and Roman élitist thought through the traditional, canonical, literature or towards carefully circumscribed *Einzeldisziplinen*. The study of papyri has no place in the former and is only one out of many in the latter. In fact, the various disciplines have become so thoroughly specialized and separated from each other that even the term *Einzeldisziplinen*, taken over from the old conception of *Altertumswissenschaft* and suggesting a unity that embraces them all, is inadequate. They stand on their own, and in a time of contraction it is likely that only those with the largest appeal will survive.

A way to help our discipline survive is to heed the lessons from what is going on in the study of history and in literary criticism. Historical vision and the concomitant appeal are mainly found in works that use a carefully selected amount of evidence to present an original view of a culture, e.g. through the exemplary study of a village like Montaignou or by interpreting a piece of literature through its wider cultural context. The former type of study is linked with the names of notorious French historians, and for the latter type of study the term 'New Historicism' has been coined to distinguish it from nineteenth-century historicism. It should be clear that the Montaignou type of study is very attractive when it comes to documentary evidence from villages in the Fayum. Indeed, I am not the first one to make that suggestion.⁸ As far as the 'New Historicism' type of study is concerned we might think of in-depth studies of documentary archives and private letters, which are packed with unique insights into ancient family life, gender relations, literacy, and other 'hot' topics in cultural studies today. Too often this kind of texts is regarded as too anecdotal and therefore intractable by professional papyrologists. But the new approach can overcome some of the drawbacks of the anecdotal and generally speaking fragmentary character of our evidence. That framework is provided by the wider cultural context. We have to become historians of the culture we have christened Graeco-Roman Egypt.

In the new version of *Altertumswissenschaft* just outlined literary papyri are as important for the study of the culture that produced them as public and private documents, a point that papyrologists should take to heart. The reception of, e.g., Homer in Egypt during the papyrological millennium is as relevant to the literary works we identify by his name as our own reception of these works – or the reception by those who first participated in a presentation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. There is a whole lot more evidence for Graeco-Egyptian than for archaic Greek 'audiences'. All this gains in importance once we are dealing with literature that was actually produced in Egypt during the papyrological millenium such as the poetry of

covers both literary and documentary papyri and is in this respect preferable to Fikhman's book as an overview of papyrology.

⁸See D. Hobson, 'Towards a broader context for the study of Greco-Roman Egypt,' *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32 (1988) 353-363; J.G. Keenan, 'The "new papyrology" and ancient social history,' *Ancient History Bulletin* 5 (1991) 159-169.

Callimachus. New literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt are as a rule studied in splendid isolation from the culture that produced them. This is caused by the fact that philologists are naturally focused on establishing texts as such first. Thus, a typical reaction to an important new text is an outburst of text-critical studies dealing with the various reading problems. Unfortunately, after a number of years this initial enthusiasm for the new text dies out. Thus, in the case of the poems of Bacchylides, first published from a papyrus in London in 1897, it has been aptly remarked by a reviewer that these not all that exciting poems were more read and studied in the winter of 1897/1898 than ever before – or after, I may add.

That reviewer was none other than Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931). After Mommsen he is the most important professional non-papyrologist who fostered the development of papyrology around the turn of the century.⁹ He was the driving force behind *BKT*, the literary parallel to *BGU*, and he contributed heavily to two of its volumes (*BKT* 5.1 and 5.2). Unfortunately, his favourable reception of the early publications of documentary papyri has been conveniently forgotten by most of his successors. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's reviews of the early volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*¹⁰ clearly show his interest in documentary papyri as *documents humains*, besides much attention to the new literary fragments published in *P.Oxy.*, as one would expect from him. However, there is more to it than that. Within the conception of *Altertumswissenschaft* current in von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's days documents do more than just illustrate various aspects of ancient life. Papyrology is not an ancillary discipline, a view often erroneously held even by papyrologists. Papyrology, like epigraphy, is a primary discipline.¹¹ Ever since papyri were found and added to our stock of evidence from the ancient world, they are indispensable and unavoidable. Papyri represent ancient life on much the same footing as literary texts and archaeological objects. In fact, these categories cannot be kept separate in the case of papyri at all.

In a review of P.Fay.¹² this is made even clearer. Again von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff pays most attention to the fragments of literary texts, but in his view the main contribution of the volume lies in the combination of documents and the archaeological context unearthed by the editors themselves. His attention is notably attracted by the map of the Fayum (p. 43):

Weit von den Objecten entfernt ist man so sehr leicht in Versuchung die Papyri nur als tote Documente anzusehen, als Schutt, aus dem man Vocabeln oder Formen oder Informationen über dies und das holt. Nun wird man schon durch die Karte veranlasst, sich bei Theadelphia und Philadelphia etwas concretes zu denken.

Most papyrologists today have fallen for the temptation to regard papyri as dead objects without a context, as *Belegstellen* for what our predecessors already established or suspected. The lack of an adequate, up-to-date, map of the Fayum¹³ is a sad testimony to our inability to

⁹On von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's interest in papyri see the short remarks in Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde*, 173-174, as well as in W. Unte, 'Wilamowitz als wissenschaftlicher Organisator,' in: W.M. Calder, H. Flashar and Th. Lindken eds., *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt 1985) 762-764.

¹⁰In *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 160 (1898) 673-704 (on *POxy.* 1), 162 (1900) 29-58 (on *POxy.* 2), and 166 (1904) 659-678 (on *POxy.* 4).

¹¹See H. Bengtson, *Einführung in die alte Geschichte*, 4th ed. (München 1962) 142: 'Die früher für diese Zweige der Altertumswissenschaft gebräuchliche Bezeichnung "Hilfswissenschaften" ist irreführend; sie sollte endgültig aus der wissenschaftlichen Terminologie verschwinden.'

¹²In *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 163 (1901) 30-45.

¹³The 1:500,000 inset map of the Fayum on the 1:2,000,000 map of Graeco-Roman Egypt prepared by H. Heinen and W. Schlömer, *Ägypten in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1989) is unsatisfactory. The papyri give us a close-up of ancient life, which calls for a much more detailed map. The 1:265,000 map of the Fayum at the back of *PTebt.* 2 is still the most useful map in print. A team of papyrologists, known as

cope with the spatial dimension of ancient Egyptian life, which is an important part of the context of all papyri.

True, in the case of literary papyri it is often impossible to say much about the immediate context of a text: where the papyrus was found, when it was written, by whom and for whom, and for what purpose. Even if for some reason or other one would restrict the context to questions like these there is a lot more to be said than is usually done. Some literary papyri are demonstrably part of documentary archives,¹⁴ but those of which the exact archaeological findspot is known also come into play. The latter should be studied in conjunction with at least the other papyri found at the same spot. This approach is most promising in the case of Karanis, where the University of Michigan conducted excavations from 1925 to 1935. The excavation records allow us to reconstruct the papers of scores of homeowners including their literary texts. Individual homeowners can be identified, and their cultural setting described in more detail than is possible anywhere else in the Graeco-Roman world. Yet, although many literary papyri from Karanis have already been published, no attempt whatsoever has been made by any of their editors to take the obvious step and look at the archaeological context. To be honest, this also goes for the editors of documentary texts from Karanis.¹⁵ This unhealthy situation is mirrored by the strictly archaeological research relating to Karanis, which has been aimed exclusively at analytical studies of isolated types of objects (coins, glass, lamps etc.). Yet Karanis is a clear case where the diverse nature of our evidence forces us to take recourse to the new version of *Alttertumswissenschaft*. It is high time to put the pieces of the puzzle back together again.¹⁶

The context we have most sadly neglected in papyrological studies, even in the program of the twentieth congress of papyrologists, is Egyptian culture. Only in the past decades a new interest in the study of documents in demotic Egyptian in their relation to contemporary Greek papyri has gained wider support, mainly thanks to the work of the Leiden school.¹⁷ What is still lacking is the study of Coptic – and, dare I say it, Arabic – documents in their relation to contemporary Greek papyri. Graeco-Roman Egypt is only a slice out of a much longer, continuous, historical culture. Most Egyptologists end their studies with the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, and their handbooks get very thin towards the end. And yet, much of their picture of Egyptian religion, architecture, art history, and a host of other aspects of Egyptian culture is unthinkable without taking the evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt into account. Whenever this is done, the new approach to the evidence I have suggested should prevent Egyptologists from lifting this evidence out of its proper context without looking at the wider picture. This will only happen if we from our side stop presenting our evidence in a lifeless vacuum. The step from the study of Greek papyri to the study of Graeco-Roman Egypt as a multilingual culture is not without problems for those of us who are unfamiliar with the Egyptian language. But the step is unavoidable if we want to study Graeco-Roman Egypt in its true character, viz. as a multicultural society.

All this is not to deny editions of papyri their primary place in our field of studies. On the contrary, every edition broadens the base of our knowledge of the ancient world. Future editors of papyri should, however, take two suggestions to heart. They should make more concessions to the possible users of their texts including non-papyrologists, and they should put the texts in

the International Workshop for Papyrology and Social History, is now working on an updated map, at least of the southern part of the Fayum.

¹⁴On these see W. Clarysse, 'Literary papyri in documentary "archives"', in E. Van 't Dack, P. Van Dessel and W. Van Gucht eds., *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 1983) 43-61.

¹⁵For an exception see *PMich.* 9, 1-9.

¹⁶See e.g. my 'A closer look at O.Mich. I 126,' *BASP* 29 (1992) 169-172, and 'Recycling Karanis: an interdisciplinary approach to the house of Socrates' (forthcoming).

¹⁷From P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden 1961) onwards.

their proper context. The latter can most easily be done in the case of an edition of related texts, but why not in a monograph on a specific topic of wider interest? Scholars outside our field are not likely to embark on this kind of enterprise all on their own given the esoteric character of most of the existing editions of papyri. Collaboration with them should be welcomed.¹⁸

In editing papyri we can apply the advice given to editors of inscriptions by Louis Robert.¹⁹ One obvious piece of advice is to provide every edition with a subject index. A subject index presents the topics treated systematically in the edition itself in alphabetical and summary form, and it therefore offers an entirely different approach to the texts than is otherwise possible. A subject index has the added advantage of being an 'index' of what we really have to say. If we have provided no background and if we have done little more than transcribe the text, the subject index will be very slim indeed.

In the age of electronic storage of all kinds of information the subject index is actually the only one we really need. Let us review what is already available or should still be developed in the sphere of electronic papyrology. As far as the strictly documentary papyri are concerned there is the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri released by the Packard Humanities Institute, Los Altos, CA, which now contains about 95% of all the 35,000 texts that have been published over the years. Lacking are databases with sub-literary papyri and inscriptions from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Literary papyri can presumably do without a database of their own,²⁰ but it is important that the new version of Pack's catalogue of literary papyri prepared in Liège becomes available as soon as possible, preferably on a disk as well for more complicated searches.

As far as the documents published separately in journals are concerned, cooperation between *SB*, which we still need in hard copy, and the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri could speed up the entry of the latest, but dispersed, publications in our field of studies. We have coped rather well with the lack of indices to *SB* 14 and 16, so we can presumably dispense with most of the cumbersome indices altogether. Just a concordance and a subject index to the texts will do. The Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri has effectively eliminated the need of additional supplements to the *Wörterbuch*. There is, however, a growing need for an updated explanatory dictionary of documentary papyri, much in the vein of the so-called *Fachwörter*. This would be an enormous help to users of papyrus editions who are unfamiliar with the special language of the papyri and/or the *Frakurschrift*, and we would all profit from it for Byzantine papyri. Two other research tools in papyrology could be made available on disks at least in part. The *BL* has to be issued in hard copy, but as the preparation of each volume progresses, preliminary versions could be made available on disks at no great expense of time or money. The *Bibliographie papyrologique*, launched in 1932 by the late Marcel Hombert, would be far more useful on disk, and the material of the more recent years (1976-1990) is already available in that form through Scholars Press, Atlanta, GA. More useful in hard copy are the old-fashioned *Literaturberichte* that appear in *APF*, *JJP* and the *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*. These should appeal to non-papyrologists as well and deserve to be properly indexed like the *Bulletin Épigraphique*.

¹⁸See W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, 'La papyrologie et l'histoire ancienne: l'heuristique et la critique des textes sur papyrus,' in: J. Bingen and G. Nachtergaele eds., *Actes du XV^e congrès international de papyrologie* 4 (Bruxelles 1979) 7-25. A good example is provided by the collaborative effort of R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier in dealing with the census documents from Roman Egypt (see their forthcoming *The Demography of Roman Egypt*).

¹⁹Conveniently indexed in *Index du Bulletin Épigraphique de J. et L. Robert, 1938-1965* 3 (Paris 1975) 1-6, which should be used as a checklist for every edition of inscriptions and papyri.

²⁰D.F. Sutton, *Homer in the Papyri* 1.0 released through Scholars Press, Atlanta, GA, serves a very limited, text-critical, end.

We have to face the enormity of the tasks that lie ahead of us: the edition and re-edition of many thousands of texts, the organization of the various types of information that can be extracted from them, and, most difficult of all, the interpretation of the historical culture that produced them. Yet, we can hardly fail to appreciate what has already been done by our predecessors in the past. In the final analysis, however, a multiple of the papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt that have been published to date, an estimated 40,000, remains to be published. We know that they are the representatives of an ancient culture, and we realize that their potential contribution to our understanding of that culture is of a higher quality than even Mommsen could have imagined a hundred years ago. We have no choice but to publish them in a way that fully brings out what they have to contribute. For that we need more than the versatility of mind characteristic of papyrologists and eloquently described by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff:²¹

es ist nichts kleines, von den Geschäftspapieren und Zauberbüchern Aegyptens zu der Lyrik von Keos übergehn zu können, was sich Spezialisten hoffentlich gesagt sein lassen, die ihr ganzes Gebiet alle Tage ganz durchmessen können.

We also have to bring the papyri to bear on the current issues relating to historical cultures. If we neglect to do so, they will become dead objects, no matter how many we publish. Let me conclude with a quotation from Ulrich Wilcken that sums up the ambition of the generation of papyrologists of Mommsen's days:²²

In der Geschichte unserer Altertumswissenschaft werden dereinst die Papyrusfunde - - - als epochemachende Erweiterung unserer antiken Tradition eine hervorragende Rolle spielen. Hoffen wir, dass man dann von den heutigen Männern wird sagen können, dass sie das ihrige gethan haben, um diesen unerwarteten Schatz zu einem Segen für die Wissenschaft werden zu lassen.

For us, the men and women of today, the challenge lies not in doing our predecessors' part, but, as I have tried to make clear, in doing our very own part.

²¹*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 160 (1898) 125, commenting on the editorial work of F.G. Kenyon.

²²'Vorwort,' *APF* 1 (1901) vi, written in 1899.

LA PAPYROLOGIE, D'AVANT-HIER À DEMAIN¹

Jean Bingen

Comme on vient de le dire et comme on le dira encore souvent dans ce Congrès de Copenhague, la première *Charta papyracea Graece scripta* qui soit arrivée d'Égypte en Europe, fut publiée en 1788 à Rome par le Danois Niels Iversen Schow.² L'éditeur de la *Borgiana* a eu le mérite d'avoir perçu l'intérêt paléographique de ce papyrus et d'avoir fait le rapprochement avec ce qu'on savait alors de l'irrigation de l'Égypte grâce aux sources littéraires. Ce bien modeste document de Tebtynis va rester pendant des années, et sans qu'on s'en soucie, l' α et l' ω d'une papyrologie qui s'ignore, puisque le mot ne sera créé qu'une centaine d'années plus tard, et parce qu'il n'y a de vraie papyrologie que dans des séries de documents à combiner et à opposer. On sait qu'en sciences humaines, le phénomène isolé est seulement le signe aléatoire de ce que les conditions spécifiques de son développement n'existent pas. Ce n'était pour le papyrus grec, ni une question de dédain (il viendra plus tard chez certains philologues, et des meilleurs), ni un problème de mentalité scientifique, simplement il n'y eut plus d'autre papyrus à venir d'Égypte avant longtemps, et rares étaient les Européens qui s'aventuraient au-delà du Caire.

Notre tendance à pratiquer la dichotomie fait que nous divisons quelquefois, — et jusque dans le programme de cette matinée —, l'après-Schow en une préhistoire de la papyrologie et en un siècle (un premier siècle, *inch Allah*) de papyrologie. Je pense cependant, au risque d'effaroucher les puristes de notre discipline, que la papyrologie, sous un de ses angles au moins, commence avec la découverte en 1799 de la Pierre de Rosette, ou mieux avec les premières éditions en 1802 et en 1803 du texte grec de ce décret sacerdotal trilingue d'époque ptolémaïque. Bien entendu, pour les profanes comme pour l'égyptologue, ce monument épigraphique passe surtout pour être une des clés, et la plus spectaculaire, du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes en 1822. Bien avant cela, la vénérable trilingue lança notre discipline. D'une part, elle mit rapidement en branle les études démotiques, ces études qui mettront un siècle et demi pour être enfin reconnues par le papyrologue comme un des abords privilégiés de l'Égypte hellénistique. D'autre part, la pierre de Rosette créa le sentiment que le grec peut expliquer l'Égypte et que l'Égypte tardive est quelque chose de plus complexe que l'image négative que les historiens anciens en ont donnée, ou la représentation confite qu'en laisse la littérature copte. Deux livres du Français Jean Letronne sont contemporains des premiers déchiffrements des hiéroglyphes, et ils donnent déjà un premier bilan de l'étude de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Les papyrus n'y ont pas, il est vrai, une place bien perceptible. En 1822, Letronne publie le grand édit du préfet Tibérius Julius Alexander,³ texte qui est resté un des axes majeurs de l'analyse du pouvoir romain en Égypte au I^{er} siècle de notre ère.⁴ En 1823, il sort ses fameuses *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte pendant la domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des inscriptions grecques et latines, relatives à la chronologie, à l'état des arts, aux usages civils et religieux de ce pays*. Letronne dispose alors d'un grand nombre d'inscriptions, et la deuxième partie de ses *Recherches* contient déjà quelques traits majeurs de notre propre abord du monde

¹ Le présent exposé rassemble en trois parties les propos que j'ai tenus lors de la session thématique du 24 août 1992 pour introduire l'exposé d'Orsolina Montevecchi, puis le commenter et faire la transition avec celui de P. Van Minnen, donner ensuite ma réaction à celui-ci. Je renvoie le lecteur à ces deux exposés.

² Cf. S. Donadoni, 'La « Charta Borgiana »', *La Parola del Passato* 38 (1983), pp. 5-10.

³ En même temps que l'édit de Cn. Vergilius Capito (*SB V 8248*), trouvé aussi 4 ans plus tôt par Cailliaud sur le même premier pylône d'entrée du temple d'Hibis dans l'oasis de Khargeh.

⁴ Voir G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander. Étude historique et exégétique* (Olten-Lausanne, 1964).

gréco-romain d'Égypte, du moins sur le plan historique et administratif. Mais les papyrus grecs sont absents de l'ouvrage, à part une brève allusion à l'arrivée récente de quelques-uns d'entre eux à Paris, au Cabinet du Roi. La vision est encore épigraphique, c'est à dire qu'elle est fondée sur des textes délibérément destinés à être transmis et lus de tous. Manque encore la vision papyrologique, celle qui est fondée sur la mise en œuvre globale des documents écrits, quelle que soit la publicité qu'on leur destinait. Le contraire eût été étonnant, seuls quelques papyrus ont été publiés à cette date, et en ordre dispersés.⁵

Et puis, en 1826-1827, ce fut le premier recueil moderne de papyrus, les *Papyri Graeci Regii Musei Aegyptii Taurinensis editi atque illustrati*, qu'Amedeo Peyron avait présentés en plusieurs séances à l'Académie royale des Sciences de Turin. Le volume est une joie pour le lecteur, non seulement pour le moelleux de son papier romantique et l'attrait de ses fac-similés, mais aussi pour la qualité du texte grec, de la traduction et des commentaires. C'est cette qualité et cette modernité que le Professeur Orsolina Montevicchi va mettre en relief, bien mieux que je ne pourrais le faire.

* * *

Comment expliquer le miracle de cette première édition « moderne » de papyrus apparue dès 1826, mais comment expliquer aussi que le recueil resta presque sans lendemain pendant plusieurs décennies ?

Pour répondre à la première question, notons d'abord, dans la perception que nous avons de la valeur exceptionnelle des *P. Taur.*, le fait que, même s'il s'agit de la publication d'une collection de Musée, Peyron a manié un ensemble de 14 documents remarquable par son unité, le dossier des choachytes et de leurs litiges avec Hermias et Apollônios.⁵ Les documents sont souvent assez longs et bien conservés,⁶ ils sont relativement faciles à lire, mais n'en situent pas moins Peyron comme le premier déchiffreur dont les lectures inspirent une confiance soutenue. De plus, ce dossier de petites gens débouche sur des données qui dépassent l'anecdote de leur existence : des dates royales, le milieu aulique, de hauts fonctionnaires comme l'épistratège, une toponymie inconnue, le culte des morts.

Il y a aussi, comme on nous l'a montré, la qualité de l'éditeur et du déchiffreur. Professeur de littérature orientale et grecque (il a joué un rôle majeur dans les études coptes), Peyron transpose la technique de l'interprétation philologique à l'herméneutique du document. Son commentaire nous apparaît aujourd'hui comme très différent des nôtres par le poids des références aux auteurs anciens et à l'instrumentum érudit que ceux-ci ont suscité depuis le XVI^e siècle, mais les rares parallèles fournis par les papyrus sont déjà utilisés. Ce fut le rôle du XIX^e siècle de constituer le fonds de recoupements livresques disponibles pour le chercheur, comme cela avait été fait progressivement pour l'épigraphie depuis le début du XVII^e siècle. Peyron est sensible aux problèmes de langue, comme il s'intéresse à ceux du droit privé et des relations du pouvoir avec les justiciers.

Pourquoi cette œuvre si originale n'a-t-elle pas connu de véritable lendemain ? Letronne, si diligent sur le plan de l'épigraphie, retardera sa publication des papyrus de Paris, dont une partie appartient pourtant au même dossier que les textes publiés par Peyron et a été prospectée par ce

⁵ Un dossier que reprendront de grandes signatures : Ulrich Wilcken dans les *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, dans le second volume des *ältere Funde* de Haute-Égypte (fasc. 1-2, 1935-1937), et, avec l'un des fleurons de cette présente année de congrès, le solide *I processo de Hermias e altri documenti dell' archivio dei choachiti (P. Tor. Choachiti)*. *Papiri greci e demotici conservati a Torino e in altre collezioni d'Italia*, où P. W. Pestman reprend une partie des textes dans une optique de fin de XX^e siècle, en traitant de front, des pièces grecques et démotiques du dossier.

⁶ L'un d'eux est considéré encore dans sa réédition de 1992 comme 'uno dei più imponenti documenti della papirologia greca'. C'est le *P. Taur.* I de Peyron, l'UPZ II 162 de Wilcken, le n° 12 des *P. Tor. Choachiti* de Pestman, 10 colonnes de texte, 311 lignes, avec seulement quelques petits crochets droits par-ci par-là, tout juste ce qu'il faut pour ne pas trop dépayser les papyrologues.

dernier; il mourra avant de la réaliser.⁷ Le vieux fonds de Leyde ne paraîtra en deux fois qu'en 1843 et 1885.

La première raison, c'est que les papyrus restent limités en nombre jusque tard dans le XIX^e siècle, malgré les trouvailles qui sont faites dès 1820 dans la région de Memphis et de son Sérapéum. Les papyrus restent des pièces de collection qui font un peu side-show dans le concert des études antiques. Leur apport documentaire paraît à beaucoup mince, anecdotique, et même vulgaire. N'oublions pas que les sources épigraphiques grecques et latines atteignent dès 1815 un volume tel que l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin décide de passer à la confection d'un corpus général de structure géographique, et, en même temps, la masse des inscriptions continue de croître tout au long du XIX^e siècle. La linguistique se constitue; l'archéologie se développe. La philologie, volontiers élitiste comme son siècle, se renouvelle à tous les points de vue et brillamment; elle ne peut être que méprisante pour des pauvretés d'une grécité douteuse, tout juste bonnes pour figurer au titre d'objets dans des catalogues de musée.

Et, puis, dans une progression étonnamment rapide, après une sorte de Moyen Âge de notre discipline, ce fut la décennie du grand départ. Elle commence en 1891⁸ avec le premier volume des *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, où la présentation des documents est encore bien incertaine. C'est que John P. Mahaffy fait ici pour notre bénéfice un difficile écolage : le déchiffrement du tout-venant des papyrus trouvés dans des fouilles, le plus souvent en mauvais état, et non plus celui de belles pièces de collection, plus ou moins triées dans le commerce.

La décennie des pionniers se terminera sur le premier grand livre de papyrologie, les *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1899) d'Ulrich Wilcken. La vision qu'avait Letronne du rôle du document et de son exploitation historique, a enfin donné toute sa mesure.

L'élément nouveau qui a déterminé tout ceci avait été l'arrivée massive en Europe de papyrus trouvés par les sebakhin, puis dans les fouilles organisées. Ce fut aussi le rôle de quelques hommes comme Mommsen.

Mais tout ceci est précisément le point de départ du *Century of Papyrology* dont Peter Van Minnen nous entretient.

* * *

Je ne voudrais intervenir, en complément de cet exposé, que sur trois points qu'il a abordés.

Commençons par le plus anecdotique. Je pense à l'aphorisme qui est attribué à Mommsen (avec raison, je l'espère, parce que nos maîtres nous l'ont servi à tous comme incitation à devenir un homme ou une femme du XX^e siècle en taquinant le papyrus) : 'Le XIX^e siècle a été le siècle de l'épigraphie, le XX^e siècle sera celui de la papyrologie'. Les aphorismes sont toujours un peu trompeurs, et je crois que nous nous trompons souvent sur le sens qu'il faut donner à celui-ci, ou que nous avons été un peu trompés quand on nous l'a glissé à l'oreille. Ce que Mommsen disait, ou aurait dit, ne doit se comprendre qu'en fonction du moment où l'idée a pu lui venir. Car le propos traduit d'abord la légitime fierté d'un grand épigraphiste, qui a vu

⁷ Alors que son corpus des inscriptions d'Égypte (1842-1848) est en avance sur son temps au point de vue de la présentation d'un recueil de documents épigraphiques et préfigure nos desiderata en matière d'édition des papyrus, comme en témoigne son titre programme *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte, étudiées dans leur rapport avec l'histoire politique, l'administration intérieure, les institutions civiles et religieuses de ce pays*, une philosophie du corpus qu'annonçaient ses *Recherches* de 1823 et qui séduira Louis Robert et bien d'autres.

⁸ C'est aussi l'année de l'édition princeps de l'*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* due à J. G. Kenyon, le texte qui va renouveler l'histoire d'Athènes et l'épigraphie attique, et a définitivement consacré la papyrologie littéraire. Mais c'est aussi l'année du *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs* de Ludwig Mitteis, qui, tout en utilisant des papyrus, n'annonce que fort timidement le grand siècle de papyrologie juridique qui va suivre.

l'épigraphie prendre la place éminente qu'elle occupa dans l'*Altertumswissenschaft* au XIX^e siècle, et il y était pour beaucoup. Et puis, il y a un deuxième regard, prophétique celui-ci, de l'homme qui pressent un développement analogue pour la papyrologie; Mommsen a d'ailleurs contribué, si ce n'est déjà au travers de Wilcken, à la qualité qui a marqué le premier essor de la papyrologie allemande. On ne peut trouver rien d'autre dans le dictionnaire. L'épigraphie du XX^e siècle est meilleure, et avait l'obligation d'être meilleure, que celle du XIX^e, avec un Pflaum et tant d'autres en épigraphie latine, ou encore, du côté grec, avec les inscriptions de l'agora d'Athènes et un Louis Robert (ils n'ont pas éprouvé un amour réciproque débordant), qui sont des sommets comme documents et comme chercheur. Quant à la papyrologie, elle s'est remarquablement développée au XX^e siècle sur le plan du trésor des documents, sur celui de l'organisation du travail et sur celui de l'exploitation des données. Mais elle n'est pas aux yeux de tous la discipline fondamentale du XX^e siècle. Et ceci m'amène au deuxième point que je voudrais reprendre dans le bel exposé de Van Minnen.

Celui-ci a parlé avec quelque insistance du mépris qu'une certaine philologie élitiste a éprouvé pour le document papyrologique. Les tenants d'une Antiquité de haute tenue littéraire et philosophique, consternés par la pauvreté du langage et le caractère prosaïque du monde que le papyrus révélait, ont eu quelquefois la dent très dure. Un tel sentiment est loin d'avoir disparu. N'est-ce pas, si je ne me trompe, au nom de l'orthodoxie philologique qu'un grand centre américain de papyrologie a été dispersé à la mort de son patron ? Mais il faut relativiser le problème et ne pas se tromper d'ennemi. Nous avons le droit de condamner ceux qui nous disent leur mépris au nom d'une hiérarchie intellectuelle purement subjective. Mais l'historien de la littérature et le philologue des grands siècles de la grécité ou de la latinité ont parfaitement le droit de nous ignorer comme certains d'entre nous les ignorent (j'espère qu'aucun de nous ne les méprise). S'ils nous ignorent, n'est-ce pas nous qui en portons peut-être la faute ?

Plutôt que de nous en prendre aux pauvres philologues du texte littéraire, inquiétons-nous de préférence d'une mise à l'écart qui me semble beaucoup plus grave, celle de certains historiens et de certains épigraphistes de trop stricte observance, j'allais dire de trop pauvre observance. Ici, l'ignorance et même l'indifférence sont coupables. Comment ne pas me souvenir de la bétise qu'a commise un grand congrès, par ailleurs fort bon, de ma chère FIEC, celui de Madrid de 1974 ? Il avait comme grand thème *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien*.⁹ Dans ce monde ancien-là, on assimilait et résistait à qui mieux mieux, de l'Afrique du Nord à la Scythie, des Étrusques aux chrétiens, en passant par les Achéménides et la Corse, la Dacie et la Cyrénaïque, et j'en passe.¹⁰ Il n'y a qu'un territoire du monde hellénistique, de l'Empire romain et du monde byzantin, qui ne figurait pas au programme : l'Égypte.¹¹ Or, cette zone de contacts prolongés a fourni aux antiquistes quelques dizaines de milliers de documents grecs et latins. En plus, fait presque unique, s'y ajoutent de nombreux documents écrits dans la langue du peuple occupé (celui-ci emprunte au besoin la langue de l'étranger, roi, empereur ou patriarche de Constantinople, pour exprimer sa résistance). Ostracisme étonnant, « assimilation et résistance » étaient au cœur de la réflexion du papyrologue depuis un siècle, et, en tirant un peu sur les faits, au-delà même de Droysen, depuis qu'il y a 200 ans la Trilingue de Rosette a posé la question. Depuis longtemps, cette réflexion des papyrologues avait défini le problème en des termes bien plus nuancés, bien plus

⁹ Pour reprendre le titre des actes qui ont paru (Bucarest - Paris, 1976), avec le sous-titre *Travaux du VI^e Congrès international d'Études Classiques (Madrid, septembre 1974)*.

¹⁰ Toutes communications souvent excellentes.

¹¹ La vérité veut que je signale que quelqu'un, on ne sait pas trop à quel titre, avait été pressenti pour parler de l'Égypte (romaine, si j'ai bon souvenir), mais on ne l'a pas vu à Madrid. Il y a eu quelques allusions à l'Égypte, mais jamais sur le fond, dans deux ou trois communications.

mouvants et plus proches de la sociologie de l'inter-culturel, que la banale dichotomie du titre qui avait été proposé à ce grand forum des philologues, des épigraphistes et des historiens.

Je n'évoque pas ce souvenir pour distribuer des blâmes aux autres¹² (c'est toujours inutile), mais pour que nous nous posions la question de savoir pourquoi on nous ignore dans des circonstances où la papyrologie aurait pu apporter énormément de choses aux spécialistes des autres régions du monde méditerranéen.¹³ On nous reconnaît toutes les vertus, mais on trouve que nous faisons déjà assez de papyrologie dans notre coin, et que, de toute façon, notre brouet est ésotérique,¹⁴ pour ne pas dire exotique. Jusqu'à quel point n'avons-nous pas construit nous-même ce ghetto ?

Songez à la place qui est réservée à la papyrologie dans l'enseignement d'abord, dans la pratique scientifique ensuite. La Belgique était probablement une exception lorsque la papyrologie était enseignée dans toutes ses grandes universités;¹⁵ et l'Université de Bruxelles en est certainement une, où l'épigraphie grecque et latine et la papyrologie sont des matières obligatoires pour tous les philologues classiques comme pour les historiens de l'Antiquité. Ailleurs, l'enseignement de la papyrologie n'est dispensé que dans quelques centres, et il existe beaucoup d'universités, c'est quelquefois la majorité, où ni le philologue, ni l'historien, ni même l'épigraphiste, n'auront de contact avec la papyrologie que si un professeur prend l'initiative personnelle de la choisir comme thème d'un séminaire. Notre enseignement de la papyrologie a souvent pour but de former de bons spécialistes dans les deux grands axes de notre travail scientifique : la publication des textes et l'exploitation de notre trésor de documents. Une bonne chose, quand cela se fait bien et dans les perspectives les plus larges possibles. Peut-être devrions-nous en plus faire un effort considérable (cela se fait déjà en de nombreux endroits) pour offrir une initiation et une pratique élémentaire aux autres étudiants et chercheurs, surtout les épigraphistes, les historiens, les linguistes. Est-ce rêver que de songer à les toucher même dans les universités où on ignore la papyrologie, afin que ces antiquistes ne nous voient plus comme des orientalistes bâtarde ou des paléographes pervers, et sentent mieux l'importance de notre apport à leur propre science de l'Antiquité ?¹⁶

Ceci m'amène à terminer brièvement sur un troisième point que Peter Van Minnen a mis en valeur, la nécessité d'enrichir la papyrologie en la repensant à travers les derniers développements des sciences humaines, même et surtout celles qui n'ont pas vocation de pratiquer l'Antiquité, comme, par exemple, l'anthropologie sociale. Je ne puis qu'abonder dans ce sens, mais peut-être ne le ferais-je pas tout à fait dans les mêmes termes. On a récemment lancé, au sujet de travaux que j'ai lus avec le plus vif plaisir, le terme de « New Papyrology », que je n'aime pas fort. Dans bien des villes du monde, il y a une Rue Neuve ou une New Street, qui est souvent la plus vieille rue. Le « New » est rarement nouveau longtemps. Mais surtout,

¹² La direction du Congrès n'est pas en cause. Elle avait organisé une session autonome sur l'activité des papyrologues dans les différents pays; les communications en ont été réunies dans *Studia papyrologica* 15 (1976), pp. 5-118. Je ne suis pas sûr que cette formule généreuse ait vraiment élargi notre audience.

¹³ Espérons timidement que la papyrologie documentaire et l'Égypte gréco-romaine ne soient pas mitonnées à la même sauce au grand congrès de la FIEC (dont l'AIP est membre) qui se prépare à Québec pour 1994.

¹⁴ Je suis frappé de la fréquence de cette critique chez les épigraphistes et chez beaucoup d'historiens. Il faut craindre que la montée des prix de nos éditions de textes et de nos instruments de travail (un facteur que nous ne cherchons pas assez à juguler) et la multiplication de nos revues spécialisées n'augmentent encore davantage notre isolement. Il faut nous engager résolument dans l'informatisation, mais, comme elle est fatalement sélective, il faudra la concevoir comme un progrès qui ne fasse pas encore plus de nous un « club », et surtout pas un cénacle divisé en deux, les nantis et ceux qui n'ont plus accès aux instruments de travail.

¹⁵ Hélas, ce n'est plus tout à fait vrai, au nom d'une certaine rationalisation.

¹⁶ Il serait particulièrement important que nous produisions des articles qui font le pont entre la papyrologie et d'autres disciplines de l'Antiquité, en les réservant à de grandes revues non-papyrologiques.

je crains qu'une telle expression ne mène à hiérarchiser les papyrologues. J'ai dit quelque part qu'il y a autant de papyrologues qu'il y a de papyrologues.¹⁷ Cela permet à chacun d'apporter aux autres une contribution originale. Il faudra toujours, par exemple, de bons déchiffreurs, qui connaissent le grec et la technique du style formulaire, et, en bonne *amicitia papyrologorum*, plutôt que de les trouver un peu *antiquarisch*, on les remerciera. Mais, puisque la papyrologie est aussi l'étude d'un système socio-culturel à notables grecs en terre africaine, dans un contexte différentiel et même conflictuel de traditions, d'inconscient collectif, d'insertion sociale et d'implication économique, nous devons nous rendre compte que tout a bougé très rapidement autour de nous dans les sciences humaines. En fait, c'est ailleurs qu'est le nouveau, et, en bons comparatistes, c'est là que nous devons continuer à renouveler notre réflexion, tout en faisant la part dans le « New » entre la mode et le progrès.

¹⁷ 'La papyrologie grecque et latine : problèmes de fond et problèmes d'organisation', *Aspects des études classiques* (Bruxelles, 1977), pp. 33-44.

PAPYROLOGY AND THE GREEK LANGUAGE. A FRAGMENTARY ABECEDARIUS OF DESIDERATA FOR FUTURE STUDY*

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INTRODUCTION

The single volume of papyri published exactly one hundred years ago in 1892 was not the first. If we look back a further century and think of the *Charta Borgiana* (1788) as the first such publication, then the appearance of *MPER V* in 1892 was the 16th such work. No volume devoted to ostraca alone was to emerge until *O.Wilck.* in 1899. The intervening one hundred years down to the present has seen the publication of almost 40 volumes of ostraca, and little short of 750 volumes of papyri.¹ The vast majority of the texts are Greek. By any yardstick, this has been a remarkable productivity. For those of us who are not primarily editors of new texts, three features make it all the more admirable:

- i. the largely very high standard of publication of the texts;
- ii. the sheer volume of output relative to the quite small number of palaeographers world-wide; and
- iii. the long-standing and continuing international co-operation between papyrologists.

In the present context, there is no need to survey at any length the multi-faceted nature of this achievement; yet it is one which — within the discipline of classical philology where there is usually little propensity to 'trumpet-blowing' — genuinely merits the epithet 'stunning'. The history of Egypt from Ptolemaic times onwards — social, political, religious, and economic — has been made accessible to a degree that those whose research focus is directed elsewhere can only look at with friendly envy. Palaeography and textual criticism have also been indubitable beneficiaries of the development of papyrology; and our first-hand knowledge of ancient literature and its transmission has grown considerably. In all these areas, and others, let due recognition be given to the *people* who have edited the texts and written the commentaries in the volumes we use.

In no less degree have we gained in our understanding of the Greek language in the period of the *koine*, and its development into Byzantine Greek. It is proper to salute those in the past who did much to set on a firm basis study of the language as evidenced by the papyri. Professor Kramer has dealt with some of those who made a contribution at the end of the last century and early in the present one.² Others subsequently and right down to the present have carried their torch and produced investigations of the language of permanent importance. However, an encomium is not in order here; another apposite way to acknowledge the work of past and present colleagues in this sphere is to advance some proposals for building on their

* For financial subventions enabling me to attend the Copenhagen Congress, acknowledgement is made to the Vice-Chancellor of La Trobe University, the Research Grants committee of the School of Humanities in the university, the Australian Institute of Archaeology, and the Ian Potter Foundation. I would also like to record my appreciation to H. Cadell-Charpentier who, though unfortunately unable to be present at the Congress to moderate the Thematic Session in which the present contribution was made, offered considerable comment on this paper in advance of its delivery at Copenhagen in August 1992.

¹ This tally includes such series as *SB* and *BASP Suppl.*, even where some volumes within series may not primarily comprise editions of texts, as in the case of the index volumes of *SB*.

² J. Kramer, 'Papyrologie und Sprachwissenschaft: Die Pionierzeit (1891-1906)', elsewhere in this volume.

foundation. The intention of this paper, then, is to proffer some suggestions, from the perspective of the study of the Greek language, for 'fine tuning' editions of papyrus texts. My hope is that thereby the contents of the papyrological publications will be more accessible (often this is a question of indexing), more sensitised to those areas of General Linguistics which have application to research on an ancient language, and more conscious of problems embedded in certain of the basic tools used (perhaps the lexica, above all). What follows, therefore, does not aim to be a comprehensive treatment. It attempts to identify, in schematic and necessarily brief form, a number of areas where a rethinking of some time-honoured approaches may be appropriate. It amounts to a fairly modest proposal for reconsideration of what linguistic commentary may be useful to include with an edited text. However, I have interpreted my brief more widely than this alone; for there are numerous other features in the edition and commentary on a new text about which anyone researching the language needs clear information. This is not a call for an uncritical standardisation of approach, for the variety of genres and the often fragmentary state of the papyri alone preclude that. While not without relevance to literary papyri, the comments have in view primarily editions of non-literary texts. There are some obvious omissions from the list, partly because of the decision to deal with diverse questions rather than with 'strictly linguistic' categories alone. Furthermore, we have been very well provided for in areas like phonology and morphology in the last two decades.³ A few points which merit independent status could only be fitted into the scheme of the paper under some other heading. Thus, the question of accentuation of non-Greek words is dealt with in the section on onomastics; Atticism is invoked in the section on register.

AN ABECEDARIUS

Aspect. While this subject has received attention from classicists over many years, it has been less in evidence over the last two decades, especially for the period of the *koine*. However, particular mention should be made of the numerous studies of K.L. McKay. His research on *Aspect* in the *koine* as well as in the earlier stage of the language has led him to study it in the New Testament as well.⁴ In fact, it is from this consanguinous area of research that the most comprehensive investigations vis-à-vis Greek have emerged in the last fifteen years, beginning with the work of J. Mateos.⁵ Much more recently, however, it is intriguing that two Americans studied *Aspect* in the Greek NT almost concurrently at two universities in England, and that their theses rewritten as detailed monographs have appeared almost simultaneously.⁶ Their conclusions do not altogether coincide, but they do share a clear recognition that *Aspect* (the writer/speaker's subjective perception of the action as the primary determiner of tense choice) is not to be equated with *Aktionsart* (how the action occurs, whether continuing or punctiliar) and that it overrides tense in importance, perhaps even in the Indicative. Porter and Fanning are both attuned to debate on *Aspect* in General Linguistics,

³ G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as used in the Apocalypse of St John. A Study in Bilingualism* (Leiden, 1971); F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 1. *Phonology*. 2. *Morphology* (Milan, 1976, 1982); S.-T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (Göteborg, 1977); id., *The Phonology of Attic in the Hellenistic Period* (Göteborg, 1978).

⁴ E.g., *BICS* 12 (1965) 1-21; *BICS* 27 (1980) 23-49; *NovT* 23 (1981) 289-329; *NovT* 27 (1985) 201-26; *Antichthon* 20 (1986) 41-58; and in A. Rijksbaron et al. (edd.), *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner* (Amsterdam, 1986) 193-208.

⁵ *El Aspecto verbal en el NT* (Madrid, 1977).

⁶ S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with reference to Tense and Mood* (*Studies in Biblical Greek* 1; New York, 1989); B.M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford, 1990). The bibliographies in these two books cover the ground well for research on *Aspect* by linguists, classicists, and NT specialists.

and to recent research on it in a number of other languages (it is an active focus of attention in work on Slavonic languages, for example). Although both books are seriously wanting in the range of indexes provided, Porter's (for example) includes over two triple-column pages of papyrus references, as well as a multitude of non-Biblical passages. While not everything is beyond questioning in these studies — Porter's case overall is a little exaggerated, in my judgement — for the very translation of Greek texts there are implications in them which papyrus editors may care to ponder.

Bilingualism. This is an area of ancient language study where papyrologists have something very tangible to contribute. Instructive work has been done not only on Greek/Latin but in more recent years also on Greek/Demotic.⁷ There remains the potential for considerably more fruitful research by papyrologists and others. One particularly intriguing phenomenon is the transliteration of, say, a Latin text with Greek characters. Such transliterations may well indicate an imperfect bilingualism, as has been observed;⁸ but there may be other factors to be considered, as well. When the Latin text is copied out in addition to the Latin text in Greek transliteration, as in the instance of *P.Vindob.* L.91, this Pater Noster (AD V/VI) may readily be understood as an attempt to learn Latin by someone fluent in Greek.⁹ This interpretation is somewhat complicated, however, if it has been correctly suggested that this particular item was an amulet rather than a school exercise. But that answer — someone fluent in Greek wanting to learn Latin — does not fit so well when the text is intended for public perusal, as in the case of inscriptions, e.g., *CIJ* 1.207, 215, 257 (all from Rome). I have proposed elsewhere that modern research on bilingualism (both theoretical and applied) has a great deal to offer those studying this phenomenon in antiquity.¹⁰

A famous instance to be noted here briefly is the second column of the *Hexapla*. The first column comprised the Hebrew text; the second was a very competent transliteration of it using Greek letters. This can only have been included, we must presume, for those who knew no Hebrew: thereby they could articulate the Hebrew text from their knowledge of Greek. Whether Origen himself knew Hebrew is uncertain. He had the *Hexapla* prepared as a basis for writing his commentaries, i.e., for his personal use; and he may therefore have had the second column included so he could cite the Hebrew text by reference to the appropriate portion of the adjacent column. He may be considered an imperfect bilingual, then; and he thereby illustrates the importance of distinguishing bilingual competence from high educational attainment. It remains an open question sociolinguistically whether col. 2 was included solely for Origen, or with other potential users in mind. There has not been a great deal written about the *Hexapla*'s second column recently, not since the important article by J.A. Emerton.¹¹ The problem has not yet been settled definitively, and awaits the application to it of bilingualism theory and sociolinguistics.¹²

As with the subject of literacy — see below, *s.v.* Sociolinguistics — there is a fundamental need for general agreement on a definition of bilingualism to avoid the problem of researchers talking at cross-purposes. It would be most useful if those editing bilingual papyri

⁷ Greek/Latin: e.g., J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta* (PTA 30; Bonn, 1983); *Pap. Flor.* 19 (1990) 331-34; *Tyche* 5 (1990) 37-39. Greek/Demotic: e.g., W. Clarysse, P.W. Pestmann and others as editors variously of, e.g., *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* 19 (1978), 20 (1980), 22 (1982), 24 (1983).

⁸ J. Kramer, in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples, 1984) 3.1377-84, adducing several interesting papyrus examples.

⁹ Pace the most recent editor, A. Martin, *Latomus* 42 (1983) 412-18.

¹⁰ *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 5. *Linguistic Essays* (Sydney, 1989) 6-16.

¹¹ *JTS* n.s. 6 (1956) 79-87.

¹² I have benefitted from discussion with R.G. Jenkins of this question about the *Hexapla*.

would address explicitly in the commentary on their text questions of primary and secondary bilingualism, and of productive and receptive bilingualism. Bilingual interference of Greek syntax and lexicon upon Coptic is readily perceived, but the possibility of influence running in the opposite direction warrants further investigation: we ought to expect that in certain contexts Coptic speakers writing Greek may have formulated their sentences in a way that reflected Coptic interference.¹³ An opportunity to press this question further may be opening up with the Dakhleh Oasis Project's finds of dozens of papyri in a house at Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab); for among the material already being seen as especially significant are over thirty well-preserved letters in Sub-Achmimic Coptic which all date before 400. Furthermore, there is a text of most of Romans 2 in Achmimic. There is reason to suggest that this codex was already old in 380, and that it will contribute to linguistic as well as textual research. Coptic was being written well in the Oasis by the early fourth century. The family which occupied this house at Kellis was clearly highly educated, and employed scribes who were very well trained to write Coptic. They produced work that was not merely correct grammatically, but it also had a stylistic 'flow' to it consistent with these people being native speakers. Yet these same scribes were quite mediocre in their handling of Greek texts. The poor Greek may reflect a situation whereby the dictator of the texts was weaker in Greek than in Coptic. The Kellis material is likely to have a substantive contribution to make to our understanding of the emergence of Coptic in a Greek context.¹⁴

Christian usage. Biblical and patristic scholars have been attracted in the past by the papyri primarily because of the preservation of parts of the texts which are central to their research. Another reason for this appeal has been the potential of the papyri to illuminate aspects of the social history and the language of the Christian communities in the early centuries of our era. G.A. Deissmann was the great initiator of this sort of work;¹⁵ but it will quickly be realised by those who examine his research that he was just as concerned with what inscriptions might offer. However, J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources* was weighted very heavily towards papyrus attestation.¹⁶ The inscriptions were largely neglected by them, and consciously so as a result of a proposal of Deissmann to Moulton that the two men should have separate *provinciae* for their respective planned dictionaries.¹⁷ Unwittingly, MM exercised a considerable negative influence on subsequent NT lexicography, in two ways. It largely persuaded people that the papyri were not likely to have much else to offer; and users were left to infer that the inscriptions had little of relevance to NT work. Furthermore, the general downvaluing of linguistic skills in NT research in the last generation has caused a diminution of interest in work of this kind, though not a total abandoning of it. C. Spicq has been particularly diligent in this regard, granting that the goal of his work is avowedly theological.¹⁸

¹³ Cf. J.-L. Fournet, *BSL* 84 (1989) 55-80.

¹⁴ I am appreciative of R.G. Jenkins' readiness to discuss the Kellis texts, and for allowing me to refer to them in advance of publication.

¹⁵ *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895); *Neue Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1897); *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923⁴).

¹⁶ London, 1914-1929; one-vol. edition, 1930. Henceforth, MM.

¹⁷ Deissmann made this proposal to Moulton in a letter dated 12 January 1907, after the latter had invited him to collaborate in his dictionary. Deissmann declined because he was already under way with a dictionary of his own. This dictionary, which Deissmann regarded as his own 'opus vitae', was to be a NT lexicon which drew heavily upon epigraphical sources; but it was never finished. This letter (MA MOU II.37) forms part of the Moulton Collection within the Methodist Church Archives, held in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester. It is to be published by me in *BJRL* 76 (1994) along with several others which throw light on the origins and scope of MM.

¹⁸ *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire* (2 vols plus suppl., *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 22.1-3; Göttingen, 1978-82). Henceforth: *NLNT*. On the theological orientation see vol. 1.7.

In contrast, the *New Documents* series¹⁹ has sought to highlight the linguistic and historical importance of the non-literary texts in order to set the NT and ECL within a broader cultural context.

It is not solely out of collegiality with those in another sphere of research that papyrus editors might be encouraged to analyse Christian linguistic usage more actively. For even acknowledging the important contributions of G. Tibiletti and others, criteria to distinguish Christian from non-Christian papyrus texts in the third and fourth centuries are yet to be fully worked out to everyone's satisfaction.²⁰ Some papyrus and epigraphical texts have been shown to be probably or even decisively Christian on the basis of certain lexical or phraseological preferences, or by their avoidance of others. Especially telling in its implications for the Christian milieu of the *P.Charite* archive is J. Kramer's study of the word κοιμητήριον.²¹ Again, the phrase ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός in letters appears to be restricted to Christian use; but the adjective alone does not require the inference of a Christian milieu.²² As a third example, the other side of the coin is illustrated by the *proskynema* formula. Its occurrence is not always a reliable indicator of a non-Christian provenance, as H.C. Youtie showed in the case of *P.Mich.* inv. 346 (= *SB* XIV, 3.12173), and as I have suggested in relation to *P.Oxy.* XIV.1775, and *PSI* VII.825.²³ But I am sure that there remains more that can be done in this regard. Another profitable way forward in the identification of Christian or Jewish papyri is more active exploitation of the onomastic data. For example, *P.Wisc.* II.74 (III/IV) is a candidate for consideration as crypto-Christian, in my judgement, on the basis of the name Martyrios and other features.²⁴ Although Tibiletti treats this letter as uncertain with regard to its religious affiliation,²⁵ there are good grounds for categorising it as Christian. In general, epigraphers have made more productive use of onomastic data for determining this and other questions: witness, for example, the work of H. Solin and others.²⁶ More difficult to assess is the off-chance of syntactic idiosyncrasy by Christians; but it would be rash to close the door against this possibility.

The identification of Christian wording in a text may not settle the milieu of the writer. The suggestive point has been made by F. Farid, and others, concerning the Paniskos archive (*P.Mich.* III.214-21), that the content of these letters was Paniskos' but the actual formulation of each document varied according to the scribe he used.²⁷ We may be in a position sometimes, therefore, to determine the Christian adherence of a scribe but not of the person who commissioned the writing of the papyrus. This point deserves fuller attention in relation to archives of documents; and naturally questions of language bear on it.

Dating of texts. This is a notoriously problematic area, as anyone who has edited a papyrus or an inscription knows. The editor's task is made much more difficult if there is no aid from

¹⁹ The most recent, sixth, volume is by S. Llewelyn (Sydney, 1992).

²⁰ Most attention has been given to private letters: see especially M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri del secolo II-IV* (Florence, 1968); G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d. C. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo* (Milan, 1979). Cf. *New Documents*, 3.141-48; 4.57-63.

²¹ *ZPE* 80 (1990) 269-72. Note also S.E. Porter, *Biblica* 71 (1990) 469-98 (on δῖψυχος); more generally, cf. *New Documents*, 5.67-93.

²² *New Documents*, 4.254-55.

²³ Youtie, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 265-68; *New Documents*, 4.61-62.

²⁴ *New Documents*, 2.174-76.

²⁵ *Le lettere private*, 15.

²⁶ H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch* (3 vols; Berlin, 1982); I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki, 1963); N. Duval (ed.), *L'Onomastique latine, Paris 13-15 Octobre 1975 (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, no.564; Paris, 1977)*.

²⁷ F. Farid, *MPL* 2 (1977) 109-17; independently, E.A. Judge/S.R. Pickering, *JbAC* 20 (1977) 53.

internal evidence. Even where comparisons from writing hands can be made on the basis of the palaeographical handbooks and the generous inclusion of plates of texts in edited corpora (papyrology is much better provided for than is Greek epigraphy in this regard), there frequently remains room for some doubt. Often no tighter parameter can be proposed than a century, or a span of several. The simple point proffered here on behalf of those whose interest is linguistic is a request for a consensus about dating styles. 'III-IV' does not appear to mean the same as 'III/IV' to all editors; nor does 'III/IV' everywhere mean 'third or fourth century', but sometimes appears to indicate a date near the change from one century to the next. Consistent indication by editors of such a cross-century date by 'III *fin.*/IV *init.*' would be a useful clarification. Further, some editors provide dates by half-centuries, others date their texts by quarter-centuries; this can lead to confusion about the meaning of a date given as III². Others, again, date by imperial reigns. Yet another method is to date a text 'late Imperial', 'early Byzantine', etc. This last type of terminology can be particularly unsatisfactory because editors may understand 'early Byzantine' to refer to different centuries. Explicit elucidation of the dating style adopted in a volume of papyri would diminish this problem. Yet is there any reason why the further step cannot be taken by papyrologists to achieve an overall consensus on the question, so that every user of any volume would know what these broader date ranges signify?

Epigraphical texts. Papyrologists make frequent reference to non-literary texts written on other materials, particularly ostraca. Coins are occasionally drawn upon, too; and resort is made to inscriptions from Egypt and Palestine. It is much rarer to find inscriptions from further afield adduced, texts from Asia Minor, Italy or even elsewhere in N. Africa. Even less use is made of the papyri by epigraphers when they are elucidating their texts, on the whole. The work of L. and J. Robert was fairly exceptional in this regard. It is appreciated, of course, that different genres of texts predominate on certain writing materials; and this may appear to make a papyrologist's appeal to inscriptional evidence less apposite. Another understandable objection is that the legal and societal arrangements obtaining in one province are not necessarily illustrative of what happened in another. Yet the student of the Greek language must marshal evidence from everywhere, and data of all types, when many linguistic questions are being considered. And indeed, a negative finding that a word or lexical usage or syntactic construction is entirely absent from the papyri while abundant in inscriptions from, say, the province of Asia may prove illuminating, once due weight is given to the risks of an argument from silence. Politically-defined borders are not the sole determiner of language use. It is relevant to observe here, too, that only a tiny number of papyri found in Egypt have ever been identified as originating outside that land. Examples which come to mind include *BGU* II.423, the well-known letter (AD II) from a naval recruit at Misenum to his father; and *P.Turner* 22 and *BGU* III.887, two documents concerning sale of slaves which were written at Side in Pamphylia.²⁸ There are certain to be more 'imports' than have been recognised among the already-published papyri, not to mention those still awaiting editing.

Fragmentary texts. Thanks to often easily identifiable types of texts, many very broken papyri and inscriptions can be restored convincingly by analogy with their generic cousins. The matter to raise here is, once more, a plea to the editor by the user concerned with the

²⁸ For *BGU* II.423 see J. Hengstl. *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten* (Munich, 1978) no.84. On *BGU* III.887 see J. Nollé, *Chiron* 16 (1986) 199-212, at 206-08. See also briefly id., in P.R. Franke et al., *Side. Münzprägung, Inschriften und Geschichte einer antiken Stadt in der Türkei* (Saarbrücken, 1988), 59 (with a pl. of the *P.Turner* text on p.58).

language. A restoration which is very likely correct is of unequal value according to the reader's interest. An historian may have sufficient detail from what survives for the restoration to serve to fill in the gaps in the text adequately; the lacuna may make no material difference to the ability to use that papyrus for historical argument. The situation may be rather different for the person investigating syntactic usage. For once a restoration is included which follows a 'normal' syntactic construction, a predisposition is created for the reader that this was the reading. Frequently, of course, the editor's judgement is very sanely based; but there are always 'wild cards', the unexpected lexical, syntactic, and morphological usages which can be the 'tip of the iceberg' for the alert philologist. Is a lexicographer to claim a partly surviving word as an attestation of that word? For example, at *P.Col.* VII.230, the editor has resolved the abbreviated lettering to yield the word κερμα(τιστή), scarcely attested anywhere and only in Christian texts hitherto. Or even more, are we to regard the complete restoration of whole phrases in the outer version of a double text as an attestation of that phrase when the restoration is based on the surviving copy on the inner text, as in the case of a number of the *P.Yadin* texts? Sometimes, too, editors restore their papyrus texts according to the orthography of the surviving portion (itacism, Atticistic features, etc.); but this is not always the case, for sometimes the restorations are given in normalised Greek. Indeed, this occurs occasionally with more than just restorations. In the generally excellent edition of *P.Chester Beatty XV* which includes a new edition of *P.Bodmer XX*, the editor has conscientiously included a diplomatic text of both works. While papyrologists may work from these, many who are not specialists in this field are sure to work simply from Part I of this volume, in which Be, a translation of it, La, and Bo are placed adjacent to each other. Comparison of the diplomatic texts with the versions of Be and Bo in Part I reveals numerous orthographical normalisations in the latter, as well as the removal of features like subscript dots. Admittedly, the editor warns readers of his practice (p.9); but this *caveat* can easily be overlooked. Again, the recent edition of *P.Bodmer XLVII* normalises the text and gives actual readings in the apparatus.²⁹ The risk is that this procedure creates a predisposition for the incautious reader to accept that the normalised form is what the ancient writer intended. ΦΥΛΑΞΕ in *l.5* might represent φύλασσε as *ed.* proposes; but φυλάξαι ought not to be ruled out altogether.

So under this heading papyrus editors might give consideration to the following three suggestions:

- i. Insert restorations in a way that distinguishes them more clearly typographically from the preserved portion of the papyrus. Square brackets are not enough, it seems, given the way some non-papyrologists ignore them and reprint texts as though everything were preserved. In my observation, some NT researchers have been particularly prone to this. Spicq's *NLNT*, for example, omits brackets and sublinear dots from the texts he reprints, which creates for his readers (who are unlikely to check back to the *ed. pr.*) a misleading impression. Thus, his quotation of *SB* III.6293.10 at *NLNT* 3.432 fails to alert the reader that the very wording which provides the rationale for the citation, ὑπὲρ λύτρων, is entirely restored. Naturally, editors cannot be held responsible for how others make use of the texts they publish; but they can signal more emphatically the different worth of restored portions of text. In addition to the bracket, a change of font, or italicisation of the restored lettering could be a means to help visually to alert the reader rather better.
- ii. Indicate more explicitly the basis for restoration, which can range widely from certain to *exempli gratia*.
- iii. Be willing to leave a lacuna blank more frequently, resisting the temptation to fill in the gap.

²⁹ M. Bandini in A. Carlini/Bandini, *Mus.Helv.* 48 (1991) 161-68.

Genre definitions. A very large number of papyri, both literary and non-literary, fall into recognisable types on the basis of their content taken in conjunction with their phraseology. A letter is quite distinct from a census declaration, and both can easily be set apart from a tax receipt. Yet there remains a considerable number of texts which are not so straightforwardly characterised; this number remains sizeable even if we set aside those papyri which are so fragmentary that they preclude genre classification. Sometimes, editors settle for a short description of the text, a practice which may indicate that too few texts of that type have come to light hitherto to justify establishing a new genre category. In general, editors have been very successful in identifying the genre to which even quite lacunose papyri belong, thanks to the survival of distinctive wording. Even brief texts like orders for arrest, for example, can be identified fairly easily on the basis of standard wording: thus, *P.Cair.Isid.* 129, 130, the latter rather lacunose.

However, on a larger scale there is not true agreement about how to categorise some types of text. Here I am referring to so-called 'sub-literary' items, which may survive in MSS or on papyrus. Examples might include most of the surviving *vitae*, such as *Vita Aesopi* G, though not those by the likes of Plutarch or Philostratos, which have a high linguistic register; or most of the early Christian writings, including those collected into the NT. A poetical text like the alphabetic acrostic *P.Bodmer XLVII* (AD IV²) may more appropriately be considered sub-literary than literary, as also may *P.Bodmer XXIX*, the 'Vision of Dorotheus' (AD V init. copy of an early fourth-century Christian poem).³⁰ But in contrast, is a horoscope or a glossary sub-literary, or a magical text? I suggest not, and think it more appropriate that texts of this kind be deemed non-literary. The competence of the writer should be clearly distinguished from the type of text. We should expect only a well-educated person to produce a glossary of Virgil, for example, whether it is for personal use (to learn Latin) or as an aid to school pupils. But that (i.e., the degree of education of the writer) does not make the work any more than a list, and it is therefore inappropriate to categorise most representatives of this genre as semi-literary.³¹ This distinction between sub- and non-literary is not a mere hypothetical one, for it tacitly confronts all users of the Duke Data Bank for Documentary Papyri. I believe that this pre-eminently useful project has adopted too narrow a definition of what constitutes a documentary, i.e., non-literary, text. Accordingly, there are omitted at present from the Duke Data Bank many papyri which merit inclusion. This project is sufficiently close to completion that it may be hoped that reconsideration of this point by Professors Oates and Willis and their colleagues will persuade them to take the further step of including all papyrus texts which are not clearly literary. For the language researcher, the addition of this material is particularly important for the investigation of a question like linguistic register.

[H]. σκωληκόβρωτον ἦν.

Indexes. Papyrological volumes have become almost totally comprehensive in the last generation for their index coverage. This was not always so: volumes published earlier this century frequently provided a selective (though still large) list of Greek words. The computer has helped to change this, and it is a real plus. Nevertheless, inconsistencies remain. A very complete Greek words index such as *P.Yadin* contains does not distinguish at all whether a word is fully preserved or restored. *P.Heid.* IV, however, makes a careful attempt to guide the user of the Greek index about the status of each occurrence by bracketing references to

³⁰ Repr. with many corrections by A.H.M. Kessels/P.W. van der Horst, *VC* 41 (1987) 313-59.

³¹ Pace J. Kramer, *Atti . . . XVII Congresso . . .*, 1377 n.2.

indicate restorations or resolutions of abbreviations, and even to signal possible readings proposed in the commentary but which were not printed in the text itself.

Furthermore, the kinds of indexes have now become pretty much canonical. Yet it seems to me that another could be added to this canon.³² Every volume includes in the editor's commentaries discussions of features of syntax, of morphology, of phonology, etc. This information is largely lost to sight except by someone who scours the entirety of a volume with painstaking care. A grammatical index to every papyrus volume is a significant desideratum for future work, in my opinion. So many 'oddities' occur in the Greek non-literary texts, when judged against the 'normative' Attic by which most of us were first introduced to the language, that these features, many of which are everyday occurrences in the *koine*, merit signposting too. Some papyrus volumes are beginning to recognise the usefulness of this: *P.Heid.* IV, for example, differentiates case usage of prepositions in its general word index. Yet rather more could be done in this regard; thereby, the linguistic contents of each volume will be far more transparent. This practice of including a separate grammatical index is beginning to be adopted by some editors of epigraphical corpora, and it is a significant asset.³³

Jewish usage. The point advanced here is similar to that made above on Christian usage: rather more can be done to discern Jewish-authored papyri than has been achieved to date. There are, however, some other factors to be considered. Not least of these is the general paucity of Jewish papyri in Roman Egypt, due to the effect of the revolt under Trajan. *CPJ* includes texts which testify to Judaism; but naturally not all of these are of Jewish authorship. Letters provide a striking test. For if R.S. Bagnall's hypothesis about the rapid pace of conversion to Christianity in the early fourth century still largely stands (despite a challenge being made to it),³⁴ then a number of the papyrus letters argued previously to be of Jewish authorship *on the basis of the names included* are brought into doubt and may need to be considered as Christian: *CPJ* III.455, 459, 469, 470, 471, 472a, 472b, 474a, 474b, 475, 476, 477, 478a, 479, 480, 501, 502, 517.³⁵ However, granting that there is a dearth of Jewish texts in Egypt from the early second century onwards relative to the attestation of their presence earlier, yet I am increasingly inclined to doubt that there is such a near total lack as we have come to accept. Jews who survived the hostilities of the period may have 'gone underground' to a considerable degree, by changing their name and abandoning other traits distinctive of their ethnicity. But I suspect that just as there are indubitably more Jews to be identified in the texts³⁶ so there are also more Jewish papyri among those published than we have identified hitherto. For these to become visible, perhaps there are some different questions we need to pose to the papyri.

This edges us a little closer to a touchy question in the neighbouring area of Biblical Studies: the degree of Semitic influence on the Greek of the LXX and the NT. What amounts to an ambit claim by some NT researchers for the existence of a separate dialect of Greek used by Jews in antiquity is unwarranted on the basis of the linguistic evidence we have, and is a

³² The proposal has already been made for each papyrus volume to contain another index which lists previously published texts for which new restorations and readings are suggested: cf. H. Cadell in E. Bresciani et al. (edd.), *Scritti in onore di O. Montevicchi* (Bologna, 1981), 74 n.5. In his paper at the Congress P. van Minnen drew attention to the usefulness of providing a subject index: 'The Century of Papyrology', elsewhere in this volume.

³³ E.g., G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, II, 2 (*IK* 24.2; Bonn, 1990) index 13, pp.452-55.

³⁴ *BASP* 19 (1982) 105-24, to which E. Wipszycka responded in *ZPE* 62 (1986) 173-81. Bagnall's reply, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 243-50, drew a further, brief rejoinder from Wipszycka in *Aeg.* 68 (1988) 117-65 at 164-65.

³⁵ See further *New Documents*, 4.210-12.

³⁶ Witness W. Clarysse's discussion elsewhere in this volume of the Jewish community at Ptolemaic Trikomia in the Fayum, attested in *CPR* XIII.4.

clear example of lack of awareness of dialect theory and developments in modern understanding of bilingualism. This question presses itself upon papyrologists, for one of the claims made about 'Jewish Greek' is that if the papyri and inscriptions from Egypt and elsewhere do offer useful illuminations of the lexical and syntactic usage of the NT texts, this is accountable in terms of the papyri — especially they, so it is claimed — having been permeated with Semitic linguistic features because of the large Jewish population in Egypt. There is simply no cogency to this view.³⁷ Is there anything linguistically distinctive about the Greek papyri authored by Jews in *CPJ*, such that we could conclude that they possess Semitic features? I think not. Nor, again, can a persuasive case be made out to identify such features in Greek inscriptions composed or commissioned by Jews, wherever they are found.

The 'Jewish Greek' debate reflects the fact that biblical and some other Jewish and Christian texts have been treated too much as a separate group, hermetically sealed off from comparison *at the point of language* with contemporary Greek works. One of the virtues of a recent study of syntactic and stylistic features in the Gospel of Mark³⁸ has been to draw attention to the linguistic parallels with authors and works like Epiktetos, Xenophon of Ephesos, and the *Alexander Romance*. Mark does reflect Semitic interference in certain regards (loan-word borrowings, semantics), but his syntax and style are largely free of it.³⁹

While the editor of *P.Yadin* does not speak of a 'Jewish dialect' of Greek, I believe that in his handsomely-edited set of AD II¹ double documents and other items from Naḥal Ḥever Semitic influence on these Greek texts is overrated. There is undoubtedly bilingual interference; but several factors — the finding of these documents with Aramaic and Nabatean subscriptions in Palestine, texts written by Jews and cached away by their Jewish owners at the time of the Bar Kochba revolt — have conspired, I suggest, to produce a context in which Semitic linguistic features are too readily assumed to be present in the Greek material. That some occur is not disputed. But as the language situation of Palestine in AD I and II continues to be investigated, there is increasing recognition of the widespread use of Greek, perhaps even to such a degree that it was eclipsing Aramaic as the major spoken language of Palestine.⁴⁰ In the section which lists Semitic features (*P.Yadin*, pp.13-16), the editor expresses surprise at 'the pervasiveness of the Semitisms' in the Babatha archive, 'since it is in sharp contrast with the resistance to the intrusion of native elements manifested by Greek papyri from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt'. I comment on four of the items in Professor Lewis' list, using his numeration.

i. Main verb + λέγων/λέγουσα to introduce direct discourse is claimed as a Hebraism in the archive. This is now open to considerable doubt, in view of the research by D. Mealand who has been testing putative Hebraisms and Aramisms by checks against non-Jewish and non-Christian authors using the TLG. In *ZNW* 82 (1991) 42-66, for example, he does not analyse this particular usage, but he does give consideration to analogous instances of πορευθείς + main verb, 'He went and . . .', and ἀναστάς + main verb, 'He arose and . . .'. Mealand demonstrates the occurrence of these constructions in his test sample of historians, including Polybius, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others. In his article in *JSNT* 42 (1991) 69-77, NT phraseology claimed as a Latinism or a Semitism emerges as paralleled in the *koine*.

ii. Omission of definite article 'where normal Greek usage requires it'. Some examples may be due to Latin influence, as is acknowledged (p.14; cf. 17, 18). But 'normal Greek usage'

³⁷ Cf. *New Documents*, 5.37.

³⁸ M. Reiser, *Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums* (WUNT 2.11; Tübingen, 1984).

³⁹ E.C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Markan Syntax* (Chico, 1981), is another useful contribution, though he reaches a conclusion slightly different from Reiser. For Maloney, there are some syntactic features which are unexceptional in *koine* but whose high frequency in Mark supports the notion of Semitic interference, given the context of primitive Christianity.

⁴⁰ E. M. Meyers/J.F. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and early Christianity* (London, 1981) 90-91.

here seems to mean 'classical Attic', which may be an inappropriate basis for comparing *koine* usage.

iii. Nominative absolute construction 'which derives in all likelihood from the scribes' Semitic background'. The basis for this claim is an appeal to BDF §466 (2) which describes this as 'a common Semitic construction'. Now, BDF (like BDR) is a NT grammar committed fundamentally to the existence of Jewish Greek: see especially §4 (3) in both versions, together with the observation at *New Documents* 5.63-64 how this view came to be incorporated in that grammar. Several other claimed Semitisms in the *P.Yadin* texts are advanced on the basis of BDF's authority.

viii (e). ἐπικτάομαι at no. 11.10-11 = 11.26-27, etc. Recognition that there is a parallel expression in the papyri lessens the force of the claim that this is a rendering of a Jewish legal phrase. Even if it is so understood, a translation of an Aramaic phrase does not render the Greek a Semitism. Similarly, the transliteration into Greek of Aramaic words — γανναθ for 'orchard' at nos. 21.9, and 22.10; perhaps also ἰαθμείσι for 'orphan' at no. 33. 2, 5 — is not to be accounted a Semitism.

Koine and dialect. Since the vast majority of papyrologists and epigraphers cut their Greek teeth on classical Attic, there is sometimes discernible an imprecision, if not actual confusion about what constitutes the *koine*. The contribution of A. Thumb earlier this century was a major one in this regard; and it still stands up well.⁴¹ I have argued elsewhere⁴² that the *koine* is not properly to be understood as a later dialect of Greek, but as *the* Greek language itself in the period from late IV BC to c. AD V, when traces of Byzantine Greek start to appear. *Koine* was not one dialectal tributary of a hypothetical mainstream Greek, existing contemporaneously with it but somehow distinct from it. The view of men like Quintilian (*Inst.* 11.2.50) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.142.4; = *PG* 8.800), that the *koine* was a fifth dialect (along with Attic, Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic), simply reveals them as participants in the Atticism debate, wanting to recognise these five as the only appropriate forms for producing *literary* texts. In the case of the *koine*, this meant for them high-register, i.e., Atticising Greek. Furthermore, it is misleading to think in any other way than to say that all Greek of this period is *koine*, including Atticising writers like Lucian and Plutarch and those who attempt to write this way, like Josephus. The basis for this view is that the different manifestations of Greek, including different levels of competence, are matters of linguistic register (see below).

Well into the Imperial period geographically localised forms of Greek still survived in some areas, including parts of Asia Minor, with a coherence linguistically which justifies the attribution of the term 'dialect' in some instances. However, other localised manifestations of Greek were overwhelmed by the near-universalisation of *koine*.⁴³

Lexica. Here I must say little, as Professor Montanari is dealing with this subject.⁴⁴ I do want to mention three points, however, which have been borne in upon my colleague, J.A.L. Lee (University of Sydney), and me as we continue with our project to replace MM. First, semantics is easily the feature of lexicographical theory which is currently undergoing most

⁴¹ His great work in this connection is *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der Koine* (Strassburg, 1901).

⁴² *New Documents*, 5.30.

⁴³ C. Brixhe, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (Paris, 1976); id., *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère* (Nancy, 1987²); Brixhe/A. Panayotou, *Verbum* 11 (1988) 245-60; Panayotou in *Ποικίλα (Μελετήματα* 10; Athens, 1990) 192-226; V. Bubenik, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 57; Amsterdam, 1989).

⁴⁴ F. Montanari, 'Parole greche: le vie dai papiri ai dizionari', elsewhere in this volume.

development. As far back as 1985, we adopted the policy that the new MM should be ancillary to Bauer's lexicon, and this decision was based on the view that we should tie our work to the dictionary most appropriate to ours. However, it has become increasingly apparent that BAGD (and B/A⁶, which in this regard is no advance) is unsatisfactory in its definitions. What should be clarified as different semantic usages of a word is too often muddled; and, furthermore, in place of meanings for certain usages it is theologically interpretative paraphrases which are provided. A single example alone must suffice. BAGD and B/A⁶ both cite Ignatius, *Eph.* 18.2 and 20.1 and other references *s.v.* οἰκονομία as meaning God's 'plan of salvation, arrangements for man's redemption' ('d. Heilsveranstaltung, d. Heilsordnung, d. Heilsplan Gottes', B/A⁶). What these lexica are providing is merely a paraphrase of Ignatius' wording at 18.2, κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ. This procedure is unsatisfactory not only for the main users, researchers into the NT and Early Christian literature, but also for papyrologists who appear to draw on the resources of this dictionary quite often, as also on BDF/BDR for syntactic comment.⁴⁵

Second, Bauer's lexicon shares with works like *WB* and Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* the nineteenth-century approach (which the magisterial dominance of LSJ represented and perpetuated) of providing single-word equivalents for Greek words. A more dynamic approach which has developed in the last generation of lexicographical research is that of Semantic Fields (or Domains). The most innovative Greek dictionary to appear recently makes the brave attempt to apply this method to the vocabulary of the NT.⁴⁶ Definitions are advanced instead of one-word equivalents. Users accustomed to an alphabetical arrangement may take a while to adjust to this lexicon's format; and it is not without problems of other kinds.⁴⁷ But it is an approach which has some potential to offer those working on lexicography involving ancient languages. Some research by papyrologists has already been employing a Semantic Domains approach and offering definitions.⁴⁸ Spanish colleagues producing the *DGE* have also indicated their attunement to modern developments in lexicography.⁴⁹ Likewise, the editors of the new *LXX Lexicon*, the first part of which has just appeared, show that they have been grappling with similar questions.⁵⁰

The renewed appreciation of a diachronic approach is the third matter in current lexicographical work to be noted here. The relevance of this for those studying ancient languages is obvious enough.

What is the significance of these observations for papyrologists as they prepare editions of their texts? First, caution should be exercised in using some of the lexica.⁵¹ Second, it may be appropriate occasionally to offer definitions, rather than single-word equivalents, of unusual terms or of words whose semantic use has not been treated satisfactorily elsewhere.⁵² And third, as a much broader conclusion, since Historical Linguistics is once again firmly on the agenda (as reflected in an area like lexicography), papyrologists and other classicists have

⁴⁵ On BDF see now S.E. Porter/J.T. Reed, *FilolNT* 4 (1991) 143-64.

⁴⁶ J.P. Louw/E.A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols; New York, 1988). Cf. Louw, *FilolNT* 4 (1991) 125-42.

⁴⁷ Cf. J.A.L. Lee, *FilolNT* (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ H. Cadell, *JJP* 19 (1983) 121-29.

⁴⁹ F. Rodríguez Adrados et al., *Introducción a la lexicografía griega* (Madrid, 1977).

⁵⁰ J. Lust et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Part I. A-I* (Stuttgart, 1992).

⁵¹ For an extended critical review of B/A⁶ see R. Borger, *GGA* 241 (1989) 103-46. He includes several general observations about features of that dictionary of which papyrologist and other classicist users should be aware.

⁵² I understand from Professor Danker that he is producing a new, third edition of BAGD which will address its semantic flaws.

much to gain potentially from closer contact with research in Linguistics, to discern what areas have application to the study of languages like ours.

Modern Greek. Moulton and Milligan were fortunate to be able to look to A. Thumb for advice on Modern Greek parallels in the first two fascicules of their dictionary, for *demotike* can illuminate lexical usage in the *koine*. In more recent times not many classicists outside Greece have shown an interest in the modern language for the help it may yield in understanding features of Greek at an earlier stage. In lexicography, this potential can bear real fruit, as G.P. Shipp's last book demonstrated.⁵³ He saw the particular importance of MGr dialects in preserving many lexical usages which developed in the *koine* in sub-literary and documentary texts which were not high-register linguistically. But as these dialects are rapidly disappearing in Greece today (some Tsakonian survives still, but there are probably very few who continue to use Pontic, for example), it might be wondered whether this can remain a productive comparative area to exploit. I believe it still may be, for instance in the area of onomastics (see below). To the extent that such work can still be researched, the value of a diachronic approach is underscored. An example is causal $\tau\acute{\iota}$ ('because'), attestation of which (though rare) in documentary texts — e.g., *SB* VI, 1.9125 — is confirmed by MGr and helps to settle the syntax of a NT passage (Matt. 7.14).⁵⁴ There are probably more examples of this usage in the papyri than have been noticed hitherto. It is not only the modern dialects that have preserved ancient features, of course; *demotike* (= Standard Modern Greek) can undoubtedly aid lexical clarification of *koine* semantics.⁵⁵

'New Papyrology'. May one who has an interest both in language and in social history and their interrelation offer a comment on this subject, since it has implications at a general level for the thrust of this paper? In a programmatic essay written a few years ago by D. Hobson, whose proposal was taken up and explored in a group of articles and responses in a recent number of *BASP*, papyrologists were urged to look beyond the texts they edit to the vast amount of contextual detail they offer for understanding the 'bigger' picture of Graeco-Roman Egypt.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Hobson rightly observes that Graeco-Roman Egypt constitutes only one millennium (roughly) within a much longer history of that country, with other languages and cultural and religious influences at work. Who would not in general applaud the desire to draft into service models from the social sciences, since it is certain that some hitherto unimagined gains conceptually will result from scrutinising the papyri with an anthropological or a sociological microscope and in the light of comparative material from other periods? Explicit, analogous reference was made to the so-called 'New Archeology' by B.W. Frier in the *BASP* number. This was very unfortunate, for it should be appreciated that this approach within archaeological circles is now entirely defunct. Care should be exercised by papyrologists that some of the methods espoused by proponents of the New Archeology are not embraced uncritically. It was a phenomenon of the 1960s, promoted especially by Lewis Binford not only to emphasise the methodological cleavage between Old World (= classics-trained) and New World (= anthropology-trained) archaeologists; for him it was also a means to mark out the differences of approach, as he saw them, within indigenous American

⁵³ *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (Sydney, 1979).

⁵⁴ G.H.R. Horsley, *FilolNT* 3 (1990)141-43.

⁵⁵ Cf. Cadell, *JJP* 19 (1983) 128.

⁵⁶ D. Hobson, *EMC* 32 (1988) 353-63; contributions by R.S. Bagnall, B.W. Frier, D. Hobson, J.G. Keenan, and D.P. Kehoe in *BASP* 26.3-4 (1989) 153-226.

excavation.⁵⁷ Some regarded it simply as an ideological tool. Be that as it may, New Archeology is now entirely passé, replaced in turn by 'Process' Archaeology, 'Post-Process' Archaeology, and now 'Post-Modern' Archaeology.⁵⁸ As a discipline, so one specialist colleague in the area has described it to me, Archaeology is currently so muddled with 'theory overload' that there is some risk that it is losing its way.

How does this relate to the present paper? It is not with the present generation that I feel cautious, nor with those who have supported Professor Hobson's call. But as all colleagues know who teach Greek in universities, there are less people offering to learn it, and there is pressure on how much can realistically be learned from scratch. There is, I submit, the risk of a 'fatal attraction' for that tiny coterie of the next generation of classicists who become interested in papyrology to apply themselves to the 'New Papyrology' when they do not have the rigorous linguistic training to be able to handle the texts and their palaeographical problems with confidence. If today's students see their mentors endorsing a different way of 'doing papyrology', the necessary philological precision may be unwittingly undermined. So, even though there is good reason to be cautious about making an analogical connection with the 'New Archeology', this is not a voice raised against the possibility of a stimulating new direction being promoted by some papyrologist colleagues. It is, however, a plea that those experienced papyrologists who embrace the approach make explicit the need for fundamental linguistic and palaeographical competence if it is to be done well. But anyway, it is not otiose to ask whether this constitutes 'doing papyrology' as such. For who is a papyrologist except the person who edits texts on papyrus (ostrakon, wood, etc.)? Once that person proceeds to other questions which arise from the transcription and editing of the text, then (s)he is working as an historian/ anthropologist/sociologist/literary critic, etc. There is nothing untoward about this: by the very nature of the field they research, classicists are constantly having to 'change modes'. Different types of text require varying methodological treatments, and the posing of different questions will elicit rather different answers from the same data.

Onomastics. Do the papyri (and inscriptions and, indeed, literary texts, though the last are less helpful here) reveal a consciousness of Greek personal names as distinct from non-Greek ones? Did such an awareness exist? In general, I believe so; the phenomenon of double names offers one pointer to this, even if we readily grant that this cultural distinction was not the only reason for the use of bynames.⁵⁹ However, I believe that editors of papyrus texts have not always aided clarification of this question. By the mere decision to accent practically every surviving word in an edited text, the editor fails to mark visually for the reader those names (and other words, too, of course) which are not Greek. It is now increasingly common for those working on inscriptions from Asia Minor to make this distinction. It is a useful device even at the subliminal level, since it immediately signals for the reader that the name is a non-Greek one in the editor's judgement. There are several shades of grey in this, admittedly. For example, the name Hermaios looks an absolutely typical Greek name; yet in certain parts

⁵⁷ The collection of essays edited by S.R. and L.R. Binford, *New Perspectives in Archeology* (Chicago, 1968), marks the beginning of the approach in America; in England it was heralded contemporaneously but independently by D.L. Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (London, 1968). See further, e.g., J. Wiseman, *AJA* 84 (1980) 279-85; C. Renfrew, *ibid.*, 287-98; A.M. Snodgrass, *AJA* 89 (1985) 31-37. A particularly incisive critique is P. Courbin, *Qu' est-ce que l'archéologie? Essai sur la nature de la recherche archéologique* (Paris, 1982). The English-language version, *What is Archaeology? An Essay on the Nature of Archaeological Research* (Chicago, 1988), is regarded by the author as an improvement on his original book.

⁵⁸ J.L. Bintliff, *Antiquity* 65 (1991) 274-78; J. Thomas/C. Tilley, *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 106-11 (with Bintliff's response, 111-14).

⁵⁹ Cf. *New Documents*, 1.89-96; W. Clarysse, *Aeg.* 65 (1985) 57-66; Horsley, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992) vol. 4.1011-17, s.v. 'Names, double'.

of Asia Minor (predominantly Lykia and Pisidia) the local frequency of this name and its feminine counterpart is out of all proportion to its rate of occurrence elsewhere. This 'good' Greek name, then, when found on an inscription from Lykia and in conjunction with other members of the same family whose names are decidedly non-Greek, may need to be considered as non-Greek in origin. While it looks an obvious Greek name, the large number of occurrences of Hermaios in this area testifies to the coalescing of the stem with the indigenous Erma-, connected with Arma, an Anatolian lunar god.⁶⁰ Whether it was 'felt' to be Greek is a further question, the answer to which depends partly on the date of the text, and partly on what we can infer about the degree of acculturation to Hellenic values by indigenous people in a region. The family or individual in question may have promoted such a name as Greek to advertise their identification with the dominant culture. This phenomenon goes some way towards accounting for the addition of Greek morphological endings to Egyptian names in the papyri, even though we may grant that this was not the sole factor. So here is my first observation: that it would be useful if papyrologists ceased to accent all non-Greek words, maybe even if they have a normalised Greek morphological ending.

It is not always easy to decide whether a name is Greek or indigenous. Etymology can occasionally be of service in this regard; but another way which has sometimes proved its worth is to try out a problematic name on a Greek colleague. A modern speaker's native 'feel' for what is Greek and what is not can occasionally be illuminating, as I have had occasion to learn. Here, then, is a further benefit which Modern Greek has the potential to confer on those of us who are studying the non-literary Greek texts of the *koine*.

The third point I wish to advance here is that, on the whole, the onomastic potential of the papyri has still not yet been exploited sufficiently to help determine the origins of people named in these texts. The indubitable mobility of people in antiquity does not invalidate the general observation that certain names have a distinctly localised popularity. The name Apollo is predominant in Egypt compared to elsewhere that there is a good likelihood that most men bearing this name outside Egypt either came from there themselves, or were descendants of a family which did. The possibility that some names had a high frequency in even more narrowly localised regions also merits consideration. In the same way, some names are distinctively fashionable at certain periods, or others again may be chosen to reflect the religious adherence of the person (or of the child's parents).⁶¹ A further motivation in the choice of indigenous names at a time when non-indigenous ones are in vogue may be the advertising of one's nationalism.⁶² So it is the indigenous names in the papyri which may be most likely to aid this kind of research.

Particles. The outstanding analysis of particle use for classical Greek remains J.D. Denniston's *Greek Particles*.⁶³ That there has been nothing of comparable weight for the *koine* is understandable in part because of the diminution in particle use. Whether this lessening is related to the shift from pitch to stress accent⁶⁴ might merit further investigation. There have been several valuable studies of particles in later prose, however: the contributions of J. Blomqvist come to mind particularly, and there is also a useful examination by M. Thrall

⁶⁰ See M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien (Vestigia 39; Munich, 1988) 136 n.333*. A telling example occurs in an inscription from Pisidia (Cremna, perhaps) which I have published in *AS 42* (1992) 119-150.

⁶¹ Bagnall, *BASP* 19 (1982) 105-24; Horsley, *Numen* 34 (1987) 1-17.

⁶² R. MacMullen, *AJP* 87 (1966) 10-11.

⁶³ Oxford, 1954².

⁶⁴ J.J. Fraenkel, *Mnem.* 13 (1947) 183-201.

of certain features of how they function in the NT.⁶⁵ While Blomqvist gives some attention to papyrus evidence, we still await a comprehensive treatment of the particles in non-literary texts, the inscriptions as well as the papyri. Such a study will develop our appreciation of the range of linguistic registers in these texts. It would be useful to know, for example, whether particles were felt more necessary to be included in a formal text like a petition than in a less formal one such as many of the letters represent. Alternatively, it may emerge from such an analysis that a formal/informal axis is less important than the writer's degree of education. And the negative evidence must not be passed over in such an examination, namely the disappearance of some particles entirely, as well as of certain combinations of them. Are the changes over time in particle use that are attested by the papyri in Egypt paralleled by simultaneous developments in other geographical regions as testified to by the epigraphical material allowing, of course, for the obvious variables like differences of genre among these texts? Syntactic changes implicit in the use and the omission of *ὅτι*, for example, has been given some attention;⁶⁶ but the last word has not yet been said on its function in the *koine*. A further point which would be interesting to test is whether, in view of the decline of particles in the *koine*, it is possible to detect any consistent confusion in transcribing particles in papyrus copies of classical-period literary texts. In sum, this is a specific feature of the language where there is plenty of useful work still to be done.

Quotations. What linguistic impact does the language of a quotation have on the immediate context in which it is embedded? In this connection we should distinguish quotations from speeches composed and inserted into a historical narrative. We are dealing here with brief linguistic units, sometimes an entire period, more often a mere single phrase or clause. These may have been originally either oral (aphorisms, *obiter dicta*) or written. I raise the point somewhat tentatively here since this subject, so rarely addressed explicitly in commentaries, has more potential for evaluation in extended literary and sub-literary texts (Athenaeus, Philostratos, Plutarch, the LXX, the NT, patristic works, etc.) than in the documentary papyri. Nevertheless, it might feature sufficiently in certain genres of papyrus texts, or occur frequently enough in texts of a particular period (Byzantine, perhaps), that it warrants the attention of papyrus editors.

The types of impact of a quotation on the nearby context may vary. Word order can be affected, or the quotation may trigger a preference for certain words or phraseology in the way the writer introduces or moves on after the citation. Alternatively, the quotation may itself be altered slightly to make it fit not only the grammatical context but also the subject matter in hand. Among the papyri, Christian texts should be a potentially rich group to quarry for this purpose. *P. Bodmer XLVII*, for instance, draws on the language of the NT epistles (Pauline, Pastorals, and Hebrews), but alterations are effected to make the wording fit the metre and the alphabetic acrostic scheme of the text. A further example is *SB XII*, 2.11144, first published by K. Treu.⁶⁷ This fragmentary letter of Byzantine date comprises five partial lines in which there are quotations of 1 Cor. 1.27 and 4.10; the wording of the former, however, has been slightly altered to make it fit the context of the letter. Further, there is a verbal echo of Matt. 8.6 and also of 1 Thess. 5.23, the latter probably mediated via Egyptian liturgical forms given

⁶⁵ J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund, 1969); id., *Das sogenannte καί Adversativum. Zur Semantik einer griechischen Partikel* (Stockholm, 1979); M. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the NT. Linguistic and Exegetical Studies* (Leiden, 1962).

⁶⁶ L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (Uppsala, 1967) 119-53.

⁶⁷ *Studia Evangelica* 6 (1973) 533-36.

the order of the nouns.⁶⁸ Treu believed that this text was a sixth- or seventh-century copy of a fourth-century letter, possibly preserved in a literary work. Yet there is some reason to doubt this: I have suggested that the letter is original to AD VI-VII, not a later copy of a fourth-century letter.⁶⁹ The main ground for this view is the superabundance of quotation and allusions in this fragment when compared to Christian papyrus letters of AD IV.

Register. Like bilingual theory, literacy, and sociolinguistics, the question of linguistic register seems to me to be one of the most fruitful areas of current linguistic research awaiting full-scale application to the study of ancient languages. The particular context in which speakers find themselves (formal/informal situation; relationship with the other speaker/s; the topic being discussed) affects the language choices they make, both lexical and syntactic, and occasionally phonological as well. Now, while linguists researching current languages have access to oral informants in order to investigate a subject like register, its application to a dead language where there are only written texts is also indubitable. Nevertheless, special care is needed: for it is true that not every oral feature in a language is transmitted to the written form. Greek is the best ancient language for study in this regard because of the sheer amount of surviving texts and their diversity.

We should certainly not regard the non-literary papyri as homogeneous in register. Although we may associate all papyrus letters under one genre group, there is a very considerable difference in their separate degrees of literariness. *P.Oxy.* XLVI.3313 (AD II) and 3314 (IV) are a far remove from the two fourth-century letters *PSI* VII.831 and VIII.972, which after re-editing⁷⁰ were reprinted in *SB* as XII, 1.10840 and 10841. This illustrates my contention that, in terms of register, every Greek text of the *koine* fits somewhere along a line that has as its two extremes nearly totally illiterate writing and highly sophisticated, Atticistic composition. It is a mistake to view Atticising texts as somehow separate from the *koine*.⁷¹ They reflect one end of the register spectrum of the Greek of the period.

This brings us to the next observation, that there has been very little research done on Atticism in the papyri. The foundation for modern investigation of this phenomenon remains W. Schmid's great work in which, however, texts on stone or papyrus scarcely rated a mention.⁷² This was understandable, for the papyri were only just beginning to be published in Schmid's time. For the papyrologist concerned with linguistic problems, or for the linguist who is interested in the papyrological data, there is wide scope for research here, as there is also for work on Atticism in the inscriptions. This investigation can be pursued quite systematically by testing out on the papyri, genre by genre, a number of factors in the spheres of lexicon, syntax, morphology, and orthography. This last is not always a reliable guide to the educational attainment of the writer, for some spelling differences are inconsequential. Two examples of features which are significant pointers are, orthographically, the use of the iota adscript, and syntactically, the preference for ὄπως over ἴνα. A rather different feature worth further examination is the use of ὦ in vocative address: rare in both documentary papyri and in such works as the NT writings, it appears to be a marker of high style.⁷³ To establish

⁶⁸ Other papyri which refer to the trichotomy of 1 Thess. 5.23, though not always in the order given there, are *P.Harr.* I.107 (III), *P.Oxy.* VIII.1161 (IV), and *P.Coll.Youtie* II.91 (V/VI).

⁶⁹ *New Documents*, 2.154-58.

⁷⁰ J. Rea, *Chr. d'Eg.* 45 (1970) 357-68.

⁷¹ J. Frösén, *Prolegomena to a study of the Greek Language in the First Century. The Problem of Koine and Atticism* (Helsinki, 1974) 10-11, 49-50, 95-133 (especially 99). Cf. *New Documents*, 5.41-48.

⁷² *Der Atticismus in seiner Hauptvertretern* (5 vols; Stuttgart, 1887-97; repr. Hildesheim, 1964). Inscriptions from Pergamon were one exception: 2.19-33.

⁷³ J.A.L. Lee, *NovT* 27 (1985) 16-18. Accordingly, this is an additional reason to prefer ὦ], as the editor prints for the restoration at *P.Bodmer* XLVII.24, not ὦ] (see ed. n., p.168).

the degree of Atticism in the papyri, a considerable number of linguistic features of a variety of kinds needs to be investigated. The lack of this multiplicity is a weakness in the otherwise impressive study by Rydbeck on register in the NT.⁷⁴ Only after detailed investigation has been undertaken can the further question be addressed, whether the percentage of papyri which show Atticising features allows us to extrapolate the percentage of the populace which was influenced by Atticism. I am inclined to think that the number/percentage of people who give evidence of Atticism was considerably smaller than the percentage of Atticistic papyri because of the recourse which so many must have had to professional scribes. Since scribes were most likely used by illiterates and others who lacked confidence in their own ability to word properly important documents like wills or petitions, it follows that the genre classifications need to be carefully defined for the results of an investigation into Atticism in the papyri not to be skewed. Indeed, as S. Ebbesen pointed out in his moderator's comments on this paper at the Congress, even well-educated people may have used scribes to ensure that the form of words necessary for proper processing and acceptance of the petition was provided.

It is not only non-literary documents which warrant this attention. Indeed, we might test as well whether Atticistic features occur much in sub-literary texts, such as certain patristic works. Furthermore, the multitude of high-register, literary texts of the *koine*, whether Plutarch or Josephus, Dio Chrysostom or Julian, continues to repay the attention of the researcher who is standing on Schmid's shoulders. Even a careful Atticiser like Lucian or Philostratos may nod, and fail to achieve a true Attic norm down to the last jot and tittle.

Sociolinguistics. Here, again, is another feature of current linguistic research which has much to offer those of us whose focus is ancient Greek. Linguistic analysis can be a useful means to help us form an opinion about the social status of writers of texts where the level of literariness varies considerably. Already there has been some assimilation of Sociolinguistics by classicists.⁷⁵ In his wide-ranging book, J. Kaimio has addressed the question, who used Greek in the Roman world, under what circumstances, and what motivated their use of it.⁷⁶ Approaching Greek from his own discipline of Linguistics, V. Bubenik examines how Greek dialects lost out to *koine*, and how also in this process some localised variations emerged.⁷⁷ In my judgement, this is the most significant book in this field in the last very few years. Despite the impression given by the title, the focus of attention is by no means solely the Greek mainland. Bubenik's study draws heavily upon the inscriptional evidence from many regions and cities in the Mediterranean basin. For his particular purpose of investigating dialect loss, the papyri do not have so much to offer. But there are some items which merit more than a passing glance. P.Haun. II.13, for example, is a third-century AD version written in high-register *koine* of one pseudepigraphical Pythagorean letter (and the first lines of another) composed in Doric perhaps during the previous century. Its very existence begs the question why anyone should want to produce this text originally in a dialect during the *koine*. The answer is surely that Doric as the dialect of Tarentum and South Italy down into the Imperial period was retained as a matter of in-group tradition for the Pythagoreans; but the *koine* version reflects the letter's dissemination to Alexandria.⁷⁸ Again, when we consider the *Mimiamboi* of Herondas, was he a prisoner of the convention of this genre (about which we know so little) in his use of Ionic? On the assumption that these mimes were acted before the public, the use of Ionic presupposes a reasonably wide, general familiarity with it in early

⁷⁴ *Fachprosa* . . . , noted above.

⁷⁵ E.g., C. Brixhe, *BSL* 74 (1979) 237-59; cf. M. Bile/C. Brixhe/R. Hodot, *BSL* 79 (1984) 155-203.

⁷⁶ *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki, 1979).

⁷⁷ *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area*.

⁷⁸ On this text see most recently E.A. Judge in *New Documents* 6.18-23.

Ptolemaic Egypt. Alternatively, he may simply have been precious in his decision to use it; this view, however, is made less likely by the fact that his third-century contemporaries Theokritos and Kallimachos also wrote their poems in dialect.

If the papyri have less to offer than inscriptions in the area of dialect studies, they certainly have plenty to contribute as data for the study of literacy in antiquity. The scope is far wider than that provided by school manuals (such as *Publ.Soc.Fouad II*) and beginners' exercises, important as that material may be. The investigation of this field has just taken a great leap forward with W.V. Harris' new book; and the developing interest in the subject has been confirmed by the volume of papers (including contributions from papyrologists and epigraphers) responding to Harris which has been published as a supplement to the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.⁷⁹ This recent research should serve as a considerable stimulus to papyrologists to keep the issue of literacy actively before them as they edit their texts. Epigraphers and papyrologists are well placed to make a seminal contribution to this meeting-point of language and society; and those who are sensitised by Harris' book to the difficulties of evaluating literacy will help the rest of us who are researching the Greek language. It emerges in papyri of Imperial-period date that the determiner of literacy is ability to write/read Greek; thereby, the notion of literacy was tied to the dominant, high-culture language. Thus, we hear of lectors in the Christian Church who are said to be illiterate; but Aurelius Ammonius who is so described in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII.2673 (AD 304) was presumably fluent in Coptic. Or, rather earlier, from the year AD 55 we have a Demotic text recording the sale of a house, in whose Greek subscription it is mentioned that although the vendor cannot write Greek he can manage Demotic (*SB I.5117*). The mere fact that this somewhat defensive comment was made is indicative of the direction things were taking. After the first century there are unlikely to have been many who were competent in Demotic but illiterate in Greek.

A more specific example may be given of the profit to be derived from awareness of sociolinguistics. Linguists have given considerable attention to women's speech; and this has been taken up fruitfully by some classicists.⁸⁰ But as yet the papyri and inscriptions have not been considered in relation to this question. If there are indeed features which differentiate men and women's speech, some of these elements may carry across and be visible in written texts of certain genres, such as those private letters where informality may be a notable tone. Whether anything distinctive can be observed in the pseudepigraphical Pythagorean letters written by women would be interesting to test. A portion of this material survives as *P.Haun.* II.13; but that papyrus is too short, when taken by itself, to be likely to yield much in this regard. To move to another example, the *proskynema* formula used in letters (and occasionally in other documents, such as dedicatory inscriptions from Egypt) has been claimed to show that those texts were written by natives of Alexandria, even if they were not there at the time of writing. There is not a consensus on this proposition,⁸¹ but it is asking a good question sociolinguistically. Similarly, H. Cadell has raised the possibility that local stylistic variations in financial documents like tax receipts may allow us to differentiate various administrative offices in the Chora.⁸² An analogous instance is Z.M. Packman's observation that the differing phraseology in fourth-century imperial oaths appears to have a regional basis from

⁷⁹ W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1989); J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World* (*JRA Suppl.* 3; Ann Arbor, 1991).

⁸⁰ E.g., J. N. Adams, *Antichthon* 18 (1984) 43-77; D. Bain, *ibid.*, 24-42. They deal with Latin Comedy and with Menander, respectively.

⁸¹ Z. Aly, *Etudes Pap.* 9 (1971) 165-219; H.C. Youtie, *JCS* 3 (1978) 90-99 (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* 1.36-45).

⁸² *JJP* 19 (1983) 128-29.

nome to nome.⁸³ Changes in style of address is another phenomenon worth pursuing. It is not just the observation of the trend under the later Empire to employ more fulsome epithets when addressing superiors that is important; the interpretation of this development may help to illuminate other aspects of late antique society. Or, again, the change of order of writer and addressee at the start of papyrus (and other) letters of third- and fourth-century date when compared to those of the previous two centuries has frequently been noted. How may we judge its significance sociolinguistically? My proposal may have little to recommend it at first sight, especially when it is merely asserted baldly here. But as a hypothesis I suggest that it *may* be a reflection of the Christian ethic of 'putting others first'. That is, the word order functions at a subliminal level to mark the deference — or, put differently, the 'humility' — of the writer towards the addressee by naming the latter first. This possibility would have to be explored with care and in detail; but if it has any cogency as a hypothesis then some implications flow from it, not necessarily for identifying Christian texts among papyrus letters, but for our recognition of the impact that Christianity was exercising in fourth-century Egypt. In like manner, the demise of the *proskynema* formula has been connected with increasing Christian influence. Just as the codex, so consciously embraced by the Christians from early AD II, and rejected — equally decidedly, if for different reasons — both by Jews for their sacred texts⁸⁴ and by cultivated Romans for 'high' literature, had emerged by the fourth century as the dominant form over against the roll for the transmission of those writings which were not administrative or perceived as personal ephemera, so is it not conceivable that there were analogous developments in writing style?

As a rather different example, a recently-published wooden board of fifth-century date may be mentioned.⁸⁵ Side A contains an extract from [Isoc.], *Ad Demoniacum*, while side B includes several alphabetical pairs of names including distinctively Christian ones like Kyriake and Martha. The conjunction is noteworthy: this board, inscribed by the teacher (so edd.) as an exemplar for his pupil, illustrates how — despite Julian's attempt to restrict Christians to an educational syllabus based on the Bible — the churches continued to embrace and, indeed, were dependent on classical educational models.⁸⁶

One last example of a quite fundamental question sociolinguistically is the degree to which knowledge of Greek entitled a non-Greek in the Ptolemaic and Imperial periods to consider himself culturally Hellenic. The issue is of consequence for appreciating one of the motivations in the drive for upward social mobility. There are certain to be papyri which sharpen our understanding of this question, but it is not necessarily straightforward to resolve in every instance. Thus, in *P.Col.* IV.66 (Fayum, c.256 or 255 BC), a man complains to Zenon about not being paid or treated properly by one of the latter's underlings because he is a non-Greek (βάρβαρος, 19), ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνίζειν (21). The editors hold that the letter is probably written by the complainant himself and therefore deny that the verb can have its usual meaning, to write/speak Greek. They therefore interpret it more generally as, 'because I don't know how to act like a Greek'. But this fails to take into account the issue of bilingualism. The man may have been able to write Greek reasonably (so edd.), even if his handwriting was 'crude'. He may be a productive bilingual, but not necessarily fluent. And a Greek seeking to 'pull rank' culturally over an Egyptian would find a marked accent one of the

⁸³ 'Geographical variations in the imperial oath in fourth-century Greek papyri from Egypt', elsewhere in this volume.

⁸⁴ I.M. Resnick, *JRH* 17.1 (1992) 1-17.

⁸⁵ F. Maltomini/C. Römer, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 297-300.

⁸⁶ Cf. E.A. Judge, *Jnl of Christian Education* 9 (1966) 32-45; id., *JbAC* 15 (1972) 19-36; id., *The Conversion of Rome. Ancient Sources of Modern Social Tensions* (North Ryde, N.S.W., 1980).

most obvious things to which to draw attention. A speaker for whom Greek was the first language may scorn as unable to speak it one for whom this was not true.

To round off this point about sociolinguistics, its potential application to analysis of the papyri cannot be stressed too much. I suggest that it can help us make tangible progress in our discipline both with the 'big picture' questions like literacy or the acclimatisation — or resistance — by indigenous people to the dominant Graeco-Roman culture, and also with numerous specific problems.

Translation. There do not survive large numbers of ancient translations where we also have the original text for comparison. The greatest such ancient monument in this respect is of course the LXX. Here I wish to draw attention briefly to the interesting research on translation technique which has been done by our colleagues in this field.⁸⁷ They have managed to sharpen the questions considerably over the past couple of decades. Now, the LXX is to be seen as a text in its own right, not merely as a tool for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. It is an example of *koine* Greek with a multiplicity of features of interest to the language specialist. The strong likelihood that the translation was undertaken over a period of perhaps two or three centuries, and that certain books may have been translated in Palestine rather than all in Egypt (the basis for this view is lexical usage), means that interesting variables could emerge when the Greek of one book within the LXX is compared with that of another. Among the books in the LXX there are several different register levels; and the work provides important evidence of syntactic, morphological, and semantic change from III BC. For example, close comparison of the LXX sometimes yields insights into semantic shift in *koine* lexical usage. It was the great achievement of Adolf Deissmann to realise that the papyri and inscriptions provided many parallels to illustrate these lexical developments in the Greek Bible, and thus to underscore that the Greek of the LXX (like that of the NT) is fundamentally representative of the *koine*, and not some separate or distinct form of Greek.⁸⁸ In this regard, I would like to offer a specific example of the gain for papyrological study that can come from LXX work. Some years ago, I observed that the wording of LXX Exod. 2.10 reflects the terminology of the nursing contracts, several examples of which are extant among the papyri.⁸⁹ The consequence of this was not recognised at the time; but it has occurred to me subsequently that if this is so then, although our earliest extant papyrus nursing contract dates to the time of Augustus, we can push back by a few centuries the date at which its formulation had largely become settled. That is, the nursing contracts were already in existence by the time that the Pentateuch was translated (mid-III BC?); and that what we see in the extant contracts which date from Augustus onwards is that their form had become stereotyped centuries earlier. Several larger implications may flow from this specific observation, e.g., how early under the Ptolemies other documents of a legal or quasi-legal kind became stereotyped and retained fundamentally the same form well into the Imperial period.

For epigraphy and *a fortiori* papyrology, it is not often that we have a translation of any length as well as the original from which it was derived. The Rosetta Stone and the *Res Gestae* are among the most famous instances. There are also a number of edicts which preserve both the Greek and the Latin texts on the same stone. *Codex Bezae* should not be

⁸⁷ A seminal contribution has been J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (*Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 15; Göttingen, 1979). Two excellent, recent surveys of LXX research include discussion of translation technique: E. Tov, *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987) 121-89; M. Harl/G. Dorival/O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris, 1988).

⁸⁸ See note 15 above. Cf. J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the LXX Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico, 1983).

⁸⁹ *New Documents*, 2.9. Cf. id., *Biblica* 65 (1984) 400-01.

forgotten, of course, with the evidence it offers of the interaction of Greek and Latin. For papyrological work, however, Coptic renderings of Greek biblical and liturgical texts should be a promising area for the consideration of translation techniques employed. As with the LXX, one factor which cannot be discounted is the tendency towards linguistic conservatism when sacred texts are involved. This may at times manifest itself in a preference for greater literalism in the translation at the expense of idiomatic fluency.

Although it is important to differentiate them, the translation process may be thought of as the shadow that stands constantly beside bilingualism. Bilinguals whose control of the second language is imperfect must often translate back into the first language. The very fact that a translation is produced at all implies a belief by the translator that bilingual competence either does not exist or is too limited among those who are anticipated to read the work.

There is as well the phenomenon of the rendering of a Greek verse text into a Greek prose paraphrase, sometimes as a commentary by a scholiast (or, more laconically, as a glossary), or sometimes as a reworking of an old, high-register work for more popular consumption and to meet the demands of contemporary fashion. Such survivals, which may be considered translations of another kind, testify to semantic and occasionally syntactic change in the language.⁹⁰

Taking quite a different view of this heading, I pause only to say how useful it is that most papyrologists nowadays include translations with the texts they edit. Translations contribute significantly to the overall interpretative comment which the editor provides. Some epigraphers still resist this practice, unfortunately. While it would be useful to apply square brackets to those portions of a translation where the text is restored, this is not easy to achieve without causing confusion. And it would become less necessary if the request made earlier (s.v. Fragmentary texts) meets with acceptance, that restored wording in the Greek text be marked more noticeably than with square brackets alone.

[U, V]. Est in textu lacuna.

Word order. A good deal of attention has been paid to word order in classical Attic prose; much less attention has been paid to prose writers of the *koine* on this score. It is not only for literary texts that this is worth doing. For analysis of word order in non-literary papyri and in inscriptions may either confirm the patterns in the literary texts; or they may show up some features which reveal that word order preferences are related to differing levels of linguistic register. Postpositives might be one useful group to explore: connective particles (ἄρα, γάρ, δέ, μέντοι, etc.), indefinite enclitics (τις, πως, etc.), oblique cases of personal pronouns (on which there has already been some work done for the *koine*),⁹¹ and ἄν. A recent, detailed study of these features in classical prose gives a basis for comparison with *koine* practice.⁹² There are as well undoubted instances in the NT where τις is used as a prepositive (e.g., Acts 14.8, in a work, let it be noted, whose author exhibits some pretensions to stylistic accomplishment). The Duke Data Bank now makes it feasible to collect papyrological examples so that analysis of a question like this can be undertaken.

[X, Y, Z]. Abecedarii finis abest.

⁹⁰ See generally F. Montanari in S. Nicosia (ed.), *La traduzione dei testi classici. Teoria prassi storia* (Naples, 1991), 221-29.

⁹¹ A. Wifstrand, *Studia Theologica* 3 (1949) 172-84.

⁹² M.H.B. Marshall, *Verbs, Nouns, and Postpositives in Attic Prose* (*Scottish Classical Studies* 3; Edinburgh, 1987).

CONCLUSION

This list is confessedly schematic, and claims no comprehensiveness of all possible desiderata. Yet two general points should be clear.

- i. Papyrologists have themselves contributed very substantially to our knowledge of Greek by their careful and excellent editions of texts. However, some of the information mentioned in the commentaries is liable to be missed, perhaps because it is not indexed, or else because the material is sometimes presented in a manner that is over-concise, or again with a level of technicality where only specialist comprehension can be taken for granted. This might not be a concern were fellow papyrologists the only ones to read these editions, which is not the case; nor, I take it, would papyrologists wish it to be so. This paper does not constitute a request to quadruple the length of the commentaries on texts, but rather expresses a hope that papyrologists may draw attention more explicitly to the linguistic riches of these texts for users who are not themselves specialists in that field. Papyrologists may care to ponder whether they have written too much for themselves alone. While there are practical limits on what may reasonably be expected of an editor beyond primary transcribing, dating and making basic sense of the text, I suggest that there is needed a little more guidance for others.
- ii. Taking a cue from this last comment about readership, I suggest that there is a need for more cross-fertilisation between papyrologists and those in some other disciplines. This already occurs to a large degree within classics circles. But I venture to comment that there is value in contact with those whose work is linguistics, and with colleagues in relevant areas of Biblical Studies. Some of the research tools for Biblical Studies to which papyrologists and other classicists also have recourse are somewhat problematical to use, or are flawed by certain unsatisfactory linguistic presuppositions; and papyrologists must therefore both use them with due caution and provide appropriate correctives on the basis of their own research. On the other hand, impressive linguistic research is being produced by some colleagues in Biblical Studies, work which should not be ignored by classicists. Furthermore, since papyrological and, less frequently, epigraphical texts are quite often appealed to by these colleagues, papyrologists have a particular reason to consider that work seriously. Co-operation *intra se* has been a hallmark of papyrological work over the century; it would be a misfortune if its practitioners did not continue to look *extra muros*. In this regard, let the excellent relations between Adolf Deissmann and Ulrich Wilcken⁹³ — one a pioneer in the study of the *koine* especially *vis-à-vis* the Greek of the Bible, the other a pioneer editor of papyrus texts and ostraca — serve as a role model.

⁹³ See G.A. Deissmann, in E. Stange (ed.), *Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, I (Leipzig, 1925) 55.

PAPYROLOGIE UND SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT: DIE PIONIERZEIT (1891-1906)

Johannes Kramer

Karl Preisendanz hat 1933 in seinem immer noch unentbehrlichen Werk *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* eine Unterscheidung zwischen einer "alten Papyrologie" und einer "neueren Papyrologie"¹ eingeführt, wobei erst in der zweiten Epoche von einer eigenständigen Disziplin mit spezifischen Methoden und Fragestellungen die Rede sein kann; die Grenzlinie zwischen den beiden wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Abschnitten wird nach Karl Preisendanz durch die großen Fayûm-Funde markiert, die vom Winter 1877/8 bis etwa 1894 zu Tage gefördert wurden. Wenn man eher auf Publikationen als auf Funde schaut, dann ergibt sich ein ähnliches Anfangsdatum für die "neuere Papyrologie": 1891 kam in Dublin der erste Band der *Flinders Petrie Papyri* heraus, 1892 erschien in Wien der *Führer durch die Ausstellung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, 1893 setzte die Publikation der *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* ein, 1895 folgten die *Aegyptischen Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, und spätestens mit dem ersten Band der *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* war 1898 ein neues Fach sui generis, die Papyrologie oder, wie man damals in Deutschland lieber sagte, die Papyruskunde, entstanden.

Wenn wir also davon ausgehen, daß die "neuere Papyrologie" in den neunziger Jahren des 19. Jh. begann, dann kommen wir damit in einen Zeitabschnitt, der auch bezüglich der Beschäftigung mit der griechischen Sprache als Umbruchsituation charakterisiert werden kann. Grundsätzlich standen drei Strömungen nebeneinander.

Am meisten verbreitet war eine auf den Traditionen der Alexandriner und der Attizisten basierende und geradlinig über Sprachlehren der Humanisten und frühneuzeitlichen Sprachmeister vermittelte Grammatik, die eher präskriptiv als deskriptiv war und die sprachliche Phänomene, die in Zeugnissen von der Alexanderzeit bis zum Untergang von Byzanz vorkommen, an der Norm des Attischen der Klassiker zu messen pflegte; in dieser Perspektive galt es, "richtiges" oder zumindest "gutes" Griechisch, gleichzusetzen mit rigidem Attisch, von "falschem" oder "schlechtem" Griechisch zu unterscheiden, und in die zweite Kategorie kamen beispielsweise alle vom Attischen abweichenden Phänomene der κοινή. Eine Grammatik dieses Typs ist etwa die *Ausführliche griechische Grammatik* von Philipp Buttmann,² und das *Repetitorium der griechischen Syntax* von Hermann Menge (Wolfenbüttel 1878) steht ebenfalls in der genannten Tradition. Trotz verbaler Referenzen an die "vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft" gehört in diesen Umkreis auch die *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* von Raphael Kühner, wo es im Vorwort der 1. Auflage charakteristischerweise heißt:³

"Uebrigens bin ich nur selten über das Zeitalter der Attischen Redner hinausgegangen, theils, weil dieses meine Kräfte bei Weitem würde überstiegen haben, theils aber auch, weil ich die Ueberzeugung gewonnen habe, dass aus der meist gekünstelten und unnatürlichen oder auch verderbten Sprache der Späteren nur Weniges zur tieferen Einsicht und Begründung der klassischen Sprache geschöpft werden kann".

Daß in einer solchen Perspektive, für die die berücksichtigungswerte griechische Sprachgeschichte längst vor Alexanders Eroberung Ägyptens abgeschlossen war, das sprachliche

¹ Selbstverständlich nicht zu verwechseln mit dem Konzept der in den letzten Jahren diskutierten "New Papyrology", auf das Greg Horsley im folgenden Beitrag näher eingeht.

² Philipp Karl Buttmann, *Ausführliche griechische Grammatik*, ed. Chr.A. Lobeck, Berlin 1839.

³ Ich zitiere nach R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I 1, Hannover ²1869, VI.

Zeugnis der neuen Papyrusfunde zunächst einmal überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen werden konnte, liegt auf der Hand.

Eine Verbindung zwischen der im Entstehen begriffenen Papyrologie und der durch die Arbeiten von Franz Bopp initiierten historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft bot sich allerdings ebensowenig von vorneherein an, denn bei einer Schwerpunktsetzung, der es in erster Linie um die Annäherung an die indogermanische Ursprache ging, hatten natürlich Belege aus der archaischen Gräzität durchaus den Vorrang vor nachklassischen Zeugnissen zu haben. So liegt es auf der Hand, daß die Erforschung der frühen dialektalen Inschriften durch die Interessenlage der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft sehr gefördert wurde, während die κοινή kaum Erwähnung fand. Selbst ein Gustav Meyer, der doch als einer der Väter der Neogräzistik angesehen werden kann, erwähnt in seiner *Griechischen Grammatik* (Leipzig 1880) kaum je nachklassische Phänomene, denn er sah nur "fortschreitende Depravierung", weil "die griechische Schrift- und Kanzleisprache, als sie seit den Zeiten Alexanders des Großen auch von Nichtgriechen angewendet wurde, vielfach von fremdartigem Sprachgeiste infiziert ward".⁴

Kannten also Indogermanisten und klassische Philologen im wesentlichen nur Mißachtung für die "depravierte" κοινή, so mußte sie doch immerhin für diejenigen, die sich dem byzantinischen und modernen Griechischen widmeten, als direkte Vorstufe von Interesse sein. Allerdings warnte G.N. Hatzidakis noch 1892 vor der Verwendung von Papyrusbelegen für die Erforschung der griechischen Sprachgeschichte, weil sie ein Bild böten, "welches den in Ägypten, Syrien und überhaupt außerhalb Griechenlands meist von Ausländern gesprochenen Idiomen entsprechend nicht der in Griechenland selbst gesprochenen Sprache adäquat sein kann".⁵ Aber schon 1898 erstellte Karl Dieterich seine *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jh.* "in möglichst weitem Umfange auf Grund der Papyri und Inschriften, während die litterarisch überlieferten Denkmäler erst in zweiter Linie herangezogen wurden",⁶ denn ihm galten "die Stein- und Papyrusurkunden als die allein unbestechlichen Zeugen".⁷ Dieterichs Ziel war es, "die sprachlichen Keime des Neugriechischen in möglichst weitem Umfange auf Grund der Papyri und Inschriften festzustellen";⁸ es ist klar, daß er dementsprechend keine systematische Behandlung des Sprachgebrauches, wie er sich in den Papyri zeigt, anstrebte, sondern diese nur als Steinbruch für Belege gebrauchte. Zweifellos konnte das Neugriechische "den Schlüssel geben für das Verständnis von Formen, die einem sonst rätselhaft bleiben und vielen Herausgebern von Papyrus und Inschriften auch geblieben sind";⁹ aber alle sprachlichen Phänomene ohne byzantinisch-neugriechisches Weiterleben mußten in dieser Perspektive unter den Tisch fallen, und ein Bild der Sprachsituation zur Ptolemäer- oder Kaiserzeit konnte nicht entstehen.

Was die Bereiche der Sprache betrifft, die behandelt wurden, so sei ebenfalls das Zeugnis von Karl Dieterich stellvertretend für alle Vertreter der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft angeführt: "Vorliegende Darstellung beschränkt sich auf Laut- und Formenlehre; auf Hineinziehung von Syntax, Wortbildung und Bedeutungslehre ... mußte ich in Anbetracht des schon allzu sehr angeschwollenen Umfanges vorläufig verzichten"¹⁰ - selbstverständlich wurde das "vorläufig" zum "endgültig", denn in Wahrheit war es nicht Platzmangel, der zum

⁴ G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1880, XI.

⁵ G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1892, 17.

⁶ K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jh.*, Leipzig 1898, XV.

⁷ K. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, XVIII.

⁸ K. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, XV.

⁹ K. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, XVIII.

¹⁰ K. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, XIX.

Ausschluß von Syntax und Wortschatz führte, sondern es handelte sich vielmehr um ein generelles Charakteristikum der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, die ja seit Franz Bopp die "Erforschung der physischen und mechanischen Gesetze" der Sprache beabsichtigte,¹¹ also auf Laute und Formen ausgerichtet war und die Ausdrucksseite, Syntax und Wortschatz, eher stiefmütterlich behandelte.¹²

Blieb die traditionelle Grammatik wie die Indogermanistik dem Griechischen der Papyri gegenüber als nachklassischer Spätform indifferent und zeigte sich die historisch-vergleichend orientierte byzantinische und neugriechische Sprachwissenschaft mehr oder weniger ausschließlich an Frühbelegen späterer phonetischer und morphologischer Entwicklungen interessiert, nicht aber an der Sprache der Papyrusdokumente an sich, so kam eine wirkliche Würdigung der Papyri als Zeugnisse der zeitgenössischen Sprachsituation von einer ganz anderen Seite, nämlich von den Theologen. Die sprachliche Form der biblischen Texte und besonders der Schriften des Neuen Testaments war seit der Antike eingestandener- oder uneingestandenermaßen immer ein Stein des Anstoßes gewesen, weil sie nicht dem entspricht, was die Maßstäbe der normativen Stilistik als "gutes Griechisch" festgelegt haben: Jeder Gebildete, der mit den Mustern der klassischen Literatur groß geworden war, "mußte die religiösen Urkunden der Christen als stilistische Monstra betrachten", wie Eduard Norden es pointiert ausdrückte,¹³ und dementsprechend nach Erklärungen, oder besser gesagt nach Entschuldigungen, für die Form suchen. In unserem Zusammenhang ist besonders die seit dem 16. Jh. andauernde Diskussion zwischen "Hebraisten" und "Puristen" wichtig.¹⁴ Die Hebraisten wollten die Abweichungen der Bibelsprache von der klassischen Norm durchweg als Nachahmung hebräischer sprachlicher Modelle erklären, denn "nullo alio idiomate tam feliciter exprimi possunt", wie Theodorus Beza es ausdrückte¹⁵ - die Heiligkeit der hebräischen Sprache sollte also die Abweichungen von der klassischen Norm rechtfertigen. Auf der anderen Seite wollten die Puristen nachweisen, daß "dictio sacrarum Novi Testamenti historiarum et epistolarum cum ea, quae in antiquis Graeciae classicis obtinet auctoribus, si rem ipsam bene putes, omni ex parte consentit" - so Christophorus Wollius im 18. Jh.¹⁶ Das eigentlich offenkundige und sowohl den Kirchenvätern wie Erasmus geläufige Faktum, daß "apostoli Graecitatem suam non e Demosthenis orationibus, sed e vulgi colloquio didicerunt",¹⁷ wurde vor allem in der protestantischen Exegese zunehmend verdrängt, weil es für konsequente Vertreter der Lehre von der "inspiratio verbalis" ja geradezu zwingend war,

¹¹ F. Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*, Berlin 1833, 111.

¹² In ihren Bemerkungen zum vorliegenden Text haben sowohl Hélène Cadell-Charpentier als auch Sten Ebbesen auf Antonios N. Jannaris hingewiesen, dessen *Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time Founded upon the Ancient Texts, Inscriptions, Papyri and Present Popular Greek* im Jahre 1897 in London erschien. Dieses Werk, das in vielerlei Hinsicht bis heute unverzichtbar ist und nur in Teilbereichen durch neuere Arbeiten ersetzt wurde, war in der Tat vergleichbaren zeitgenössischen Werken überlegen: Neben die Lautlehre (21-100) und die Morphologie (101-311) trat eine umfangreiche Syntax (312-506), und die Entwicklung des Griechischen wurde als einheitlicher Prozeß ohne radikale Brüche dargestellt. Bezüglich unseres Themas gibt A. Jannaris' Grammatik jedoch wenig her: Trotz der Erwähnung im Titel werden Papyrusbelege in Wirklichkeit nur selten herangezogen, und wenn, dann dienen sie lediglich als Illustration für die Kontinuität eines bestimmten Phänomens. Es war nicht die Absicht von A. Jannaris, eine klar umrissene und abgegrenzte Darstellung des durch die Papyri illustrierten κοινή-Sprachgebrauches zu geben; er griff vor allem dann auf die Papyri zurück, wenn ihn literarische und epigraphische Quellen in Stich ließen.

¹³ E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig / Berlin 1909, 517.

¹⁴ Grundlegend für die Darstellung dieser Diskussion ist bis heute Jan Ros, *De studie van het Bijbelgrieks van Hugo Grotius tot Adolf Deissmann*, Utrecht 1940. Vgl. jetzt auch Greg H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 5, Sydney 1989, 5-40.

¹⁵ Zitiert nach J. Ros, *op. cit.*, 7.

¹⁶ Zitiert nach J. Ros, *op. cit.*, 22.

¹⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia* VI, Leiden 1705, 476 (ad Act. 10, 38).

daß ein vom heiligen Geiste sozusagen diktiert Werk auch ein ausgezeichnetes Griechisch aufweisen müsse.¹⁸ Die Hauptaktivität der Puristen bestand vielmehr darin, aus profanen Quellen Parallelen zu als ungriechisch empfundenen Ausdrucksweisen im Neuen Testament zusammenzustellen, was angesichts der Tatsache, daß man lieber bei Homer, Thukydides oder Demsothenes als bei Epiktet oder gar in den Inschriften¹⁹ auf die Suche ging, nicht ohne Spitzfindigkeiten und Verrenkungen abgehen konnte.

Vor diesem Hintergrund einer langen Diskussion zwischen Hebraisten und Puristen ist die Aktivität des protestantischen Theologen Adolf Deißmann (1866-1937) zu sehen, der sprachliche Phänomene der Papyri in den Dienst seiner Theorie stellte, daß es kein "Bibelgriechisch" gebe, sondern daß uns in den Schriften des Neuen Testamentes einfach "Dokumente des Volksgriechischen in seinen verschiedenen Höhenlagen"²⁰ vorlägen. Es geht hier nicht darum, ob diese Auffassung, die man als sprachhistorisch-soziolinguistisch geprägten Neopurismus²¹ bezeichnen könnte, richtig ist,²² sondern nur um die Wechselwirkung zwischen der neutestamentlichen Philologie und der Erforschung der Sprache der Papyri.

Deißmann wurde im Zusammenhang mit seinen Studien zum Wortschatz der griechischen Bibel auf die Papyri aufmerksam. Hatten Sprachwissenschaftler wie Dieterich die Papyri vor allem als Quelle für Lautlich-Morphologisches herangezogen, so legte Deißmann in seinen *Bibelstudien* (Bd. 1, Marburg 1895; Bd. 2, Marburg 1897) das Schwergewicht vor allem auf die Semantik: Wie "die dunklen Texte der Papyri durch die LXX oft ihr Licht erhalten", so dürfe auch "umgekehrt der Wert der ägyptischen Papyri und Inschriften für die Erforschung

¹⁸ J. Ros, *op. cit.*, 28.

¹⁹ Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, Tübingen 1911, 14: "Daß in den Evangelien Männer des Volkes in der Sprache des Volkes zu uns reden..., hätten wir ... schon lange wissen können, weil wir schon seit vielen Jahren eine Fülle von Inschriften besaßen, die als Dokumente der Vulgärsprache zu gelten haben. Aber diese Inschriften waren weit verstreut, einzelne größere Publikationen, wie besonders die wertvollen Sammlungen von Le Bas-Waddington, in weiteren Kreisen unbeachtet geblieben".

²⁰ A. Deißmann, *Licht von Osten*, Tübingen 1923, 114.

²¹ Womit "Purismus" nicht als Synonym zu "Attizismus" zu verstehen ist: Es geht nicht um das Bestreben, reines "Attisch" zu schreiben, sondern um unpräzises zeitgenössisches Griechisch ohne stärkere gruppenspezifische Charakteristika. In der Tat ist die Frage, ob ein sprachliches Dokument eher die *κοινή* widerspiegelt oder als Resultat des Attizismus anzusehen ist, falsch gestellt (G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 5, Sydney 1989, 41-48: "*Koine* or Atticism - a Misleading Dichotomy"), denn "there is a need to be alert to a greater range of language levels than merely two: *koine* and Atticistic, as though the latter were somehow not part of the *koine*". In unserer Terminologie handelt es sich beim Attizismus vor allem um eine literatursprachliche Normdiskussion, vgl. J. Kramer, "Klassische Sprache und Substandard in der Geschichte des Griechischen", in: Günter Holtus / Edgar Radtke (edd.), *Sprachlicher Substandard II*, Tübingen 1989, 55-82, bes. 68-71.

²² Die heutige Auffassung der Sprachwissenschaftler geht eher dahin, daß die Sprache des Neuen Testamentes eine nicht allzu fern von der Umgangssprache entfernte literarische Ausformung der zeitgenössischen *κοινή* Palästinas darstellt, wobei über dem Ganzen ein hebraisierender Firnis liegt, der weniger durch die aramäische Muttersprache der Verfasser als vielmehr durch zahlreichen Anlehnungen an die Septuaginta-Sprache zu erklären ist. Vgl. auch G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 5, Sydney 1989, 40: "The edifice of Jewish Greek lacks foundation in reality, neither does it have any cogent linguistic framework. Accordingly, it is built largely using weak arguments and assertions. While it is not denied that Certain Semitic features obtrude into Greek written by Jews and Christians in antiquity, where this occurs it is to be understood as the expected phenomenon of interference which manifests itself in varying degrees in the speech and writing of bilinguals". Bei den Theologen überwiegt freilich heute wieder die Neigung, in der Sprachform des Neuen Testamentes vor allem semitische Elemente und damit eine "Sondersprache" sehen zu wollen, vgl. vor allem den Forschungsbericht von E.C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax*, Chico 1981, 7-34; vgl. außerdem M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford³ 1967; H. Ott, "Die Muttersprache Jesu", *Novum Testamentum* 9, 1967, 1-25; K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im NT*, Göttingen 1968.

des LXX" nicht verkannt werden,²³ denn "die siebzig Dolmetscher haben von Hause aus das ägyptische Griechisch der Ptolemäerzeit geredet und geschrieben",²⁴ und das zeigte sich nach Deißmanns Ansicht vor allem "in der Vorliebe der Übersetzer für die technischen Ausdrücke ihrer Umgebung".²⁵ So wurde Deißmann zum ersten, der sich geraume Zeit vor Preisigke mit den ptolemäischen Verwaltungsfachtermini, die in den Papyri auftreten, beschäftigte. Wenn Deißmann auch den Wortschatz der Papyri nicht primär um seiner selbst willen untersuchte, sondern ihn vor allem als Hilfe für das Verständnis biblischer Wörter heranziehen wollte, so zog er doch die Grenzen keineswegs eng: "Besonders lehrreich ist, daß Begriffe der Hofsprache zum Ausdruck religiöser Verhältnisse herangezogen wurden. ... Auch die Begriffe der Rechtssprache erlangten eine hohe Bedeutung im religiösen Gebrauche".²⁶

Drei Beispiele seien für die Vorgehensweise von Deißmann genannt: Das 1 Tim. 2, 1 und 4, 5 im Sinne von "Bittgebet" vorkommende ἑντευξις möchte er nicht aus literarischem "Bitte" erklären, sondern daraus, daß es sich um einen Ausdruck handelt, der "in Ägypten längst der technischen Sprache geläufig war: *petitio*".²⁷ Daß die Septuaginta für "Wasserbäche" ἄφέσεις ὑδάτων sagt, wird aus dem "ägyptischen Sprachgebrauch" erklärt: In den Flinders-Petrie-Papyri ist "der technische Ausdruck für das durch Öffnung der Schleusen bewirkte *Loslassen* des Wassers ἀφήμι τὸ ὕδωρ; der entsprechende substantivische Ausdruck ἄφεσις τοῦ ὕδατος steht P. Petrie. II XIII 2² (258 v. Chr.). ... *Kanäle* waren dem Ägypter, was dem Palästinenser *Bäche* sind; das Hervorschießen des Nilwassers aus den geöffneten Schleusen machte auf ihn denselben tiefen Eindruck, wie das Tosen des ersten Winterbaches auf den kanaanitischen Bauern und Hirten".²⁸ Das Auftreten eines adverbialen ἐνώπιον in den Papyri brachte Deißmann dazu, sich dagegen zu wenden, darin ein typisch "biblisches" Wort mit "hebräischem Colorit" zu sehen. Freilich gab räumte er 1897 noch ein: "Nicht unmöglich ist, wie mir scheint, die Annahme, daß dieses adverbialle ἐνώπιον von den LXX zuerst mit dem Genitiv gebraucht worden ist; es war ja wie geschaffen zu einer möglichst getreuen Wiedergabe des häufigen יָדָלָה".²⁹ Dieses halbe Zugeständnis an die Hebraisten erwies sich jedoch bald als überflüssig, als zahlreiche Papyrus-Belege von ἐνώπιον + Genitiv auftauchten.³⁰

Nach der Jahrhundertwende wandelten sich Deißmanns Hauptinteressen: Zwar beschäftigte er sich weiterhin intensiv mit der Sprachform der Papyri, aber mehr und mehr drängten sich doch literarisch-kulturgeschichtliche Parallelen in den Vordergrund, die sich für das "Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt" ergaben - so der Untertitel von Deißmanns bekanntestem Werk, *Licht von Osten*,³¹ wo charakteristischerweise von 447 Seiten nur noch 67 der Sprache gewidmet sind. In unserem Zusammenhang ist es nun wichtig, welche Auswirkungen seine Studien für die griechische Sprachwissenschaft gehabt haben.

Das Entscheidende dürfte sein, daß zumindest in den Augen fast aller klassischen Philologen und der Sprachwissenschaftler der Nachweis gelungen war, daß es keine biblische

²³ Adolf Deißmann, *Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*, Marburg 1895, 67.

²⁴ A. Deißmann, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

²⁵ A. Deißmann, *op. cit.*, 67.

²⁶ A. Deißmann, *op. cit.*, 67.

²⁷ A. Deißmann, *op. cit.*, 118.

²⁸ A. Deißmann, *op. cit.*, 95.

²⁹ A. Deißmann, *Neue Bibelstudien. Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, Marburg 1897, 41

³⁰ A. Deißmann, *Licht von Osten*, Tübingen 1923, 38 unter Verweis auf Alfred Wikenhauser. "ἐνώπιος - ἐνώπιον - κατενώπιον", *Biblische Zeitschrift* 8, 1909, 263 ff.

³¹ Erste Auflage 1908; zweite und dritte Auflage 1909; vierte Auflage 1923.

Sondersprache und auch kein "Judengriechisch" gab; sehr vielen protestantischen Theologen fällt es freilich noch heute schwer, auf ihr "neutestamentliches Griechisch" zu verzichten. Wenn es aber das Griechische der Juden nachweislich im wesentlichen völlig identisch war mit dem anderer Bevölkerungsgruppen, so lag es nahe, die Auswirkungen ethnischer und lokaler Faktoren auf die Gestalt der κοινή insgesamt geringer einzustufen, als man es bis dahin getan hatte. Der erste, der diesen Schritt in aller Deutlichkeit tat, was Albert Thumb in seinem 1901 in Straßburg erschienenen Werk *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*.

"Es ist Adolf Deißmanns Verdienst, für die Beurteilung der Bibelsprache den richtigen principiellen Standpunkt festgelegt zu haben, indem er durch ständige Heranziehung der Papyri und Inschriften an zahlreichen Einzelheiten zeigte, daß die biblische Graecität völlig in den hellenistischen Kreis einzuordnen sei und daß das, was man für den Sondercharakter der Bibelsprache anführte, durch die Sprache der Papyri als Gemeingut der κοινή erwiesen wird".³²

Entsprechend skeptisch war Thumb gegenüber der Annahme eines "alexandrinischen Dialektes": Die antiken Grammatiker, die darüber schrieben, hätten aus den Unterschieden zwischen literatursprachlichen Phänomenen und der ihnen geläufigen Volkssprache Alexandrias eine spezielle Ἀλεξανδρέων διάλεκτος konstruiert, ohne auf den Gedanken zu kommen, "daß die alexandrinische Volkssprache nur ein Glied einer großen Sprachentwicklung sei", weswegen sie "allgemeine Tatsachen der κοινή für solche der Mundart von Alexandria" ausgaben.³³ Insgesamt charakterisiert A. Thumb auch die κοινή Ägyptens dahingehend, daß sie "in den meisten Zügen gar nichts Spezifisches an sich hat";³⁴ allerdings sieht er im lautlichen Bereich einige wenige für Ägypten typische Phänomene (wie Instabilität des Auslaut-v, Verwechslung von Tenuis und Media, Auslassung des intervokalischen γ), aber er warnt davor, die aus mangelhafter Sprachbeherrschung durch Nichtmuttersprachler resultierende Fehler als Charakteristika einer ägyptischen Sonderform des Griechischen einzustufen:

"Von der ägyptischen κοινή ist wohl zu scheiden das Griechisch der nicht hellenisierten Ägypter; die Grenze wird freilich nicht immer scharf zu ziehen sein, wo die griechische Sprache des hellenisierten gemeinen Volkes aufhört und das Griechisch-Radebrechen des Kopten oder Nubiens anfängt".³⁵

Thumb sah in den Griechen Kleinasiens und Ägyptens die eigentlichen Träger der Entwicklung der κοινή, "weil sich in hellenistischer und byzantinischer Zeit das griechische Culturcentrum nach Alexandrien, Kleinasien und schließlich Byzanz verschob".³⁶ In dieser Perspektive kommt natürlich den Papyri als Zeugnissen der Sprachentwicklung in einem Innovationszentrum eine besondere Bedeutung zu; Thumb selbst, der sich zunehmend dem Neugriechischen zuwandte, unternahm diese Studien jedoch nicht.³⁷

Für Theologen und Sprachwissenschaftler war jedoch schließlich und endlich die Beschäftigung mit der Sprache der Papyri in erster Linie ein Mittel zum Zweck auf der Suche nach Parallelen zur Bibelsprache oder nach Zwischenstufen zwischen klassischem und modernem Griechisch; das Studium der sprachlichen Form der Papyri um ihrer selbst willen nahm seinen Ausgang von der Klassischen Philologie. Eine Pionierrolle kommt hier wie in so

³² A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Straburg 1901, 182.

³³ A. Thumb, *op. cit.*, 171.

³⁴ A. Thumb, *op. cit.*, 172.

³⁵ A. Thumb, *op. cit.*, 174. Wer aber einmal das Griechische als Muttersprache verwendet, der hat als Grieche zu gelten, gleichgültig, welcher Herkunft er ist: "Aber schließlich ist z. B. das Griechisch der Kappadokier nach deren völligen Hellenisierung ebenso gut wirkliches Griechisch, wie das Latein in Oberitalien oder in Gallien wirkliches Latein war, wie das Deutsche in Pommern wirkliches Deutsch ist".

³⁶ A. Thumb, *op. cit.*, 248.

³⁷ Im *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* berichtete A. Thumb über "Die Forschungen über die hellenistische Sprache in den Jahren 1896-1901" (2, 1903, 396-427, nur 396-401 über Papyruspublikationen).

vielen Bereichen Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff zu, der Band I, II und IV der Oxyrhynchos-Papyri sofort nach ihrem Erscheinen ausführlich besprach. Völlig zu Recht bemängelte Wilamowitz:

Die sprachliche Seite wird in der Bearbeitung der Papyri fast allgemein ungebührlich vernachlässigt, und in ihnen fließen doch fast allein die Quellen der lebendigen Sprache.³⁸

Erfreulicherweise gab er sich selbst Mühe, diesem Mangel abzuhelpfen: Er verweist auf lautliche Phänomene wie λ-ρ-Verwechslungen, η = ε oder αι, Schwund des ι in den Endungen -ιος und -ιον, auf Morphologisches wie das Umsichgreifen der Diminutiva, Unsicherheit im Gebrauch von -εις und -ας im Plural der 3. Deklination oder die Möglichkeiten der Deklination der Kontrakta auf -ους, auf Syntaktisches wie die Vorliebe für die Parataxe und nicht zuletzt auf Besonderheiten des Wortschatzes (etwa ἄλογον "Pferd", ὀψάριον "Kraut zum Würzen des Brotes" und noch nicht "Fisch" oder κοβαλεύειν "tragen", das den ursprünglichen Sinn des klassischen κόβαλος "Schmarotzer, Possenreißer" klärt).³⁹ Systematisch ist das alles freilich nicht, angeblich aus Platzmangel,⁴⁰ in Wahrheit wohl aus Unlust des preußischen Großprofessors am Sammeln und Ordnen von Kleinigkeiten.

Der erste Versuch, auf Grund von Papyrusbelegen eine vollständige Grammatik zu erstellen, ging von einem nicht selten übersehenen Zweig der Papyrologie aus, nämlich vom Studium der herkulanensischen Papyri. Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts lagen beträchtliche Mengen an Text in edierter Form vor: Zwischen 1793 und 1855 waren elf *Herculaniensia volumina* erschienen, und von 1862 bis 1876 folgten weitere elf. Diese Bände, die vor allem Reste von Werken der epikureischen Schule, in erster Linie von Philodem enthielten, bildeten die Basis der im Wintersemester 1896/7 in Göttingen eingereichten Dissertation von Wilhelm Crönert,⁴¹ in der Probleme der Paläographie, der Grammatik und der Textanordnung behandelt wurden; der grammatikalische Teil erschien 1898 als Dissertationsdruck unter dem Titel *Quaestiones Herculanienses*. In beträchtlich erweiterter und durch ausgiebige Studien an den Originalen erheblich verbesserter Form kam diese bis heute einzige umfassend angelegte Studie zur Sprache der herkulanensischen Papyri dann 1902 in Leipzig unter dem Titel *Memoria Graeca Herculaniensis* heraus. W. Crönert berücksichtigt bei allen Phänomenen, die er behandelt, die Vergleichen "cum titulorum, Aegypti papyrorum, codicum denique testimoniis" (III), aber sein Hauptziel ist eine, wie wir sagen würden, synchronische Darstellung der Sprachform der herkulanensischen Schriften mit diachronischen Anmerkungen.⁴² Es handelt sich wirklich um eine komplette Grammatik: Die Lautlehre ist in vier Kapiteln abgehandelt (*quaestiones orthographicae de vocalium potissimum usu* [1-52], *quaestiones orthographicae de consonarum usu* [53-100], *quaestiones grammaticae de vocalium usu* [101-132], *quaestiones*

³⁸ GGA 1898 [9], 675.

³⁹ GGA 1898 [9], 687-690; GGA 1900 [1], 57-58; GGA 1904 [8], 662.

⁴⁰ GGA 1898 [9], 687-688: "Nur als Probe greife ich eine Anzahl sprachlicher Erscheinungen heraus; das eigentlich interessanteste, Wortwahl und Stil, muß ich leider bei Seite lassen, weil man darüber zu viel Worte machen muß".

⁴¹ W. Crönert (1874-1942) beschäftigte sich auch inhaltlich mit den herkulanensischen Schriften, vgl. Alessandra Bertini Malgarini, "Gli studi ercolanesi di Wilhelm Crönert nelle lettere a Wilamowitz", *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia I*, Napoli 1984, 187-195. Die verschiedenen Arbeiten sind jetzt leicht zugänglich: W. Crönert, *Studi ercolanesi* (ed. Enrico Livrea), Napoli 1975.

⁴² Im eleganten Latein des Autors hört sich das folgendermaßen an: "Nonnulla quae ad res grammaticas spectent tractaturo papyri Neapolitanae aptiores (sc. quam Aegyptiacae) visae sunt, primum quod librai huius bybiothecae immunes sunt a multis vitiis, quae Aegyptios scribas omnium fere temporum infecerunt, deinde librorum Herculaniensium infimus est annus LXXIX p. Chr., ita ut temporis spatium ab altera parte certe definitum sit" (Guilelmus Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaniensis*, Leipzig 1903, I). Vgl. *ib.* V: "Quoad ... potui, singulas quaestiones inde ab Atticorum aetate usque ad ultima Byzantinorum tempora sum persecutus".

grammaticae de consonarum usu [133-158]), es folgt die Morphologie in drei Kapiteln (*de nominum ratione* [159-201], *de verborum ratione* [202-241], *formarum verbalium index alphabeticus* [242-283]), und den Abschluß bildet ein Kapitel über die Wortbildung (*de nonnullorum vocabulorum compositione* [284-299]). Die Darstellung ist ungemein materialreich, und die Verweise auf die Verhältnisse in den ägyptischen Papyri sind so gründlich, daß man hier bis zum Erscheinen der Lautlehre und der Morphologie der Grammatik von F. Th. Gignac⁴³ die sichersten Auskünfte für die nachptolemäischen Verhältnisse finden konnte. Allerdings war es ganz offenbar nicht Wilhelm Crönerts Stärke, aus seinem reichen Material sprachgeschichtliche Schlüsse zu ziehen: Es gibt auch nicht den kleinsten Versuch einer Gesamtcharakteristik der Sprachform der herkulanensischen Papyri - die Einzelphänomene werden eines nach dem anderen Fall für Fall nacheinander beschrieben, und es fehlt sogar eine Zusammenfassung am Schluß der Kapitel. Unter diesen Umständen ist es kein Wunder, daß die Sprachwissenschaftler das Werk kaum zur Kenntnis genommen haben;⁴⁴ das Basismaterial, also in erster Linie die Schriften Philodems, ermöglicht ja im Unterschied zu den Dokumenten aus Ägypten auch lediglich Erkenntnisse über den Gebrauch der Literatursprache im Kreise hochgebildeter Philosophen, und nur für den lautlichen Bereich ist es eigentlich von Bedeutung, daß Philodem zufällig auf antiken Papyri und nicht in mittelalterlichen Handschriften überliefert wurde.

Den ersten Anlauf zu einer Grammatik der Papyri Ägyptens unternahm 1897 der Krakauer Philologe Stanisław Witkowski mit seinem *Prodromus grammaticae papyrorum Graecarum*, der allerdings nicht über die *Prolegomena*, eine Sammlung von Berichtungsvorschlägen zu publizierten Papyri und einen kuriosen Exkurs über die richtige Schreibung des griechische Namen des Krokodils hinauskam. Witkowski vertrat in den *Prolegomena* die durchaus richtige Auffassung, daß "dialectus Attica pro fundamento τῆς κοινῆς est habenda",⁴⁵ aber er glaubte aus einigen isolierten Dorismen, Äolismen und Ionismen der Papyri schließen zu können, daß eine starke Beimischung andere Dialekte stattgefunden habe, und zwar erst auf dem Boden Ägyptens.⁴⁶ Damit postulierte Witkowski anders als Deißmann und Thumb wieder eine Sonderstellung des Griechischen Ägyptens innerhalb der hellenistischen Welt. Eine weitere Ausführung der im *Prodromus* nur kurz angerissenen Gedanken unterblieb freilich, denn der eigentliche Hauptteil kam nicht mehr zur Ausarbeitung.

Daß Witkowski seine Arbeit abbrach, lag sicherlich am nahezu gleichzeitigen Erscheinen der ersten Vorarbeiten zu der Grammatik der ptolemäischen Papyri, die wir noch heute benutzen: 1898 erschien als Beilage zum "Programm des Königlichen Karls-Gymnasiums in Heilbronn" der I. Teil der *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* von Edwin Mayser, auf 45 Seiten Orthographie und Vokalismus umfassend, drei Jahre später als Stuttgarter Gymnasialprogramm die 54 Seiten des Konsonantismus. Ein Vorwort informiert über die Zielsetzung: Geboten werden sollten "Bausteine zu einer künftigen *grammatica papyrorum*, die selbst wiederum nur als Teil eines größeren Ganzen, einer historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, bedeutsam sein wird", denn die Zahl der publizierten Stücke sei inzwischen "groß genug, um ein deutliches Bild von der höchst interessanten

⁴³ Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I: Phonology*, Milano 1976; II: *Morphology*, Milano 1981.

⁴⁴ Zu den Rezensionen der Arbeiten von W. Crönert vgl. Marcello Gigante, "Il Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi: Contributo alla storia della Filologia Classica", *CErc* 10, 1980, 5-15, bes. 13.

⁴⁵ Stanisław Witkowski, *Prodromus grammaticae papyrorum Graecarum aetatis Lagidarum*, Cracovia 1897, 3: "Sermo enim Alexandrinus ortus est eo modo, ut dialectus Attica, quae pro fundamento τῆς κοινῆς est habenda, cum ceteris linguae Graecae dialectis commiseretur".

⁴⁶ S. Witkowski, *op. cit.*, 3: "Multa eiusmodi exempla in papyris inveniuntur, quae nobis ad oculos fere ponunt, quomodo in Aegypto variae dialecti inter se misceantur et paulatim nova 'communis' lingua oriatur".

Entwicklung der ägyptischen κοινή im 3.-1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert zu geben" (S. VII). In scharfem Gegensatz zu Witkowski sah Mayser von Anfang an die Rolle der alten Dialekte als minimal an, denn mochte auch "ein internationales Handelsgetriebe von Kaufleuten aller Zungen im mündlichen Verkehr genug Anlaß zur Sprachvermischung geben", so sei doch "die Tragweite dieses Faktors für die geschriebene Sprache nicht zu überschätzen": Man habe in Ägypten nicht mehr Reste der alten Dialekte als sonstwo zu erwarten, also kaum welche. Diese Grundüberzeugung brachte Mayser dazu, "manches dialektisch klingende Wort lieber auf lautlichem Wege (durch Lautverschlechterung, Analogiebildung, Accentwirkung) zu erklären".⁴⁷

Edwin Mayser ging an seine Grammatik, als Ferdinand de Saussure den Gedanken, daß jede Sprache ein "système où tout se tient" sei, noch längst nicht ausgesprochen hatte und als man sich ernsthafte Sprachwissenschaft nur als Geschichte von Einzelphänomenen vorstellen konnte. Dennoch erkannte er intuitiv, daß das Herausgreifen des einen oder anderen Aspektes der Sprache der Papyri oder die Untersuchung des Vor- und Nachlebens einzelner isolierter Elemente kaum das Verständnis für das Eigentümliche der ptolemäischen κοινή fördern würde. Zu Recht glaubte er, daß erst eine Beschreibung des sprachlichen Ganzen dieser Epoche ein zutreffendes Urteil erlauben würde, also eine synchrone Erforschung des Sprachsystems der ptolemäischen κοινή, wie wir heute sagen würden. Mayser sah klar, daß die Sprache der Papyrusdokumente nicht einfach als ein chaotisches Sammelsurium aller denkbaren "Fehler" betrachtet werden darf, sondern daß erst die Analyse gerade dieser Abweichungen uns ein Urteil über das "feste Gefüge" beziehungsweise, wie wir sagen würden, die Struktur der Schriftsprache des Hellenismus erlaubt.⁴⁸

"Die ptolemäischen Urkunden ... lassen ... erkennen, wie sehr schon im 3. Jh. die κοινή besonders in lexikalischer, doch auch in phonetischer und morphologischer Beziehung ein festes Gefüge bildete, welches seinen Rückhalt in der amtlichen Verkehrssprache gehabt haben muß; nach ihr streben, je nach ihrem Bildungsstand mit größerem oder geringerem Glück, die Verfasser der Papyrusdokumente".

Als dann schließlich die Schulprogramme im Jahre 1906 zum ersten Band der *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, so wie wir sie kennen, zusammenwuchsen, gab Mayser die Charakteristik der Sprache dieser Zeit, die wir auch heute noch unterschreiben können.⁴⁹

"Die ägyptische κοινή ist weder ein ionisches Bauernidiom noch ein buntscheckiges Gemisch verschiedener Mundarten noch ein verflachtes, verunreinigtes Attisch, sondern eine folgerichtig entwickelte, erweiterten Verhältnissen und zum Teil lokalen Bedürfnissen angepaßte, man möchte sagen modernisierte 'Ατθίς".

Ohne das in gewisser Weise zufällige Datum 1906, das Jahr des Erscheinens des ersten Bandes von Meysers Grammatik, überstrapazieren zu wollen, bleibt doch festzuhalten, daß es das Ende der Pionierperiode der Nutzbarmachung der Erkenntnisse aus den Papyrusdokumenten für die griechische Sprachwissenschaft markiert - von da an konnte man auf weit sichereren Fundamenten als zuvor weiterbauen. Es bleibt festzuhalten, daß die Papyri im Laufe von nur 15 Jahren, von 1891 bis 1906, in den Auffassungen über den Charakter der κοινή eine kleine

⁴⁷ Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I (= Programmbeilage für das Heilbronner Gymnasium), Leipzig 1898, IX. Eine ähnliche Äußerung findet sich freilich auch schon bei S. Witkowski, *op. cit.*, 6: "Morphologia papyrorum docet sermonem Graecum aetatis Hellenisticae eisdem fere formis constare ac sermonem aetatis Atticae. Formae, quas tunc temporis ortas videmus, maximam partem analogiae originem suam debent".

⁴⁸ Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I (= Programmbeilage für das Heilbronner Gymnasium), Leipzig 1898, XI-XII.

⁴⁹ Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, Laut- und Wortlehre*, Leipzig 1906, 1.

Revolution zustandebrachten: Sowohl der biblisch-christlichen Sondersprache als dem verderbten Dialektgemisch war der Garau gemacht worden, und das fehlende Glied zwischen der klassischen Gräzität und der byzantinischen Volkssprache wurde zumindest schemenhaft sichtbar. Natürlich blieb noch viel zu tun: Die Erforschung des Wortschatzes stand noch in den Anfängen, die nichtliterarische Sprache der nachptolemäischen Zeit wurde zunächst kaum bearbeitet, Untersuchungen zur Mehrsprachigkeit standen aus usw. usw. Man muß sich aber stets vor Augen halten, daß nur die Pioniergeneration ein wirklich neues Bild der Sprache aus den Papyri gewinnen konnte - seither gewinnen wir Jahr für Jahr unendlich viele Einzelerkenntnisse, aber die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache müssen wir nicht mehr deswegen nicht mehr völlig neu schreiben.

PAROLE GRECHE. LE VIE DAI PAPIRI AI DIZIONARI

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I papiri sono una fonte naturale per l'acquisizione di nuove parole: la scoperta di nuovi testi, di nuove parti di testi o di nuove lezioni per testi già conosciuti, è ovviamente la strada principale per incrementare la conoscenza del patrimonio lessicale della lingua greca. È un'affermazione scontata, come scontato è che non sia legata esclusivamente alla papirologia e all'epigrafia, perché nuovi testi, nuove lezioni e nuove parole possono facilmente venire anche da ricognizioni operate sui codici della tradizione medievale, da 'scavi' nelle biblioteche. Resta comunque il fatto che i ritrovamenti papiracei sono la fonte principale per incrementare la conoscenza del lessico del greco antico. Il problema degli *addenda lexicis*, dei *verba inaudita* di cui determinare il significato, di parole incontrate in un significato nuovo si è posto fin dagli inizi della papirologia e non cessa di porsi. Acquisizioni lessicali significative sono venute anche per opere di autori importanti della letteratura greca e non è difficile reperire esempi scorrendo il dizionario (qui avremo modo di parlare di Euripide, Ierocle stoico, Aristotele). Il tema riguarda naturalmente sia i testi letterari sia la massa di documenti pubblici e privati che i papiri ci fanno continuamente conoscere. L'incremento delle conoscenze è poi considerevole anche nel campo dell'onomastica, in cui manca per il greco uno strumento completo e aggiornato.

L'incremento del lessico deve prima o poi trovare la strada più corretta ed efficace per entrare in quei fondamentali strumenti di lavoro che sono i dizionari: in caso contrario, l'aumento di conoscenze resterà difficilmente utilizzabile ai vari livelli della ricerca. Per la papirologia si pongono problemi specifici, con difficoltà che la registrazione nei dizionari delle parole nuove e delle nuove accezioni evidenzia in modo particolare. È un problema certamente non nuovo, nell'ambito del quale vale sempre la pena riflettere su qualche esempio significativo.*

Il caso di più immediata evidenza problematica è quello delle cosiddette "parole fantasma". Sono stati trovati e si trovano via via, come è ben noto, casi di parole che sono presenti nei dizionari ma in realtà non esistono nella lingua greca, almeno allo stato attualmente reale della documentazione. Con ogni probabilità, i papiri non saranno responsabili di tutte le "parole fantasma" che si possono e si potranno smascherare, ma certo non pochi casi di questo genere risultano dovuti a letture sbagliate nell'edizione di testi su papiro: parole che vengono scoperte come altrimenti sconosciute, vengono accolte come nuove acquisizioni e poi scompaiono grazie a successive letture o in seguito a vere e proprie nuove edizioni del testo interessato. Quando nel frattempo - cioè nell'intervallo fra la pubblicazione della lettura erronea e la pubblicazione della correzione - la parola è già entrata in un dizionario (specie se si tratta di un'opera di ampio uso), capita che si determini una pericolosa situazione, che chiamerei di errore acquisito e codificato e che mostra talvolta una tenacità, direi, inquietante.

Per le osservazioni che seguono prenderemo in considerazione soprattutto il dizionario standard di più largo uso scientifico, cioè il lessico Greco-Inglese *LSJ* nell'ultima edizione del

* Purtroppo la Presidente designata della seduta, la Prof.ssa Hélène Cadell, non ha potuto partecipare al Congresso per motivi di salute. Malgrado questo, M.me Cadell mi ha fatto pervenire un testo scritto di quanto avrebbe detto aprendo la discussione sul mio intervento. Ho tenuto conto della sue osservazioni e desidero ringraziarla per la cortese collaborazione.

1940¹ con il *Supplement* del 1968;² dove possibile (cioè soltanto fino al lemma βασιλεύς) terremo conto anche del nuovo dizionario Greco-Spagnolo, il *DGE*,³ il cui allestimento è in corso.

Nel *Supplement* del *LSJ*, pubblicato nel 1968, troviamo un nuovo aggettivo, ignoto alle edizioni precedenti e quindi contrassegnato con la crocetta dei *New Words*.⁴ L'aggettivo in questione è ἀβίᾱτος, di cui viene indicata l'equivalenza con il ben testimoniato ἀβίαστος (equivalenza, evidentemente, semantica ed etimologica). La voce ἀβίατος compare anche nel *DGE*, inserita al suo posto nell'ordine dei lemmi e in forma molto simile a quella del *LSJ Suppl.*

LSJ Suppl.: *ἀβίᾱτος [ῖ], ον, = ἀβίαστος, *Trag. Adesp.* in *Gött. Nachr.* 1922.25.

DGE: ἀβίᾱτος, -ον [-ῖ-] no forzado ἀνήρ, *Trag. Adesp.* en *Gött. Nachr.* 1922.25.

L'unica occorrenza di ἀβίᾱτος si trova, secondo quanto dicono entrambi i dizionari, in un frammento tragico adespoto pubblicato nelle *Nachrichten* di Gottinga del 1922: si tratta di un papiro di Strasburgo (inv. WG 304A-307 = Pack² 426), che contiene resti di un'antologia di parti liriche da tragedie di Euripide, del quale W. Crönert nel luogo indicato dava un'incompleta *editio princeps*.⁵ I diversi frammenti restituiscono, oltre a cospicue sezioni della *Medea* e delle *Fenicie*, versi di una tragedia perduta: di quest'ultima inizialmente si mise addirittura in dubbio il carattere euripideo,⁶ ma in seguito si considerò praticamente certa l'attribuzione a Euripide e si proposero identificazioni della tragedia (con la *Melanippe desmotis* o la *Melanippe sophè*), che però non si sono imposte.⁷ E' in questa parte del papiro che Crönert leggeva la sequenza interessata dal nostro discorso,⁸ cioè]αναβιατονανεραωνν/[sequenza che egli interpretava]αν ἀβίατον ἀνέρα. νῦν δ[έ, precisando poi nelle note al testo che la "parola nuova" ἀβίᾱτος andava considerata equivalente a ἀβίαστος.⁹ Tuttavia, pochi anni dopo (nel 1936) N. Lewis ripubblicò il papiro e nello stesso luogo lesse la sequenza]ναβιοτονανεραωνν.[,

¹ La prima edizione del dizionario greco-inglese di Henry George Liddell e Robert Scott comparve nel 1843: si tratta quindi di un dizionario la cui ossatura di base risale alla prima metà dell'Ottocento. Naturalmente, è stato riveduto più volte: la IX edizione fu curata da Henry Stuart Jones, con l'aiuto di R. McKenzie, e fu pubblicata a Oxford nel 1940; ad essa fu aggiunto il *Supplement* citato nella nota seguente. Non c'è dubbio che una nuova edizione interamente rivista e accresciuta sarebbe assai opportuna e benvenuta.

² H. G. Liddell - R. Scott - H. Stuart Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon. A Supplement*, Edited by E. A. Barber, with the assistance of P. Maas, M. Scheller and M.L. West, Oxford 1968.

³ *Diccionario Griego-Español (DGE)*, redactado bajo la dirección de Francisco R. Adrados ... por E. Gangutia - J. Lopez Facal - C. Serrano - P. Badenas, Madrid: vol. I, 1980; vol. II, 1986; vol. III, 1991. La parte finora pubblicata arriva alla parola βασιλεύς. Sui dizionari moderni del Greco cfr. J. L. Facal, *Historia de la Lexicografía griega moderna*, in AA.VV., *Introducción a la lexicografía griega*, Madrid 1977.

⁴ Come spiegato in *Preface*, p. V.

⁵ W. Crönert, *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesell. Wissensch. Göttingen*, Philol.-Hist. Kl., 1922, pp. 17 sgg.: il testo in questione si trova alle pp. 23 e 25. Cfr. A. Körte, *APF* 7, 1924, pp. 256 sg.

⁶ Wilamowitz *apud* Crönert, *op. cit.*, p. 25; cfr. Körte, *APF* 7 *cit.*, pp. 256 sg.

⁷ N. Lewis, 'Greek Literary Papyri', *Ét. Papyrol.* 3, 1936, No. 5, pp. 52 sgg., proponeva la *Melanippe desmotis* con punto interrogativo; B. Snell, *Euripides Alexandros und andere Strassburger papyri mit Fragmenten Griechischer Dichter*, Berlin 1937, pp. 78 sgg., preferiva invece la *Melanippe sophè*; A. Körte, *APF* 13, 1939, opta per l'ipotesi di Snell; D.L. Page, *Select Papyri. III. Literary Papyri. Poetry*, London-Cambridge 1941, n. 13 p. 108, ritiene insufficienti gli indizi per entrambe le ipotesi; infine, tra i frammenti euripidei di collocazione ignota lo annovera H. J. Mette, in *Lustrum* 12, 1967, p. 6 n. 4 e p. 7; *Lustrum* 13, 1968, p. 318 F 1343; *Lustrum* 23-24, 1981-82, p. 342 F 1356 (e lamenta: «leider nich neu bearbeitet», *scil.* dopo Snell 1937, *cit.*).

⁸ Crönert, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹ Crönert, *loc. cit.*, p. 25: «ἀβίᾱτος = ἀβίαστος». Da qui evidentemente l'indicazione che si legge in *LSJ Suppl.*

che interpretava $\text{Iv}\alpha\ \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha.\ \nu\acute{\nu}\nu.$], correggendo così tacitamente la lettura $\alpha\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ in $\alpha\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$.¹⁰ Un anno dopo (nel 1937) anche B. Snell dava una nuova edizione del papiro, dove la stessa sequenza di lettere, trascritta come Lewis, era interpretata $\text{Iv}\ \acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha.\ \nu\acute{\nu}\nu\ \delta[\acute{\epsilon}.$ ¹¹ Dunque, il supposto aggettivo $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ era già abbondantemente sparito nel 1937, grazie alle nuove edizioni del papiro di Strasburgo con la lettura corretta: un'ulteriore verifica ha confermato che nel papiro c'è scritto proprio $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$.¹² Purtroppo, oltre che nei dizionari menzionati, $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ è entrato anche nel *Reverse Index* di Buck-Petersen.¹³ Si tratta invece di un aggettivo non attestato e che dunque, allo stato attuale, va eliminato dai dizionari.

Questo frammento euripideo di collocazione ignota offre altri dati al nostro discorso, su cui ci soffermiamo brevemente. Nella sua *editio princeps*, a proposito dei resti della tragedia perduta, Crönert annotava: «Neue Worte sind $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (?), $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ und $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$...». Vediamo qual è stata la sorte di queste nuove parole nei dizionari.

LSJ: $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *ov*, with fair halls, *Trag. Adesp.* in *Gött. Nachr.* 1922.25.

LSJ Suppl.: $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *ov*, sharpened at the point, ἔγχη, *E. Fr.* in *Gött. Nachr.* 1922.25.

DGE: $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, -*ov de punta afilada* ἔγχη, *E. P. Strassb. WG* 306.3.24

Delle tre, soltanto $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ è stato incluso già in *LSJ*,¹⁴ con un rinvio identico a quello che si legge nel *Supplement* per $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, vale a dire il rinvio a un frammento tragico adespoto (il *DGE* non è ancora arrivato alla *epsilon*). Invece $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ compare soltanto nel *Supplement*,¹⁵ con la crocetta dei *New Words*, ma con un rinvio differente, cioè con l'esplicita attribuzione a Euripide del frammento edito nelle *Gött. Nachr.*: la stessa cosa si trova anche nel *DGE*, che dunque conserva l'incoerenza di *LSJ Suppl.* fra il lemma $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ e il lemma $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ per quanto riguarda il rinvio alla fonte (un frammento adespoto oppure Euripide). Non so perché soltanto per $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ sia stata stampata l'attribuzione a Euripide; e non ho idea di quale sia (se c'è, e se non si tratta di pura casualità) la ragione del diverso trattamento riservato alle tre parole, cioè perché $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ fu presto incluso in *LSJ* mentre $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ e $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ne furono esclusi e furono recuperati solo nel supplemento. Forse a questo proposito vale la pena osservare che, mentre $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ è sicuro (tramandato è $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron$), per $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ un minimo di dubbio rimane, perché tramandato è solo $\text{I}\rho\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omega\nu\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\omega\nu$, integrato $\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ $\text{I}\rho\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\omega\nu$ nell'*ed. pr.* e poi nelle successive edizioni:¹⁶ dubbio indicato da Crönert nell'*ed. pr.* (cfr. sopra). È lecito pensare che *LSJ* abbia accolto il sicuro $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ e abbia considerato $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ incerto (sulla base di Crönert) e $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ inesistente (sulla base delle nuove edizioni). In questo caso, il successivo recupero nel *Supplement* avrebbe preso per base, stranamente, soltanto l'*editio princeps* del papiro (pur

¹⁰ Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 e 69.

¹¹ Snell, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Snell informa (p. 79) che le sue letture sono state controllate sull'originale da P. Maas.

¹² Ringrazio H. Maehler, che ha controllato la lettura sull'originale e mi ha confermato per lettera la correttezza di $\alpha\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$.

¹³ C.D. Buck - W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago 1948 (rist. Olms 1984): $\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ p. 472, col. 2, 14.

¹⁴ In Buck - Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 325, col. 2, 17.

¹⁵ In Buck - Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 496, col. 1, 57.

¹⁶ Per vero dire, nell'*ed. pr.* si trova $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\theta\eta\kappa\tau\omega\nu$, ma il *kappa* non fu letto dagli editori successivi.

avendo a disposizione il Pack², che al nr. 426 dà la bibliografia), per di più con un rimando incoerente. E il tutto è stato accolto senza sostanziali cambiamenti nel *DGE*.

Il frammento euripideo di Strasburgo sembrava aver restituito al patrimonio lessicale del greco tre parole di Euripide prima ignote: ma una di queste, ἀβίατος, era una “parola fantasma” che, malgrado le correzioni apportate abbastanza presto dopo l'*editio princeps*, ha resistito tenacemente nei dizionari. Le altre due, εὐμέλαθρος e ἀκρόθηκτος, vanno accolte e segnalate entrambe come parole di Euripide e non di un frammento tragico adesposito (forse apponendo ancora, per scrupolo, una nota di dubbio all'attestazione di ἀκρόθηκτος).

Molto interessante è il materiale offerto dal papiro che ha restituito un cospicuo brano dell'etica di Ierocle stoico, cioè P.Berol. inv. 9780 v. Editto per la prima volta da H. von Arnim nel 1906,¹⁷ questo grosso frammento (resti di 12 colonne di testo assai fitto), malgrado i numerosi studi e l'interesse filosofico che ha suscitato,¹⁸ non è più stato oggetto di una sistematica revisione e di una nuova edizione, fino a quella preparata da G. Bastianini e A.A. Long per il *CPF* e apparsa nel 1992, con un'ampia introduzione e un cospicuo commento.¹⁹ Il testo di Ierocle era ricco di nuove parole, che sono state tutte puntualmente registrate nel *LSJ* e sono state così accolte ad arricchire la nostra conoscenza del lessico greco:²⁰ ma una di esse non ha resistito alla rilettura autoptica del papiro. Uno degli *hapax* attribuiti al frammento di Ierocle era l'aggettivo ἄθλητος -ον, registrato nel *LSJ* come *dubia lectio* alla col. V r. 2 del papiro, sulla base dell'*editio princeps* di H. von Arnim, che dava per quel passo τὰ τε ἔλκη φυλάττομεν ἀπρόσκρουστα καὶ ἄθλητα, senza nessuna osservazione in apparato.

LSJ: ἄθλητος, ον, = ἄθλαστος, dub. l. Hierocl. p.25.3A.

DGE: ἄθλητος, -ον *no contusionado* ἔλκη, Hierocl. p.25.8(dud.).

Ma l'aggettivo ἄθλητος in realtà non esiste, come ha definitivamente mostrato l'accurata revisione operata da Bastianini: non ci sono più dubbi, ora, che la lettura corretta a col. V 2 non sia ἄθλητα, bensì ἄθλιπτα, per cui ἄθλητος non ha alcuna attestazione e va eliminato dai dizionari.²¹ Anche in questo caso, dobbiamo osservare che la sua resistenza è stata tenace: il *DGE* lo registra come il *LSJ*, con analogia indicazione di lezione dubbia. La “storia”, per così dire, di questa lezione è stata ben ricostruita da Guido Bastianini in un apposito articolo,²² e non ne ripeterò qui tutti gli elementi. Dubbi nacquero presto sulla correttezza del testo di Ierocle in quel punto, e questo probabilmente (credo) spiega il fatto che nel *LSJ* la voce sia registrata come *dubia lectio*, anche se in von Arnim non c'erano osservazioni in proposito. Basterà ricordare soltanto che F. Blass, nella recensione dell'edizione di von Arnim, aveva sostenuto che la lezione corretta doveva essere ἄθλιπτα, e aggiungeva anche che dalla fotografia pubblicata nell'*editio princeps* gli pareva di poter dire che nel papiro in realtà fosse scritto proprio ἄθλιπτα, dunque che non si trattasse di emendare il testo tradito, ma solo di ripristinarne la lettura corretta. La recensione di Blass apparve nel 1907.²³ Come dicevamo,

¹⁷ H. von Arnim, *BKT IV*, 1906.

¹⁸ Si veda la bibliografia nell'*ed. cit.* alla nota seguente.

¹⁹ *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici greci e latini (CPF)*, Parte I: Autori Noti, vol. 1**, Firenze 1992, pp. 268-451 (introduzione, testo critico con traduzione e commento a cura di G. Bastianini e A.A. Long).

²⁰ Si possono trovare evidenziate nel corso del commento dell'edizione Bastianini - Long *cit.*

²¹ G. Bastianini, “ἈΘΛΗΤΟΣ, un aggettivo fantasma”, *SCO* 39 (1989), p. 351.

²² Bastianini, *SCO* 1989, *cit.*

²³ Tutti i dati in Bastianini, *SCO* 1989, *cit.*

l'ultima revisione del papiro ha definitivamente confermato ἄθλιπτα, per cui, almeno allo stato attuale, l'aggettivo ἄθλητος, -ov è una "parola fantasma" che va eliminata dal dizionario.

Un caso differente (e che a me pare davvero curioso), questa volta di una nuova parola rivelatasi "non fantasma", ci è offerto da uno dei più famosi testi ritrovati grazie a un papiro: l'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele. Si tratta dell'ultima parola del cap. 47, 5, che M. Chambers nella sua nuova edizione teubneriana,²⁴ malgrado il pochissimo che manca, lascia nel testo non completata. Nel contesto si sta parlando delle locazioni di terreni, che sono registrate su tavolette custodite dallo schiavo pubblico: alla scadenza del pagamento, lo schiavo tira fuori le tavolette e trasmette agli esattori quelle di coloro i cui debiti devono essere pagati in quel giorno e poi cancellati; quindi prosegue: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρὶς ἵνα μὴ ... (cioè: "le altre tavolette restano da parte affinché non ..."), cui deve seguire ovviamente una forma verbale. Dopo μ η, è sicura la sequenza προεξαλ, a cui segue con tutta probabilità ε ι. A quanto pare, dunque, non si sfugge a una forma del verbo προεξαλείφω, un composto che in *LSJ* è registrato solo per questo passo.²⁵ Dopo προεξαλει, c'è spazio per una lettera, o anche due se strette, cui seguono resti un poco più consistenti, forse di altre due lettere (che potrebbero essere unite in un legamento): parte di una piccola curva stretta, quasi un angolo, in basso a destra; poi un'asta verticale con un minuscolo tratto sporgente in basso verso destra, appena percettibilmente piegato all'ingiù. Diciamo subito che si può escludere ηι finale, e con ciò anche il προεξαλειφθηι (cioè προεξαλειφθηῖ) ipotizzato da molti sulla scia di Kenyon ("affinché non siano cancellate prima del tempo"). Si potrebbe essere tentati di interpretare l'ultima traccia (che non appartiene a una *iota*) come resto dell'abbreviazione per la finale αι: tuttavia per προεξαλείφεται (proposto da van Herwerden,²⁶ che Chambers in apparato commenta "fort. recte"), non sembra bastare lo spazio, cioè φητ è troppo lungo per lo spazio residuo; e peraltro, questa interpretazione dell'ultima traccia mi sembra del tutto improbabile. Poteva esserci un errore, di qualunque genere: ma sarebbe assai poco metodico (come sappiamo) integrare il testo *iuxta lacunam* sulla base di questa supposizione e "inventare" qualcosa.

Bene ha dunque fatto Chambers a lasciare la lacuna nel testo. Bisogna esercitare un' apprezzabile prudenza filologica per resistere alla tentazione di integrare poche lettere in queste condizioni: e infatti tutti gli editori dell'*Athenaion Politeia* hanno voluto completare nel testo questa parola,²⁷ di solito con προεξαλειφθηῖ. Ma Chambers aveva ragione di non essere convinto, perché ciò che è scritto sul papiro è diverso. Un tentativo, che però inclinerei a ritenere fallito, è il seguente. Dopo προεξαλει, come dicevamo, c'è spazio per una lettera larga o due strette, cui segue il resto di una piccola curva stretta in basso a destra, che farebbe pensare alla sacca destra di un *omega*. Dunque προεξαλειψω potrebbe andare bene e ci indirizzerebbe a una terza persona plurale del congiuntivo aoristo, cioè προεξαλειψωσιν, ma per la finale σιν ci sono forti difficoltà di lettura (rispetto alle tracce visibili e allo spazio), difficoltà che al momento mi paiono insormontabili. Il risultato sarebbe "le altre tavolette restano da parte affinché non le cancellino prima del tempo": l'uso della terza persona plurale con un soggetto generale inespresso trova buoni paralleli nell'*Athenaion Politeia*.²⁸ Ma, ripeto, allo stato attuale

²⁴ Aristoteles. *AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ*, edidit M. Chambers, Leipzig 1986, p. 43, 12.

²⁵ E' registrato un caso di προαπαλείφω in Dione Cassio 43, 21, 4: cfr. P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, *ad loc.* Sono ben attestati i composti semplici ἀπαλείφω / ἐξαλείφω: questa coppia corrisponderebbe ai composti doppi προαπαλείφω / προεξαλείφω.

²⁶ H. van Herwerden, 'Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zur 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία', *BPW* 11, 1892, col. 611.

²⁷ Da ultimo anche Gigon, cfr. *Aristotelis Opera*, ex recens. Imm. Bekkeri, edidit Academia R. Borussica, accedunt Fragmenta, Scholia, Index Aristotelicus. Editio altera. Addendis instruxit, fragmentorum collectionem retractavit O. Gigon: Vol. III. *Librorum deperditorum fragmenta*, collegit et adnotationibus instruxit O. Gigon, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1987, pp. 581 sgg.

²⁸ Cfr. per es. 30, 4; 40, 2; 43, 2; 46, 1 (per la costruzione anche 16, 3; 21, 4).

anche questa possibilità non dovrebbe in alcun modo essere accolta nel testo, per problemi di lettura.²⁹

Ho detto che il caso mi pare curioso perché mi sono chiesto se, in queste condizioni, il lessicografo che compila il dizionario deve considerare προεξαλείφω un verbo attestato. Abbiamo προεξαλει, e dunque pare difficile, come dicevamo, che ci fosse qualcosa di diverso da una forma di προεξαλείφω. E tuttavia, malgrado il poco che manca, non si riesce a sapere con certezza di quale forma si trattasse. Allora, è davvero superato ogni dubbio a proposito dell'esistenza di προεξαλείφω, verbo composto testimoniato una volta nell'*Athenaion Politeia* di Aristotele?³⁰ In teoria, non possiamo escludere con assoluta certezza che una qualsiasi altra possibilità esista ma al momento ci sfugga. Credo che, in queste condizioni, sia giusto accogliere προεξαλείφω nel dizionario, ma un'indicazione di dubbio debba essere posta per mettere in guardia sul fatto che l'attestazione non è totalmente sicura e un piccolo sospetto su di essa rimane. Comunque non si dovrebbe dare alcuna indicazione sulla forma attestata e magari dire esplicitamente che non si sa esattamente quale sia tale forma nell'unica ricorrenza conosciuta del verbo. Nella voce che compare attualmente nel *LSJ*, dunque, toglierei senz'altro l'annotazione «(Pass.)» alla fine e espliciterei il dubbio sulla forma attestata nel passo.

Abbiamo ancora una parola la cui attestazione è assai probabile ma non del tutto sicura: come per l'aggettivo ἀκρόθηκτος, che abbiamo visto prima. Tuttavia mi pare si possa dire che si tratta di due diversi tipi di incertezza: nel caso di ἀκρόθηκτος l'incertezza riguarda in certa misura l'esistenza dell'aggettivo;³¹ nel caso di προεξαλείφω c'è un grado di incertezza minore sull'esistenza del verbo, mentre rimane incerta la forma. Osservo questo senza pretendere che un dizionario arrivi a un simile grado di approfondimento nella redazione di ogni lemma, cosa che mi pare impensabile. In ogni caso, faremo comunque bene a tenere conto di quanto sfumato può essere lo stato delle cose trattandosi di *hapax legomena* attestati soltanto su un frammento di papiro, e all'occorrenza non trascurare un controllo del testo.

Non voglio terminare questa esemplificazione senza aggiungere in breve anche un caso ritrovato in un ambito che non mi è familiare, quello dei papiri documentari. Qui l'incremento di conoscenze lessicali è forse anche quantitativamente più consistente rispetto ai testi letterari e il discorso dovrebbe certamente essere più ampio: strumenti come il *Wörterbuch* e il *Namenbuch*³² lo testimoniano con la loro mole e per essi si pongono evidentemente problemi simili a quelli che abbiamo visto per dizionari come il *LSJ* e il *DGE*. Non mi sento (anche per ragioni di spazio) di fare altro che addurre un esempio, per cui dipendo totalmente dalla mia fonte.

L'esempio è quello della parola κωντοναίτωρ, di cui ha fatto giustizia in modo convincente Paul Schubert pochi anni fa.³³ Κωντοναίτωρ “nacque” nel 1890 in seguito alla

²⁹ Un altro tentativo, che deve molto alla consultazione di Guido Bastianini. Il resto di piccola curva potrebbe essere di un *my* e la traccia seguente potrebbe essere l'asta verticale sinistra di un *eta* appoggiata sopra il tratto terminale destro del *my* (il minuscolo tratto sporgente in basso verso destra). Se pensiamo a $\mu\eta$ e poi a un piccolo *delta* in alto, del tutto scomparso (poi non c'è spazio per altro), avremmo un'abbreviazione per troncamento di μηδεῖς. Prima dovremmo pensare alla terza persona del congiuntivo aoristo attivo, dunque προεξαλείψῃ, con abbreviazione della desinenza: “le altre tavolette restano da parte affinché nessuno le cancelli prima del tempo”. Questo scriba, che è L⁴, abbrevia molto (anche per sospensione/troncamento), ma anche questa possibilità resta del tutto in sospeso.

³⁰ *En passant*, e per quel che vale, si può notare che lo stile di Aristotele non appare povero di verbi composti con προεκ- / προεξ-: il Bonitz registra (a parte προεξαλείφω) quattro composti con προεκ- e cinque composti con προεξ-.

³¹ Anche se allo stato attuale non sembra possibile integrare diversamente il tradito]ροθηκτων. Ci vorrebbe un altro composto di θηκτός, che sarebbe ugualmente non attestato. In verità, i composti di θηκτός non sono pochi, cfr. Buck - Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 496, col. 1.

³² A cui si aggiungano lo *Spoglio lessicale* di S. Daris e l'*Onomasticon* di D. Foraboschi.

³³ P. Schubert, ‘Κωντοναίτωρ: a Ghost Word’, *ZPE* 75, 1988, pp. 173 sg.

pubblicazione di due documenti (del 512 e 513) da parte di A.-H. Sayce e pose subito difficoltà di interpretazione che non furono superate da posteriori tentativi. La lettura corretta, a quanto pare, è in realtà κωντούκτωρ, traslitterazione greca del latino *conductor*, la cui attestazione non è nuova.³⁴ Come si può immaginare, se κωντοναίτωρ non trovò una via di ingresso nel *LSJ*, fu senz'altro accolto nel *Wörterbuch* del Preisigke, anche se privo di interpretazione.³⁵ Ma κωντοναίτωρ non esiste e va eliminato dal dizionario.

Abbiamo iniziato ricordando l'importante ruolo dei papiri nell'incrementare la conoscenza del patrimonio lessicale del greco. Per vero dire, questa piccola esemplificazione ha registrato l'eliminazione dai dizionari di tre parole, ἀβίατος, ἄθλητος e κωντοναίτωρ, che erano comparse come "parole nuove" trovate in papiri ed erano state accolte, ma si sono poi rivelate "parole fantasma", da eliminare in seguito a progressi nella decifrazione dei testimoni papiracei. Il rischio di imbattersi in "parole fantasma" è un'insidia che può spesso nascondersi dietro l'attestazione di un interessante *hapax* ed è sempre consigliabile una piccola riflessione, per esempio sull'epoca e le caratteristiche dell'edizione usata come fonte. Nel caso di ἀβίατος, il rinvio a un'edizione nelle *Göttingische Nachrichten* del 1922 di un frammento tragico adespoto mi pare dovesse suscitare un certo sospetto e una rapida ricerca ha subito mostrato che, quanto meno, quel frammento era stato riconsiderato e ristudiato dopo l'*editio princeps*.

Un'altra riflessione ci può venire dall'incoerenza osservata (Euripide o un tragico ignoto) nella citazione della fonte per ἀκρόθηκτος e per εὐμέλαθρος. Può capitare, come sappiamo bene, che un testo edito come adespoto venga poi attribuito, con più o meno verisimiglianza, a un autore conosciuto o almeno a un genere letterario; oppure che un testo pubblicato come ignoto venga poi identificato. Il valore della testimonianza lessicale cambia molto, come è ovvio, e diverso è registrare una parola come attestata in un frammento adespoto oppure in un frammento di un ben preciso autore.

Il lavoro del lessicografo è lungi dall'essere finito quando abbia registrato le nuove acquisizioni fornite da un frammento di nuova pubblicazione. Una difficoltà di fondo è che il ritmo di produzione dei dizionari è particolarmente lento nel caso delle lingue antiche e dunque sempre arretrato rispetto a quanto viene pubblicato. Il dizionario standard per il grecista oggi è senza dubbio il *LSJ*, che ha visto la luce nel 1843, è stato rivisto organicamente l'ultima volta nel 1940 ed è stato aggiornato con un supplemento nel 1968. Non credo di poter essere smentito se dico che c'è un problema nel passaggio delle informazioni sulle parole nuove fra chi pubblica i testi o fa nuove letture e chi compila o aggiorna i dizionari. Che il dizionario sia sempre arretrato rispetto alle scoperte è ovvio, e non potrebbe essere altrimenti: il problema è *quanto* arretrato, quanto grandi sono le carenze da questo punto di vista.

Considerando da una parte il ritmo di produzione dei dizionari del greco antico e dall'altra il ritmo di comparsa delle novità, ci si rende facilmente conto che il nostro dizionario è destinato a soffrire di carenze prolungate nel registrare il nuovo, cioè a essere sempre in uno stato di arretratezza forse un po' eccessivo. Se l'esito del nostro discorso fosse soltanto di esortare da una parte gli editori di testi a stare ben attenti a non creare "parole fantasma" e a non osare troppo nelle integrazioni stampate nel testo, dall'altra i compilatori di dizionari a cercare di utilizzare al meglio una bibliografia il più possibile aggiornata per schedare l'edizione più attendibile e scegliere l'interpretazione più fondata, cioè di esortare entrambe le parti al massimo sforzo per far arrivare e acquisire informazioni: se l'esito del nostro discorso fosse soltanto questo, sarebbe un esito molto vicino - direi - a quello di augurarsi il migliore dei mondi possibili. Per esempio, è senz'altro utile e lodevole che da un certo tempo gli indici dei volumi dei *P.Oxy.* (come molti altri volumi di nuovi testi) segnalino sistematicamente con un asterisco le parole assenti da

³⁴ I dati in Schubert, *art. cit.*

³⁵ Cfr. *WB* I, 1925, col. 859; III, 1931, col. 131.

LSJ e Suppl., ed è senz'altro una cosa da raccomandare come utile in tutte le nuove edizioni. Ma dire che bisogna fare ogni sforzo per migliorare, è del tutto ovvio. Magari sarà da considerare il fatto che diagnosticare i problemi nel modo più preciso e approfondito possibile è utile per imparare ad affrontarli, e per questo credo che il nostro discorso abbia un qualche significato. Ma in chiusura voglio aggiungere una considerazione. Io credo che la vera svolta nell'allestimento del dizionario (come di altri strumenti di lavoro e repertori di base) stia nell'uso oculato e intelligente del computer. Non sono certo un fanatico di questo strumento, che peraltro sta segnando l'epoca nella quale vivono anche i papirologi: ma sono sicuro che ci è utile e che dobbiamo sfruttarlo per i servizi che può renderci. Quando avremo un dizionario su computer, il suo aggiornamento sarà assai più agevole di quanto sia stato finora: l'aggiunta di nuovi lemmi, l'aggiunta di nuovi significati e nuove attestazioni, le correzioni di ogni genere potranno essere fatti con grande comodità. Le tecnologie avanzano rapidamente e spero non sia così lontana l'epoca in cui si potrà avere sui nostri tavoli *anche* il dizionario su un CD: non soltanto su CD, perché sono ben convinto che, anche per questi strumenti di base, il libro cartaceo non morirà. Allora forse la strada da battere non è tanto quella di sognare una situazione ideale ben difficile da realizzare, ma quella di usare uno strumento adatto a correggere più facilmente difetti che prima duravano troppo a lungo.

RÉPONSES AUX EXPOSÉS DE J. KRAMER, G. HORSLEY ET F. MONTANARI

*Hélène Cadell**

Réponse à Johannes Kramer : PAPYROLOGIE UND SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT: DIE PIONIERZEIT (1891 - 1906).

Il était opportun, pour célébrer le centenaire de la papyrologie comme discipline autonome avec ses méthodes propres, d'invoquer en introduction l'autorité de Karl Preisendanz, d'autre part de rappeler la publication, entre 1891 et 1898, des premiers volumes des grandes collections qui allaient se révéler par la suite, jusqu'à aujourd'hui encore, tellement riches de documents précieux.

L'apparition, si l'on peut dire "massive", des papyrus documentaires — qui posaient naturellement, entre autres, des problèmes d'ordre linguistique — ne pouvait manquer de provoquer pour le moins des soubresauts (vous avez même parlé de "révolution") chez les grammairiens spécialistes d'un grec classique porté à sa perfection, et d'accentuer une opposition tranchée entre le "bon" grec et le "mauvais" grec, tenu pour décadent, indigne de considération et dont il n'y avait pas grand chose à tirer.

Dans cet ordre d'idée, vous citez les vieux ouvrages, échelonnés de 1839 à 1880, de Buttmann, de Menge, de Kühner puis même de Gustav Meyer, et l'intérêt porté aux anciennes inscriptions dialectales plutôt qu'à la *koinè*. J'ajouterai que, dans l'*opinio communis*, un jugement assez proche du leur (qui pouvait se comprendre à leur époque) a longtemps perduré chez un certain nombre de philologues "purs et durs". Fort heureusement, la tendance s'est maintenant inversée, et la communauté des hellénistes manifeste en général curiosité et attention à l'égard de la langue postclassique.

En choisissant de brosser un tableau des travaux qui, en quinze ans et à pas de géants, de Hatzidakis à Mayser, allaient contribuer à faire reconnaître les traits linguistiques particuliers de la *koinè* et à promouvoir les témoignages papyrologiques, vous attaquiez un sujet difficile sinon ingrat, qui exigeait de maîtriser des ouvrages aussi savants qu'austères. Vous y avez réussi d'une façon magistrale qui force l'admiration. Je ne puis que résumer brièvement ici les étapes "brûlées" en un si court laps de temps, sur lesquelles vous nous avez fourni les données essentielles.

Du strict point de vue de la chronologie, certaines démarches s'entrecroisent, mais elles s'ordonnent néanmoins en quatre courants principaux.

Dans un premier temps, une nouvelle génération de grammairiens, soucieux de reconstituer une histoire complète de la langue grecque en insérant l'époque byzantine pour aboutir au grec moderne, allait trouver dans les papyrus le maillon manquant de la chaîne. On retient, avec reconnaissance, les noms et les oeuvres de G.N. Hatzidakis, dès 1892, et six ans plus tard, en 1898, de Karl Dieterich qui voyait dans les inscriptions et dans les papyrus des

* Immediately before the congress Hélène Cadell was unfortunately prevented from participating. Since a discussion can only be conducted by proxy with great difficulty and a certain loss of liveliness, I preferred at the time to ask my friend Dr. Sten Ebbesen to take her place with his own reactions to the three papers. The responses of Hélène Cadell, which she had sent me and which were known both to Sten Ebbesen and to the three lecturers in the session, were thus not read to the participants of the congress and they will be all the more interesting for the readers of this volume. (A.B-J.)

témoins incontournables, dont il fallait faire le plus large usage possible en incluant donc ceux des époques ptolémaïque et romaine.

Il y eut à compter aussi avec les spécialistes de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, œuvres qui échappaient aux règles de la stylistique normative et qui suscitaient depuis trois siècles des discussions animées entre tenants de l'“hébraïsme” et du “purisme”. Les *Bibelstudien* (1895) et les *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897) d'Adolf Deissmann marquent un tournant décisif. Le futur auteur de *Licht von Osten* fut le premier à soutenir qu'il n'existait pas de grec biblique, langue sacrée séparée de son contexte profane, mais que les inscriptions et les papyrus d'époque hellénistique éclairaient le texte des Septante et du Nouveau Testament en fournissant des parallèles syntaxiques et lexicaux, notamment des expressions techniques, qui diminuaient le nombre de ce que l'on considérait comme des hébraïsmes — les trois exemples que vous citez, d'*enteuxis*, d'*aphésis hydatôn* et d'*énôpion* emportant l'adhésion.

La voie était ainsi ouverte à Albert Thumb qui s'attacha, en 1901, à exploiter les sources papyrologiques pour étudier les traits spécifiques d'une *koinè* qui dépassait de loin un simple dialecte alexandrin et n'était autre que le grec parlé, commun à l'Asie Mineure aussi bien qu'à l'Égypte. Quant à Wilamowitz, dès la parution des premiers volumes des P.Oxy., il en notait les particularités phonétiques, morphologiques, syntaxiques et sémantiques.

Enfin, l'on s'acheminait déjà vers l'élaboration d'une grammaire systématique des papyrus, avec, en 1897, les *Prolegomena* de Witkowski, et surtout, à partir de 1898, avec la compilation de la monumentale *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, d'Edwin Mayser qui, en catégoriant les faits grammaticaux et en les interprétant, démontrait définitivement la cohérence de la *koinè* ptolémaïque, étape décisive dans l'évolution de la langue grecque. Le premier des six fascicules, consacré à la phonétique, paraissait en 1906.

La réimpression, en 1970, de l'ensemble de l'ouvrage de Mayser — dont l'*Einleitung und Lautlehre* faisait l'objet d'une réédition complétée par Hans Schmoll — et l'unanimité avec laquelle les éditeurs et les commentateurs se réfèrent toujours à ce travail fondamental, constituent le plus bel hommage qui puisse lui être rendu.

Si les arguments et les discussions, dont vous avez cité des extraits révélateurs, nous semblent quelque peu lointains parce que les faits sont désormais acquis (encore qu'il reste par exemple, de nos jours, certains partisans convaincus d'un dialecte judéo-grec), nous n'en prenons que mieux conscience de la dette contractée envers ces “pionniers”, dont nous soulignerons qu'ils appartenaient quasiment tous à l'École philologique allemande (je ne crois pas que vous ayez mentionné l'*Historical Greek Grammar* d'Antonius Jannaris, publiée à Londres en 1897).

Cent ans plus tard, il apparaît qu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire : les Professeurs Horsley et Montanari nous le prouvent amplement. Mais en nous retraçant les grandes lignes de l'intense activité — et de l'immense progrès — déployée en seulement quinze années, qui a donné à la *koinè*, si j'ose dire, ses lettres de noblesse et qui l'a promue du statut de langue dégradée à celui d'authentique moyen d'expression commun à tout le bassin méditerranéen, vous nous avez encouragés à retrouver le souffle de grands précurseurs dont la science s'alliait à la perspicacité intuitive. Puisse-nous, à notre tour, avancer hardiment et efficacement dans la voie qu'ils ont eu le mérite d'ouvrir avec succès pour la postérité.

Réponse à Greg Horsley : PAPHYROLOGY AND THE GREEK LANGUAGE. A FRAGMENTARY ABECEDARIUS OF DESIDERATA FOR FUTURE STUDY.

Après avoir rendu hommage aux éditeurs de textes papyrologiques pour l'abondance et la qualité de leurs travaux, puis reconnu tout ce que leur doivent les différents spécialistes de

l'Antiquité classique, vous annoncez votre intention de proposer, dans le cadre de l'histoire de la langue depuis la *koinè* hellénistique jusqu'au grec protobyzantin, des suggestions de travail à partir de ce qui est acquis. Vous souhaitez ainsi permettre aux chercheurs intéressés une utilisation optimale des innombrables remarques disséminées dans nos recueils. D'emblée, vous formulez le vœu d'une sensibilisation aux particularités linguistiques dans les publications de textes documentaires et d'une harmonisation générale.

L'ampleur de vos connaissances autant qu'un souci de clarté mais aussi d'exhaustivité vous ont inspiré une présentation originale, sous la forme d'un "abécédaire" qui comporte vingt titres, parfois, avouons-le, un peu au détriment de la rigueur du discours qui ne peut éviter les redites.

C'est pourquoi je prendrai la liberté de "bousculer" cet abécédaire pour regrouper vos desiderata dans des catégories plus larges.

Examinons d'abord ce qui relève de l'édition proprement dite des papyrus, à savoir les rubriques "Dating of Texts", "Fragmentary Texts" et "Indexes", ce qui nous conduira à évoquer d'autres passages de votre étude.

Les lacunes dues aux cassures, aux trous, à l'effacement de l'encre, etc., condamnent le papyrologue à restituer le texte, non d'une manière arbitraire, mais en se fondant soit sur la comparaison des *scripturae interior* et *exterior*, soit sur des formulaires connus, soit sur l'appartenance du document à des archives, soit enfin, dans le meilleur des cas, sur le parallèle direct que fournit un second exemplaire, s'il s'agit d'une copie. Ces quatre circonstances seulement présentent un degré de fiabilité satisfaisant. Le reste ne peut être proposé que dans le commentaire, à titre d'hypothèse. Nous sommes tous bien convaincus qu'il est scientifiquement plus honnête de laisser un blanc, en indiquant le nombre approximatif de signes manquants, plutôt que de céder à la tentation d'une restitution peut-être brillante mais aléatoire. Les crochets droits et les lettres pointées reflètent très clairement l'état du support, et l'éditeur d'un papyrus ne saurait être tenu pour responsable de l'usage incorrect qui en sera fait par la suite, même s'il ajoutait une nouvelle mise en garde par le recours éventuel à des caractères différents, l'italique par exemple. Il va de soi — et c'est généralement l'usage — qu'il faut citer clairement la ou les sources sur lesquelles se fondent les restitutions dont l'orthographe doit respecter celle qu'a utilisée le scripteur (iotacisme, *nu* éphelcystique, assimilation régressive partielle ou totale, etc.), quitte à s'en justifier dans un appareil critique.

Il va également de soi que les index (dont le soin avec lequel ils sont établis et l'intégralité ne sont plus en cause depuis longtemps) doivent refléter scrupuleusement l'état du texte. Ainsi un mot qui se retrouverait cinq fois dans un volume, mais deux fois restitué et une fois issu d'une résolution d'abréviation, comportera en index cinq références dont deux entre crochets droits et une entre parenthèses. Je reconnais que ce principe n'a pas toujours été respecté dans le passé — ce à quoi le recours à l'ordinateur met actuellement bon ordre — mais nul n'y déroge désormais.

En revanche, je souhaite vivement que votre proposition d'ajouter aux rubriques traditionnelles un index grammatical soit favorablement accueillie: pourraient y entrer de la sorte les références aux passages qui concernent plusieurs sujets que vous avez évoqués, aspect verbal, particularités phonétiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques propres à la *koinè*, à l'atticisme ou au grec protobyzantin, rapprochements avec le grec moderne, ordre des mots, emplois prépositionnels, particules, indices susceptibles de déceler un phénomène de bilinguisme ou la qualité du registre linguistique.

Quant à la datation, même si nous nous écartons un peu de notre sujet propre, vous avez amplement raison sur le fond. L'indication "époque byzantine" n'a guère de sens, mais chacun peut observer qu'elle tend à disparaître des volumes récents. La masse des papyrus maintenant publiés, et donc la méthode comparative, facilitent l'attribution à un siècle précis. D'autre part,

si l'éditeur a de solides raisons de penser que le texte se situe à la charnière de deux siècles, il précise en général, *exempli gratia*, fin IIIe / début IVe siècle, ce qui supprime l'ambiguïté fâcheuse entre III-IV ou III/IV. Mais il reste nombre de fragments pour lesquels je doute qu'on soit en mesure de trancher avant longtemps.

Venons-en au bilinguisme (voire au trilinguisme, puisque nous possédons un glossaire latin-grec-copte conservé par le P. Berol. inv. 10582 = J. Kramer, *Glossaria Bilinguia*, 1983, n° 15) et au lexique, qui me semblent constituer le deuxième grand axe de votre enquête, et qui restent de vastes domaines ouverts à nos recherches. Le degré d'appréciation reste assez subjectif puisque, comme vous le montrez, il y a souvent interférence entre le niveau socioculturel de l'auteur et le degré d'acculturation du scribe auquel il pouvait avoir recours, outre que, par exemple, le problème de la finalité des glossaires (équivalences lexicales à usage scolaire ou pratique?) n'est pas résolu. Il faut donc en effet disposer d'un large contexte offert par des archives ou, à défaut, par une unité de provenance, pour émettre des hypothèses sérieuses. Nous rejoignons là vos remarques sur les critères en fonction desquels on peut avancer qu'un texte vient d'un milieu chrétien, ou encore d'un milieu juif. Une analyse plus pointue en matière de terminologie et d'onomastique (en particulier des noms théophores) est souhaitable, même si elle ne peut encore, comme vous le reconnaissez, autoriser la certitude absolue d'une attribution. Disons qu'un grand pas serait franchi si l'on s'accordait, comme vous le suggérez, sur les notions de bilinguisme primaire et secondaire, productif ou réceptif.

Je partage pleinement votre avis sur la nécessité de faire une plus large place aux corrélations entre inscriptions et papyrus, non sans rendre ici hommage, puisque vous notez que les épigraphistes ont peu interrogé les papyrologues, à l'oeuvre de Louis Robert : il n'a cessé, pour sa part, de faire le chemin inverse, et nous avons toujours beaucoup à tirer de ses travaux, des *Hellenica* aux *Noms indigènes*, sans omettre les inépuisables *Bulletins épigraphiques*, aisément consultables grâce à leurs index. De la même manière, la collaboration, que vous appelez de vos vœux, entre hellénistes, latinistes et coptisants, assurerait des progrès notables dans nos études, dont la linguistique ne serait pas la seule bénéficiaire.

Votre exposé comporte une foule d'autres points importants: le difficile démarquage des textes à la limite de la classification entre "littéraire" et "documentaire", les voies et les buts de la "New Papyrology", les citations, l'atticisme, etc. Vous aurez, je pense, l'occasion d'en discuter personnellement avec ceux de nos collègues qui sont plus spécialement impliqués.

Car je ne voudrais pas terminer sans aborder un thème où s'exerce magistralement votre compétence et qui, sans faire l'objet d'une rubrique particulière, est omniprésent dans presque chacune d'elles. Je veux parler des écrits vétero- et néotestamentaires, désormais sortis de leur isolement et intégrés dans une continuité linguistique. Ce thème m'est également proche, puisque je fais partie de l'équipe "Septante" qui, sous la direction de Mme Marguerite Harl, travaille à la publication de la *Bible d'Alexandrie*. Que de questions se posent sans cesse à nous, sans parler de la terminologie, sur l'aspect verbal, la translittération, les sémitismes, la réception du texte dans les milieux juifs, le niveau linguistique des traducteurs, les néologismes, les particularités syntaxiques et stylistiques, la comparaison avec les citations faites par les exégètes! Les recherches récentes n'en seraient que plus fructueuses si, en certaines occasions, nos recueils offraient des notes plus éclairantes.

Je souscris donc à la plupart de vos appels et de vos suggestions pour mettre en relief la richesse de notre documentation, non sans établir une distinction d'évidence.

Vous vous êtes, au départ, adressé aux éditeurs de papyrus. Vous avez attiré leur attention sur l'importance et l'intérêt d'un commentaire linguistique plus approfondi. Nul doute qu'ils n'en tiennent compte! Mais que les choses soient claires: leur tâche consiste, en priorité, à lire, traduire et commenter des textes de date, de provenance et de contenu divers, ce qui leur

impose *de facto* des limites. Il ne leur appartient pas de résoudre tous les problèmes, que ceux-ci relèvent de la langue aussi bien que de l'histoire administrative, économique et sociale ou du Droit.

En revanche, votre exposé, qui demande à être lu et médité longuement, offre matière à l'élaboration d'une foule de monographies et de mises au point. Souhaitons donc que, parmi la nouvelle génération de papyrologues, nombreux soient ceux qui, en élargissant leurs contacts avec les linguistes, s'engagent dans les perspectives que vous leur avez tracées.

Réponse à Franco Montanari :
PAROLE GRECHE. LE VIE DAI PAPIRI AI DIZIONARI.

Vous entrez rapidement dans le vif de votre sujet: le problème posé par l'insertion, dans les outils de travail que sont les dictionnaires, des termes nouveaux que ne cessent de faire connaître les papyrus (sans omettre inscriptions et manuscrits), problème principalement lié à l'apparition fugitive de "mots fantômes" qui disparaissent après relecture et correction des originaux.

Vous avez raison de vous référer essentiellement au Liddell-Scott-Jones (il y aurait aussi beaucoup à dire en ce domaine sur notre *Wörterbuch*), puisque c'est l'ouvrage de base auquel recourent spontanément tous les spécialistes, des philologues aux historiens en passant par les septantistes. En outre, le choix de vos exemples vous y contraignait puisque vous les avez surtout empruntés aux papyrus littéraires (à l'exception de *kôntonaitôr / kôntouktôr*).

A l'accumulation des citations, vous avez préféré l'examen de trois textes littéraires particulièrement significatifs, ce qui rend votre démonstration à la fois plus claire et plus convaincante.

L'historique d'*abiastos = abiatos* - en réalité *abiotos* - et la comparaison avec le cas d'*eumélathros* et d'*akrothèktos* dans le papyrus de Strasbourg, celui d'*athlètos* - en réalité *athliptos* - dans le papyrus de Berlin révisé par Guido Bastianini (cf. déjà la recension de F. Blass), enfin vos propres remarques sur *proxaleiphô* dans l'*Athênaiôn Politeia*, mettent bien en relief les incohérences persistantes de certains lemmes dans le Liddell-Scot-Jones et dans son *Supplement* (comme dans le *Diccionario Griego-Espanol*) et l'absence de prise en compte des corrections apportées par les papyrologues parfois depuis plus de cinquante ans, ou de leurs hésitations. Il est clair que l'on ne peut se contenter de l'*editio princeps*, et qu'il faut consulter et citer les rééditions postérieures quand elles apportent, outre une lecture améliorée, l'identification d'un fragment initialement considéré comme *adespoton*.

Je suis pleinement d'accord avec toutes vos mises en garde, et spécialement avec celle de résister à la tentation de restituer à tout prix (du moins dans l'édition du texte; il faut évidemment garder la liberté d'exprimer toutes suggestions dans le commentaire), ce en quoi nous rejoignons la position de M. Horsley.

Peut-être eût-il été souhaitable de signaler, dans une sorte de contrepoint, quelques acquisitions lexicales importantes chez les auteurs (en une ou deux phrases, ce qui serait éventuellement possible dans la version écrite et définitive de votre étude, si vous en acceptez la suggestion). J'aurais aimé aussi, pour ma part, que vous fassiez une place un peu plus importante aux papyrus documentaires (ne serait-ce qu'en renvoyant simplement aux séries d'articles du regretté H.C. Youtie et du Professeur N. Lewis, à qui nous devons tant dans ce domaine entre autres). Mais il fallait que vous vous imposiez des limites, et aussi... que vous me laissiez quelque chose à dire!

Reste que, comme vous le soulignez, les compilateurs de dictionnaires sont pratiquement condamnés à un retard important, par rapport aux progrès rapides dus aux publications

nouvelles et aux révisions d'éditions anciennes. D'autre part, on ne peut leur demander de faire, pour chaque terme nouveau, les recherches bibliographiques nécessaires qui leur prendraient trop de temps. Même la consultation des index et des corrections des P.Oxy., si accessible et indispensable soit-elle, ne saurait suffire. Il est certain que la mise en ordinateur facilitera grandement les choses dans l'avenir. Mais l'usage du livre ne sera pas encore périmé de si tôt. Ne pourrait-on, à un stade intermédiaire, envisager une sorte de Berichtigungsliste des papyrus littéraires exclusivement lexicographique, autrement dit une liste des corrections justifiées de lecture avec référence à leur auteur et suivie d'un index des *addenda* et des *delenda*, qui compléterait ainsi le futur *Pack* et faciliterait la tâche des utilisateurs non papyrologues?

En tout cas, vous avez eu le grand mérite de mettre clairement en évidence, avec une argumentation solide, toutes les difficultés à surmonter pour que les philologues, qu'ils soient ou non éditeurs de textes, puissent disposer d'instruments de travail qui reflètent l'état présent des connaissances acquises. Soyez en vivement remercié. Vous nous avez donné là une excellente leçon dont la méthode critique peut et doit inspirer nos futures études dans le champ de la lexicographie.

Résumé.

En répondant à chacun des trois orateurs, je me suis efforcée de faire le point sur les principaux problèmes qui se posent aux papyrologues dans le domaine de l'histoire de la langue grecque.

J'aurais souhaité prolonger l'exposé du Professeur Montanari en l'étendant aux papyrus documentaires (mots-fantômes bien sûr, mais aussi confusions entre noms propres et noms communs, *addenda lexicis*, hapax papyrologiques).

Toutefois, j'aurais surtout voulu traiter d'un sujet qui n'a pas été abordé jusqu'à présent dans cette séance: celui des **néologismes sémantiques**. Chacun sait combien le sens des mots a évolué, par adaptation ou par innovation, au cours du millénaire papyrologique. C'est l'une des raisons qui incitent les auteurs de monographies, quel qu'en soit le thème, à introduire généralement leurs recherches par quelques pages de terminologie où il y a beaucoup à glaner. Mais on n'échappe pas pour autant à l'écueil de la dispersion.

En revanche, les analyses portant sur un terme particulier et sur son développement attesté par les dérivés et par les composés qui en précisent les acceptions, présentent un intérêt tout particulier parce qu'elles reconstituent l'histoire d'un mot, à partir de son sens classique, et l'évolution de son contenu sémantique en même temps que sa vitalité propre dans la langue des papyrus. Je ne citerai qu'un exemple, assez récent: l'article du Professeur Tony Reekmans sur "*Argos and its Derivates in the Papyri*", paru en 1985 dans le tome 60 de la *Chronique d'Egypte* (pp.275-291). Nous aurions grand profit à voir se multiplier (il en existe déjà plusieurs) des dossiers du même genre et de la même qualité. Et pour que les hellénistes non papyrologues puissent s'y reporter aisément (tous ne consultent pas la rubrique 413 de la précieuse "Bibliographie papyrologique" due à nos amis Georges Nachtergaele et Alain Martin), je suggérerai que les compilateurs de dictionnaires (imprimés ou sur ordinateur) signalent *in fine*, lorsqu'il y a lieu, la référence aux études concernées qui, dans le cadre de travaux lexicographiques plus amples, peuvent tenir une place stimulante.

PAPYROLOGY AND THE STUDY OF GREEK LANGUAGE Comments on the Thematic Session.

Sten Ebbesen, University of Copenhagen.

Johannes Kramer, *Papyrologie und Sprachwissenschaft: Die Pionierzeit (1891-1906)*

Es gibt nicht Vieles im Vortrag von Herrn Professor Kramer, worin ich mit ihm nicht übereinstimmen kann. Doch glaube ich, daß er vielleicht die Wirkungsgeschichte der neuen Erkenntnisse der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende zu optimistisch einschätzt.

Es ist ja leider noch eine Tatsache, daß viele klassische Philologen "im wesentlichen nur Missachtung für die 'depravierte' koine" kennen, und die großen Fortschritte, die man in der Erforschung der Geschichte der griechischen Sprache während der letzten einhundert Jahre gemacht hat, haben noch nicht ihren Ausdruck in Standardhandbüchern gefunden. Altgriechisch wird immer noch auf der Basis der Wissenschaft des späten 19. Jahrhunderts gelehrt und gelernt. Die Ergebnisse der Papyrusforschung, z.B., haben keinerlei die allgemeine Auffassung zur Frage "Was ist Altgriechisch?" beeinflusst. Altgriechisch ist noch Plato und Xenophon, und alles Übrige ist Abweichungen vom Muster.

Persönlich finde ich, daß es an der Zeit ist einen neuen Muster einzuführen. Anstatt der idealisierten alten Attis sollte man eine idealisierte jüngere Attis, d.h. Koine, lehren und lernen. Dann können alt-athenienische Besonderheiten wie Futurum Optativ in die Fußnoten verwiesen werden zusammen mit Homerismen und Ähnlichem.

Eine zweite Beobachtung zum Referat von Herrn Kramer betrifft seine Hervorhebung der Mayserschen Charakterisierung der Koine als 'modernisierter Attis', die, so Herr Kramer, "wir noch unterschreiben können". Ja, auch ich möchte sie unterschreiben, aber es hat mich verwundert im Referat überhaupt nicht den Namen gehört zu haben, den ich gewöhnlich mit dieser Charakteristik verbinde.

Mein Held diesbezüglich heißt Antonis Jannaris. Er veröffentlichte schon 1897 seine Grammatik mit dem provokatorischen Titel "An Historical Greek Grammar, chiefly of the Attic Dialect as written and spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time, founded upon the Ancient Texts, Inscriptions, Papyri and Present Popular Greek." In dem einleitenden Kapitel, wo er einen Überblick über die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache gibt, beschreibt er wie die neuen sozialen Umgebungen im Levantinischen Raum in hellenistischer Zeit natürlich Einwirkungen auf die Sprache haben mußten, und sagt dann: "In this way a Panhellenic Greek sprang up which, while always preserving all its main features of Attic grammar and vocabulary, adopted many colonial and foreign elements and moreover began to proceed in a more analytical spirit and on a simplified grammar. This modified or *Common Greek*, (Κοινή or Ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος), that is, the generally received Greek (Panhellenic). It is this Panhellenic or new Attic that marks an already advanced stage in the direction of Modern Greek."

Lassen wir beiseite die naive Vorstellung von einer vereinfachten Grammatik und den nebulösen Begriff eines analytischen Geistes. Es bleibt eine meines Erachtens hauptsächlich richtige Auffassung dessen, was vor sich ging, als Griechisch eine Weltsprache wurde. Die Auffassung Maysers war sehr ähnlich. Auch er betonte die Anpassung des Attischen an neue Verhältnisse. Und man bemerke die fast wortliche Übereinstimmung zwischen Jannaris in 1897 und Mayser in 1906: Laut Jannaris ist die Koine "new Attic", laut Mayser "eine modernisierte Attis".

Obwohl die Papyri den Inhalt der jannarischen Grammatik wenig beeinflusst haben, verdient er doch unter den Pionieren erwähnt zu werden.

G.H.R. Horsley, *Papyrology and the Greek Language*.

Professor Horsley is right, of course, in stressing the importance of verbal *Aspect*. It really is a disgrace that so few take this fundamental grammatical category seriously and instead choose to rely on a system of tenses and moods which ignores elementary facts about the morphological and semantic behaviour of Greek verbs.

There is much else I agree with, but allow me to criticise two points.

1) *Christian Usage* is of course interesting, if such a usage can be shown to have any hypostasis. But I think the matter has been given too much attention because of two opposing cultural pressures in modern Europe and America. On one hand there is a tradition nurtured by the still important role of Christian churches: this tradition is characterized by the wish to add ever more details to the history of the church. On the other hand there is a tradition connected with 19th-century classical philology, but still very much alive, a tradition that wants to winnow the texts and get rid of the Christian chaff in order to be left with the good pagan grain. In many ways I think it would be good to give low priority to the question of Christian usage. There are so many other social factors than religion of importance for the way people speak and write. Much the same considerations apply to Jewish usage. Professor Horsley repeatedly refers to the need for cross-fertilisation between papyrology and Biblical studies. While this can be useful, I think it is not without dangers; the student easily loses his ability to look at a text with fresh eyes once he has been initiated into the intensively cultivated field of Biblical studies with all its dogmatically explosive minefields.

2) *Fragmentary texts*. I am afraid I fundamentally disagree with Professor Horsley about the way to present a text. An edition is always an edition for a certain sort of public, there is no such thing as an edition for all sorts of public. It is quite true that non-papyrologists are likely to overlook the importance of square brackets and the like, but it is difficult enough to read the text with square brackets. Adding an apparatus with warnings that believing in a restoration may be dangerous to your health will do no good; it can only scare readers away. A diplomatic transcription for the specialist and a transcription in standardized orthography and with a minimum of critical squiggles for the rest of mankind is what I would advocate. That does, of course, put a greater responsibility on the editor; he will have to think twice before he decides to fill in the holes, but that is what editors are for, to think for us. Otherwise photographic reproductions would suffice.

Indexes are an important part of editions; surprising grammatical phenomena ought to be recorded, but not such as are "everyday occurrences in the koine" and surprising only to a reader who thinks the papyri were all written in classical, literary Attic. Signposting such features can only serve to perpetuate the view that everything but Xenophontean Greek is an aberration from Greek. And if it does not look ridiculous to all now, it will do so soon, just as old editions of medieval Latin texts look ridiculous when they put exclamation marks whenever something is expressed differently from how Cicero would have done it. Moreover, marking the obvious deflects attention from the genuinely remarkable.

I have no quarrel with Prof. Horsley's discussion of literacy s.v. *Register*. I would just like to add that it is well known that papyrus testimony to somebody's illiteracy cannot always be trusted, and I would like to recount an episode that may explain some cases of such false information. In 1966 I went to a police station in Salonica to obtain some permit. A clerk gave me a form and told me to take it to a scribe who worked at a little desk outside the office. I protested that I was perfectly capable of filling in a form without the help of a scribe, but the clerk made it clear that he would not accept the form unless it had been filled in by the scribe. I suppose he got a small percentage of the fee charged by the scribe. If the scene of my

adventure had been ancient Egypt the form would have ended with a declaration that scribe NN wrote for me because I was illiterate.

Franco Montanari, *Parole greche, le vie dai papiri ai dizionari*.

I liked in particular the story about the κωνδοναίτωρ who turned out to be a *conductor*; the horrifying story about how such a morphologically deviant derivative as ἄθλητος - not ἄθλαστος - has been allowed to survive in dictionaries underscores the old truth that once an error has been introduced into a work of reference it is hard to kill.

Computer dictionaries might remedy some of the weaknesses of our traditional ones, though it would be awful to be on the staff of a *Lexicon Perpetuum Computerizatum Linguae Graecae*, always updating the entries in light of new insights, and never seeing an end to one's toils.

However, the richest prospect offered by the computer is not that of making better dictionaries but of transcending the limits imposed on writers of traditional dictionaries: they must arrange all their material by entries, and the decisions taken as to how to distinguish between inflection and derivation receive an importance they do not otherwise deserve. This is well illustrated by the case of ἄθλιπτος.

You can form a privative adjective in ἄ...τος from just about any Greek verb. Even if ἄθλιπτος were not attested it could be said to exist in the same sense as we habitually claim that there are first person forms of verbs all attested forms of which happen to be of the second and third persons. We even habitually accept the existence of present forms even if all attested forms are of the aorist aspect. Similarly ἄθλητος could be said to exist, if, that is, it were a plausible form for the privative adjective derived from θλᾶν. What the papyrus has, is another matter.

The computer offers us the possibility to combine the data in almost any way we wish, taking us back to the situation of the first lexicographer. We can group the word-form-tokens offered by the body of literature under consideration in any way we want, whether into traditional word-form-types and lexemes or in a new way. Personally I think it is a major mistake of traditional lexicography to treat deverbal adjectives apart from the corresponding verbs; the semantics is usually so closely tied to that of the verb. And it is decidedly misleading that an imperfective form, the present indicative active, has been chosen as the dictionary entry form for verbs. The aorist subjunctive is the most stable of all Greek verb forms, and sometimes the imperfective forms are virtually non-existent. The computer will easily reveal that, just as it will reveal more complex cases, if you also think a bit while using it. LSJ lists an impersonal ἐκγίγνεται, apparently unbothered by the fact that all the examples adduced are in the aorist. It seems pretty obvious that ἐκγίγνεται is a ghost form and that we are dealing with a verb whose imperfective forms are always supplied by ἐξεῖναι, whereas ἐκγενέσθαι provides the aorist forms. The computer will not automatically tell you that this is a case of suppletive inflection, but once you have got the idea, it is simple to check if this is really so.

Before the computer age our research had to a great extent to be determined by the amount of information you can put into a reasonably sized paper book and by the way that information was traditionally packed. Traditional definitions of what is one word and thus requires its own lexical entry have made the attestation or non-attestation of some forms acquire undue importance, while making us blind to the significance of non-attestation of expected forms in other cases. With the computer new possibilities arise and the old question “κεῖται - οὐ κεῖται;” may assume new meanings.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PAPYROLOGY TO THE STUDY OF GREEK LITERATURE: ARCHAIC & HELLENISTIC POETRY

Michael W. Haslam

If war is too important to be left to the generals, papyri are too important to be left to the papyrologists, and it might be better if the contribution of papyrology to the study of ancient Greek literature were assessed by non-papyrologists. But from my no doubt skewed perspective I shall do what I can in my assigned area.¹

Of course, any such assessment is an impossibility, not just because it couldn't be done in the time at our disposal, but because among the many shifts of interest and approach in classical studies over the course of the century, there is no way of properly isolating the papyrological factor. For instance, the study of classical literature today is less independent of the study of non-classical literature than it used to be. Have papyri encouraged that, or obstructed it? A bit of both, I would say. We live now in a post-modern world, in an age of fracture and fragment.² But it makes no difference to what papyrologists do. So rather than indulging in investigation of the intangible, it will be more profitable to concentrate on what is more readily measured.

The most obvious contribution of papyrology to the study of Greek literature is of course that it has provided more Greek literature to study—a lot more. And continues to do so: with literary texts just as with documentary ones, publication of new material still outstrips assessment and assimilation. Accessions to the corpus not only are valuable in and of themselves, they also make a difference to what was there before. Coming to terms with *what* difference, the adjustment of the old to the new, is the on-going challenge to students of the literature.

In epic there's been comparatively little. Homer and Hesiod we already had. We are still without the Epic Cycle, against which we could test Homeric excellence and (perhaps) neoanalytic theory. The Catalogue of Women, however, can almost be said to exist, thanks to a century of painstaking reconstruction efforts crowned by Martin West. A model catalogue poem is revealed, or is dimly discerned. This poem is extreme in the gradualness with which its constituents have accumulated over the years and in the jigsaw-like nature of its recomposition (by my count no fewer than fifty-five papyri have gone into it), but in one important respect it is typical of papyrological literary accessions, that is in its sheer fragmentariness. Complete texts are as rare as the Dodo; nowadays we count ourselves lucky if our fragments have a single complete line. This means that literary gains are hard-won, and *readable texts*, if attainable at all, in all but a few cases have to bear prominently displayed labels warning of their unreliability. This has the unfortunate but inevitable effect of slowing or even blocking the flow of papyrological gains into the mainstream of classical scholarship and beyond. The Catalogue of Women can be read only by people who know Greek, and despite generous editorial supplementation it cannot really be *read* even by them. The situation could be much worse. We have an excellent edition of it, and an excellent book about it.³ As with other early epic, lyric, tragedy, comedy, Hellenistic poetry, and so on, people who know their business know where to go to find fairly up-to-date and astonishingly good editions of the

¹ The partitioning of the theme was agreed upon beforehand: prose (Manfredi), drama (Luppe), archaic and hellenistic poetry (Haslam). The text was cut slightly in delivery. Footnotes added.

² Cf. e.g. Jane Flax, *Thinking Fragments* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1990).

³ Edition: R. Merkelbach, M. L. West, edd., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967), + *Fragmenta Selecta*³ (in Hesiod O.C.T., 1990). Book: M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985).

collected fragments. But however good these editions may be, and however good a job they may do of mediating the material, its very condition still renders it formidably inaccessible, and necessarily impedes its integration within classical studies as a whole.

If our picture of epic down to the third century remains relatively undisturbed, that will be due more to the lack of finds than to anything else. It is still more of a blank than a picture. The Alexandrian canon was Homer Hesiod Pisander(?) Panyassis Antimachus.⁴ Pisander and Panyassis are still missing, unless they lurk unrecognized among the anonymous bits and pieces. Of Antimachus' mythological epic we have a little, but hardly enough to assess;⁵ and nothing of what we really want, the long elegiac Lyde that so divided the literary heavyweights of Alexandria a century later. Choerilus' epic on the Persian Wars, also towards the end of the fifth century, is another gap remaining to be plugged, unless we can ascribe to it a remarkable fragment mentioning Neleids and Arismaspi (Athenians and Persians?);⁶ in that case Choerilus is no less of a forerunner of the Hellenistic revolution than Antimachus; but how to be sure? The piece could be half a millennium later or more. As so often, we are trapped in a circle. If even dates could be assigned with confidence, literary history could be rewritten: without secure understanding of developments, attributions remain provisional at best.⁷ Such uncertainties do have a positive side. When you have difficulty deciding for instance whether an epic fragment belongs to the seventh century BC or a thousand years later, it does at least bring home to you something of the continuity of the tradition, just as when experts disagree over whether a lyric piece is Simonides or Bacchylides, Ibycus or Stesichorus, paean or dithyramb, dithyramb or nome, it's good to be forced to think about criteria for differentiation. Sometimes at least we have termini, to provide nuggets of chronological fact to anchor new speculation. The Orphic theogony of the Derveni papyrus was around in the fourth century—as was allegorical misinterpretation of it.

Early elegy, too, remains much as it was⁸—again, a function of the paucity of papyri. Only a single couplet of Mimnermus.⁹ Instead, more Tyrtaeus;¹⁰ grist to the mill of historians concerned with Spartan relations with Messenia and Argos, but from a literary point of view, nothing more boring.

But in all areas other than epic and elegy, papyri have put the study of early Greek literature on a wholly new footing, by opening windows on to worlds quite out of view before. What would there be of Alcman, what of Sappho, without the papyri? Not that there is a great deal, even so: still no complete poem of Alcman's, or Stesichorus', or Ibycus', or Archilochus', or Hipponax', or Semonides', or Simonides', or Alcaeus', and only one of Sappho's. I say this not as a complaint against the ravages of time (we all learn not to beat our heads against that particular wall) but as a reminder of the small proportion of what there once

⁴ V. J. Matthews, *Panyassis of Halikarnassos* (Mnemos. Suppl. 33, Leiden 1974), 31f.

⁵ Remains of a commentary (P.Mil.Vogl. I 17 = Antim. fr. 173-89 Wyss; on *Thebaid*?) and of two papyrus manuscripts (P.Oxy. XXX 2518 = SH 52-61, *Thebaid*?; P.Oxy. XXX 2516 = SH 62-75, apparently same poem as the commentary); and perhaps: SH 912 (adesp.; *Thebaid*?), SH 953 (adesp.; *Artemis*?), Antim. fr. (dub.) 151 Wyss.

⁶ P.Oxy. XXX 2524: SH 928-35.

⁷ The *Meropis* (P.Köln III 126: SH 903A) illustrates the point: included in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* but probably 6th (or early 5th?) cent. (cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Pap.* [Naples 1984] I 141-50 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* [Oxford 1990] 21-29); but excluded from M. Davies' *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

⁸ This statement is put out of date (and the next one validated) by extensive fragments of elegies of Simonides: P.Oxy. LIX 3965 (overlapping not only fr. eleg. 8 and 11 W but also P.Oxy. XXII 2327 = adesp. eleg. fr. 28-60 W). It is especially interesting to see how Simonides prefaces his narrative of the battle of Plataea.

⁹ Quoted in the commentary mentioned in n.5 above: fr.13a W.

¹⁰ Three papyri: P.Berol. 11675 (fr.18-23 W), P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2824 (fr.2 W), P.Oxy. XLVII 3316 (fr.23a West *Delectus*).

was that we have at our disposal even today. That makes every new scrap all the more valuable—and every interpretation of it the more hazardous.

The gains here have been in the opening up of large and various new fields of experience and enquiry. That ancient Greek lyric is nowadays read less romantically than it used to be is due mostly to more general factors, to the changing times, but it is aided by the greater scope for literary and societal contextualization that the increased amount of material provides. It is a something of a truism that papyri tend to raise more problems than they solve. Not everyone likes that. Rather than solutions to old problems (I quote from a review of a volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*), 'the familiar and sickening tale of the appearance of new ones.'¹¹ (I am reminded of a dry but value-free comment of Lobel's on the text of a papyrus manuscript of one of Callimachus' Hymns, that 'difficulties are raised in places where there were none'.)¹² What some find sickening others may find refreshing and revitalising, and to my way of thinking one of the most valuable characteristics of papyri is their habit of displacing old problems by new ones, or, better, of transforming the dimensions of the enquiry.

They do this, of course, by bringing in new data. With what we now have of Archilochus and Hipponax, for instance, questions can be explored about the nature of iambus that were scarcely available even for asking before. Certainly stylistic proprieties become more apparent: the comparative decorousness of the Cologne Archilochus (part dactylic) as against the graphic ribaldry of some of Hipponax' choliambis. (Hipponax is at his best when at his most obscene.) With Sappho and Alcaeus, on the other hand, two contemporaries operating within a common tradition of versification, we see a startlingly wide difference accommodated by an identical range of forms—the difference corresponding not so much to the difference between Alcaeus and Sappho as to that between male culture and female in Lesbian society, each able to utilize the same means of literary expression.

To speak of accessions to the corpus is misleading, inasmuch as it suggests a purely cumulative process, the old staying in place, the new being added to it. In fact, as we all know, it is much more dynamic than that, much more kaleidoscopic. Bacchylides alters our reception of Pindar (to the detriment of neither). Fragments of paeans and dithyrambs help shape our understanding of epinikia. Callimachus' Hymns are more intelligible alongside his Iambs and the *Hecale* (we see that his generic versatility is matched only by his sensitivity to the character of the genre). And so on. Everything is interconnected, and the injection of a single new item has the potential for shifting the position of everything else. It is this indirect kind of transformation of the literary landscape, this capacity for interaction, that I would say is the most important contribution that the papyri have had to offer.

Currently a fierce debate is raging about the performance of Pindar's victory-odes. Were they not choral after all, but monodic? It is a question which it was possible to see coming. The remains of Stesichorus' Geryoneid, published in 1967,¹³ revealed that Stesichorean poems could be well in excess of 1000 lines long; and the metre and the diction showed remarkable affinity with Homer. It occurred to more than one person that the mode of performance was likely to have been citharodic, sung by the poet to his own accompaniment on the lyre. The matter is still controversial; but it was predictable that this question of performance would be extended to the later exponents of what has traditionally carried the label 'choral lyric.' We are still awaiting the extension of the question from epinician to dithyramb. In the current debate about Pindar, the Stesichorean roots of the question have almost been lost sight of, but the role of the papyri is none the less real for that.

¹¹ *JHS* 109 (1989) 248.

¹² P.Oxy. XIX 2225 intro. (actually 'Difficulties have also been raised [sc. by the papyrus] in places where there were none').

¹³ P.Oxy. XXXII 2617: *SLG/PMGF* S8-84.

The presence of Stesichorus affects perception of Homer, of Pindar, of Attic tragedy, of everything around him. For one thing, Stesichorus blurs the boundary between epic and lyric. The fragments reveal epic-type narratives, told at epic length in a style much closer to Homer's than to Pindar's or even Bacchylides', but in doric and in triads. Since there is testimony that Stesichorus referred to the Aspis,¹⁴ it is safe to assume he knew Homer too; but that does not mean that everything about Stesichorus is post-homeric. The verse-forms in particular, dactylo-anapaestic lines of various lengths, may have preceded the single fixed line used by epic, just as the aeolic metres used by Sappho and Alcaeus conserve the forms of a still earlier prehistoric phase of Greek poetry. And we meet in Stesichorus a phenomenon that has to quicken the pulse of all who love Greek literature: the mutual metrical responson, in certain positions, of anceps and biceps. Some see this as informing the prehistory of the hexameter, others as a side-effect of the amalgamation of iambo-trochaic within citharodic dactylo-anapaestic, and hence as a peculiarity of incipient dactylo-epitrite. At all events we now know that dactylo-epitrite was not an invention of Pindar's, as Paul Maas uncharacteristically speculated; the gain is not that we can now label the older poet the inventor, but that we can trace the evolution, and see connexions where none were to be seen before.

Paleontologists, given a bone or two, reconstruct whole dinosaurs. To rebuild whole poems, we will always need more than a few letters. But this audience needs no reminding that fragments, individual or conglomerated, can yield an impressive amount of information, and while it would always be nice to have more readable poetry, to be freed once in a while from the tantalizations and frustrations and uncertainties that attend our torn and worm-eaten texts, we recognize that it is only the mass of fragmentary material that makes it possible for much of the terrain of archaic poetry to be meaningfully mapped.

Hellenistic poetry has been another major beneficiary. Here again, complete poems come few and far between—more than a century between, it would seem, since apart from epigrams there has been none since the mimes of Herodas in 1891.¹⁵ No really new worlds here, but many major discoveries, and problems galore. Again we tread the circle. If ancient tradition was right to make Corinna a contemporary of Pindar, we have a unique sample of provincial Boeotian maiden-song quite unlike all other lyric of the time. But the tradition is suspect in itself (readily explicable as derived from the poems' own text) and variously implausible. Thus Corinna is Hellenistic, which makes the poetry a different kind of thing. But is it what it purports to be, genuine simple local choral lyric, the partheneia of a 3rd-century Tanagraean Alcman as it were, or is it book-poetry, pseudo-naive, sited in Boeotia as Theocritean pastoral in Sicily, the singing contest between Cithaeron and Helicon perhaps not even authentic local tradition? Likewise with Erinna. What we make of the Distaff depends on whether we take it to be what it ostensibly is, a poem by a young woman reflecting on the death of her friend from childhood, or a simulacrum of the same.¹⁶ Where to draw the line between stylization and fiction?

But these are extreme cases, the difficulties due to the uniqueness of the particular texts. Most of the material is more readily placed, though it is interestingly variable, both in quality and in nature. The unflinching sparkle of the papyrus fragments of Euphorion and Callimachus—a matter of poetic imagination as well as technical virtuosity—throws into sharper relief the relative dullness of the historical epic of Rhianus (another papyrological acquisition)¹⁷ and the strange ineptitude of the elegiacs of Philetas' pupil Hermesianax. In the choliambic tradition of

¹⁴ *PMG/PMGF* 269.

¹⁵ *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (London 1891).

¹⁶ Cf. M. L. West, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 95-119.

¹⁷ P.Oxy. XXX 2522 = *SH* 925 and P.Oxy. XXXIX 2883 = *SH* 946-7 (both austere adesp. in *SH*, but I take Rhianus to be as good as certain).

Hipponax, papyri have yielded not only Callimachus at the head of the line and Herodas but also the unjustly neglected Phoenix and Cercidas.

Callimachus, as he says at the close of his closing Iamb, did not go to Ephesus or mix with Ionians, yet he writes choliamb. The book-age, in a word. Books were being read at the end of the fifth century, and Peter Parsons has declared that Hellenistic poetry begins not with the death of Alexander but with the death of Euripides.¹⁸ Thus it becomes possible (at a pinch) to count Choerilus and Antimachus as Hellenistic poets. All periodizations are false, it goes without saying, but they are good for thinking with, and it is good to have this encouragement to recognize continuities between pre- and post-Alexandrian verse, provided that it does not mean drawing a line of discontinuity across the end of the fifth century or erasing the distinctiveness of the Alexandrian literary world. Poetry of the fourth century stays obstinately missing. But it is worth remembering how many momentous years separate Antimachus and Choerilus from the poets who came flocking to the Alexandrian Museum from all parts. From their perspective, Antimachus was just as much a figure of the past as his fellow-Colophonian Mimnermus. To be sure, there is a species of anticipation of Hellenistic practice in Antimachus' use of Homeric glosses and (apparent) serialization of myths, but then there are no less significant species of anticipation in Euripides' deconstructing of his tradition, in Pindar's declared aversion to the well-worn paths. How much literary continuity there actually was is hard to say. There may have been some sort of affinity between Choerilus' productions and a relatively sober-looking epic on Philip of Macedon's campaigns that we have some scraps of,¹⁹ but papyri have really done nothing to upset a belief that epic lay more or less dormant for more than a century—mythological epic until revived by Callimachus' *Hecale* and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, historical epic (the effusions of the Alexander-eulogists apart) until Rhianus;²⁰ and with elegy, Lyde or no Lyde, the break was hardly less marked; as too with iambic. One thing that we can say, thanks to the papyri, is that Callimachus and his ilk made an impression from day one—were widely read and widely emulated. Ziegler's picture of them as a small group of would-be avant-garde poets existing in isolation from a surrounding mass of stodgy epic traditionalists²¹ is not easy to square with the evidence of the papyri.

Important pieces continue to accrue to that most famous of Hellenistic literary monuments, Callimachus' *Aitia*, and at least the outlines of its two-part structure are now clear—though here again solutions only bring more problems in train. The most famous part of it, the prologue, still lacks only a few letters from the line-beginnings—and the restoration and the meaning of many of the lines are still unsettled: a token of the unpredictability of this kind of poetry, where the rereading of a single letter can have far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of the whole. For some forty years what is in fact a fragment of Parthenius' epikedion for his wife was thought to belong to the Argonautic section of the *Aitia*, on the strength of the names Aietes and Arete—Aietes king of Colchis, Arete queen of the Phaeacian island visited by the Argonauts. It was known from the *Suda* that Parthenius' wife's name was Arete, but what for so long blocked access to the identification that would otherwise have been quickly reached was

¹⁸ P. J. Parsons, 'Recent papyrus finds: Greek poetry,' *Actes du VII^e Congrès de la F.I.E.C.* (Budapest 1983), 530, in the wake of K. J. Dover, edn. of Theocritus (1971) lxxi. Likewise H. Lloyd-Jones, 'A Hellenistic Miscellany,' *SIFC* 3rd ser. 2 (1984) 55 = *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea* (Oxford 1990) 234.

¹⁹ P.Oxy. XXX 2520 = *SH* 913-21, 'sed de auctore et de aetate carminis omnino non constat' (*SH* p.422).

²⁰ Add (pseudo-)didactic epic: the Hesiodic Works-&-Days tradition inaugurated by Menecrates and Aratus. We know from non-papyrological sources that professional poets travelled about giving public recitations (in festival competition and otherwise), but those were 'epics' of a different order, short and ephemeral.

²¹ K. Ziegler, *Das Hellenistische Epos* (1934; ²1964).

Aietes—which turned out to be a misreading.²² Even when the attribution is guaranteed, revised decipherment of a trace or two can result in radical reinterpretation of the content. Euphorion's Thrax is a case in point. With the recognition of a string of elaborate curses upon a malefactor, accumulating mythological exempla of exotically nasty deaths, the poem became suddenly and satisfyingly coherent. Correct reading and informed insight go hand in hand. If we take the Thracian of the poem's title to be not a man but a pet dog, as was suggested at the 16th Congress in New York, we can then put a new and satisfying construction on the extravagant terms in which the whole poem is cast.²³ It is always a mistake to read the best Hellenistic poetry too solemnly—a lesson that some interpreters of Callimachus' Hymns have still to learn.

The theme of this session is the study of Greek literature, but we can hardly ignore the impact that Greek literary papyri have had on the study of Latin literature, and are still liable to have. The discovery of Greek archaic poetry, important though that is, has made less difference than the discovery of Hellenistic, that overworked Aitia prologue in particular. Through this century there has been a steadily growing tendency to read Latin poets in terms of Hellenistic precedent—a tendency that has met reaction, resulting in something of a polarization between those who see Latin poets primarily in Hellenistic terms and those who would as it were reclaim them for Rome. The Greek/Roman antithesis, together with the issue of its synthesis, is no less alive in modern criticism than it was in ancient Rome. The antithesis sometimes translates to one between convention and 'real life,' which has animated modern writing on ancient literature from Homer onwards. Did Horace really throw away his shield? These days I suppose the answer would be, That is not the question to ask. At least, such questions, if answered consistently, lead to absurdity either way. Few (I trust) would deny that Parthenius' epikedion, say, has relevance to Catullus; but we do not need to doubt the reality of Catullus' brother's death, any more than of Parthenius' wife's. Fictiveness is not really the issue. Stylization and intertextuality are.

Nor can we let pass without mention the amazing range of post-Ptolemaic Greek poetry represented on papyrus, which despite improved accessibility and devoted attention by a handful of scholars still has to receive the readership it deserves. The evidence of vitality is phenomenal, before as well as after the Second Sophistic: hymns, mimes, encomia, parodies, hexameters of every sort imaginable from magical to medical, from the high accomplishment of Dionysius' Bassarica to the amateur efforts of Dioscorus of Aphrodito—it's all there. What Pancrates' Antinous²⁴ may lack in quality it more than makes up for in interest. It was good enough for Hadrian.

Again attention fastens on connexions with Latin literature. Vergil, unlike his known Hellenistic predecessors, admits Silenus into pastoral. So does a most attractive Greek piece, of annoyingly uncertain but arguably pre-Vergilian date.²⁵ Of wider import, a Greek precedent for Latin personal love-elegy has at long last been recognized, if only at a remove, in an elegy found at Oxyrhynchus: a string of mythological examples of gods in love, followed by personal application by the poet apostrophizing his ψυχή.²⁶ But as usual, other interpretations are available. Whatever the truth about that, the papyri have undoubtedly brought Greek literature and Latin literature closer together, and it becomes increasingly hard to justify studying one to

²² P.Gen. inv. 97, ed. J. Nicole, *REG* 17 (1904) 215: *SH* 609-14. The identification was eventually made by Pfeiffer, *CQ* 37 (1943) 23-32 (= *Ausgew. Schr.* 133-47). Lobel had already observed that Aietes (αιιθw ed.pr., col.i 2 marg.) was a misreading (*Hermes* 70 [1935] 37: 'αἰτῆς ut vid.'). but the Aitia attribution was as a stone thrown into the Sea of Spain.

²³ *SH* 413-15. Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, art. cit. (n.18 above) 70-71.

²⁴ P.Oxy. VIII 1085: Heitsch xv.

²⁵ P.Vindob. 29801: Heitsch xvii.

²⁶ P.Oxy. LIV 3723.

the exclusion of the other. The Vienna epigram incipits, the Oxyrhynchus incipits of Philodemus epigrams, and the collection of epigrams in Milan will give fresh impetus to the study of Catullus and Horace.²⁷ And there is a project under way designed to give access to Philodemus' aesthetic treatises from his library at Herculaneum. We may expect that to give a significant new twist to the study of the Augustan poets.

Papyri have also had a big impact, though appreciably less than they might, on the investigation of textual transmission and the practice of textual criticism. Before the papyri came along, understanding of what had happened to such texts as succeeded in reaching the middle ages had been very inadequately based. The main lessons were quickly apparent, and the reign of the codex optimus was over. Without the papyri, Pasquali's *Storia della tradizione* would have been impossible. In matters of textual history, as with everything else, papyri teach us how little we really know, and how fragile what we think we know really is. Even to Homer, who comes mediievally equipped with scholia extensively documenting the state of the text in antiquity, papyri have brought a wealth of new information. Among other things, they reveal the volatility with which the text of the Homeric poems was still being transmitted down to Ptolemaic times. If, paradoxically, the end result is validation of the authenticity of the vulgate (as I believe it is), that takes nothing away from the historical interest of the papyrus evidence and its relevance to Alexandrian scholarship and textual stabilization. With Hellenistic texts, as with most others, matters stand differently. Here is Gow on Theocritus: 'besides confirming many conjectures, [papyri] show that many readings of the mss which had not provoked suspicion are in fact false.'²⁸ And what is true of Theocritus' Idylls is true also of Apollonius' Argonautica, of Callimachus' Hymns, to a lesser extent of Aratus' Phaenomena. Papyri have consistently shown that the mediievally transmitted text is more corrupt than it has been believed to be. We can be certain that much of what we read in even the best editions is not what the author wrote. That is not a comfortable thought, and understandably it encounters resistance. It must I think be this exposure of the unreliability of our texts, of the frailty of their foundations, that at least partly accounts for the fact that the evidence of papyri, rather than being welcomed as enlarging our knowledge, is so often minimized or discounted. Papyri are liable to rock the boat, they are a threat to the status quo. As E. J. Kenney has remarked, 'There is an important difference between using the status quo as a methodological convenience and regarding it as true';²⁹ but it is a difference that is all too often elided, and when any status quo comes under threat, strategies of defence are automatic. To say, as do Reynolds and Wilson in their rightly acclaimed *Scribes & Scholars*, that papyri 'do not as a whole offer markedly superior texts,'³⁰ is perhaps not false, but it is distressingly tendentious. The most pernicious habit of all may be that of banishing papyri to a corner of their own, where they do not have to be recognized as genuine accessions to the manuscript tradition. If I could have one wish of people who deal with textual matters, it would be this, that when they talk of 'the manuscripts,' they do not thereby exclude papyri.

Just as a 2nd-century fragment of Chariton put paid to a 5th-century dating of that novelist and demolished an entire and beautiful theory of the development of the Greek novel,³¹ so a third-century fragment of Triphiodorus showed that scholars had got the relationship between his epic and Nonnus's the wrong way around.³² There is something distinctly unsettling about

²⁷ Vienna: reported by H. Harrauer at the 16th Congress. Oxyrhynchus: P.Oxy. LIV 3724. Milan: in preparation by C. Gallazzi and G. Bastianini.

²⁸ A.S.F. Gow, ed., *Theocritus* (Cambridge 1952) I li-liii.

²⁹ *The Classical Text* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1974), 25.

³⁰ 1991, 217.

³¹ P.Fay. 1 (cf. P.Oxy. VII 1019, P.Michael. 1). E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*.

³² P.Oxy. XLI 2946.

the innocent capacity of papyri to annihilate the hardwon conclusions of scholarly labour at a single casual stroke. But when they do so, they almost always expose deficiencies of method, and that is salutary. Papyri constantly force us to question the assumptions with which consciously or unconsciously we have been operating. We need them as a prophylactic against torpor and complacency, we need them to defamiliarize the familiar. What they contribute to the study of Greek literature is vitality.

NEUE ERKENNTNISSE AUS VERLORENEN KOMÖDIEN, TRAGÖDIEN UND SATYRSPIELEN

Wolfgang Luppe

Mit Abstand ist unter den Dramatikern derjenige, für den die Papyri die meisten neuen Erkenntnisse gebracht haben, *Menander*. Zahlreiche Funde bzw. Erstpublikationen von Papyri zu Menander reichen bis in die unmittelbare Gegenwart. So enthält der neueste, der 59. Band der Oxyrhynchus-Papyri, der in diesem Jahr erscheint, weitere Menander-Papyri, darunter auch einen zum *Μισούμενος*.

Die beiden Hauptfunde freilich sind die Codexblätter von Aphroditopolis aus dem Jahre 1905 mit wesentlichen Teilen der *Ἐπιτρέποντες*, der *Περικειρομένη* und der *Σαμία*, sowie der berühmte Codex Bodmer mit *Σαμία*, *Δύσκολος* und *Ἄσπις* (publiziert in Teilen, nämlich 1958 und 1969). So besitzen wir heute wenigstens eine Menander-Komödie, den 'Dyskolos', vollständig.

Die Geschichte unserer Kenntnis der *Samia* ist durch einige Besonderheiten gekennzeichnet, auf die hier kurz verwiesen sei: Wir besaßen nur ein einziges - aus einem bloßen Vers bestehendes - Zitat mit der Titelangabe *Σαμία*. Aufgrund dieses Titels wurden die betreffenden Seiten des unbekanntes Dramas im Kairensen Fund vermutungsweise der 'Samia' zugerechnet. Das hat dann der Bodmer-Codex, der große Teile derselben Partien und den Titel *Σαμία* enthält, glänzend bestätigt. Wie dieser Codex außerdem erschließen läßt, trug die *Σαμία* den Doppeltitel *Κηδεία*; denn dies lehren unmißverständlich zwei Stellen, die unter diesem Titel anderweitig zitiert waren und nun in der 'Samia' wieder auftauchen. Als Kuriosum ergibt sich, daß jenes allein uns für die *Samia* bezeugte Zitat vermutlich überhaupt nicht aus der 'Samia' stammt. Es ist wahrscheinlich nur in der Überlieferung des Grammatikers Phrynichos durch Zusammenziehung verschiedener Beleg-Zitate für ein spezielles Wort (*λιβανωτός*) fälschlich zu einem "Samia-Zitat" geworden.

Die Fülle der anderen Papyrusfunde zu Menander hier aufzuzählen führte zu weit. Erwähnt sei aber noch, daß wir aus der *Ἄσπις* bereits früher ein beachtliches Papyrusstück besaßen, ohne es zu wissen: Der betreffende Text eines Florentiner Papyrus ist in der *Ἄσπις* jenes Bodmer-Codex wieder aufgetaucht. Weitere Papyrusbruchstücke sind auch noch zu den soeben genannten Komödien *Ἐπιτρέποντες* und *Περικειρομένη* entdeckt worden. Aus den *Ἐπιτρέποντες*, und zwar aus Akt 3 - 5, sind sogar in allerjüngster Zeit noch weitere Fragmente in den Michigan-Papyri aufgetaucht, die demnächst L. Koenen veröffentlichen wird. Noch zahlreiche andere Menander-Titel ließen sich aufführen, zu denen die Papyri neue Erkenntnisse gebracht haben. Die Fülle der Funde möge wenigstens ein Beispiel veranschaulichen: Allein vom *Μισούμενος* Menanders besitzen wir inzwischen ein Dutzend verschiedene Papyri.

Eines sei noch ausdrücklich hervorgehoben: Unser Verständnis des dramatischen Schaffens Menanders, seiner szenischen Gestaltungs- und seiner Charakterisierungskunst sind uns eigentlich überhaupt erst durch die Papyrusfunde in umfassendem Maße kenntlich geworden und mit ihm als ihrem Hauptvertreter die *Neue Komödie* als besonders reizvolle Blüte unter den Literaturgattungen der Griechen.

Daß zahlreiche weitere, nicht identifizierte Papyrusstücke der Neuen Komödie größtenteils ebenfalls aus Menander stammen dürften, ist zumindest anzunehmen. Diphilos und Philemon sind, soweit es sich nachweisen läßt, so gut wie nicht vertreten.

In der *Alten Komödie* sind die Funde, jedenfalls für einen bestimmten Autor dieser Gattung, weniger spektakulär, haben aber auch hier unser Bild beachtlich erweitert. Nicht eingehen kann ich hier auf Papyri, die für die *erhaltenen* Komödien des *Aristophanes* einzelne Textverbesserungen gebracht haben. Hervorgehoben sei lediglich, daß heute solche Stücke zu allen diesen Komödien außer zu den 'Ekklesiazusen' vorliegen. Wenigstens von zwei *verlorenen* Komödien des Aristophanes sind sicher identifizierbare Stücke gefunden, von den Ἡρώες und der Ποίσις.

Wesentliche Einzelerkenntnisse hat ein antiker Papyrus-Kommentar zum Ἀνάγυρος und ein weiterer zu einer anderen, bisher nicht identifizierten Komödie des Aristophanes gebracht. Überhaupt haben die Papyrusfunde uns erstmals eine nähere Vorstellung von der Art antiker Kommentare, 'Hypomnemata', zur Alten Komödie gegeben. Und damit sind wir zugleich bei dem Zweiten aus der Trias dieser Gattung, nämlich bei *Eupolis*. Große Abschnitte aus den Hypomnemata zu seinem Μαρκῶς, seinen Προσπάλτιοι und seinen Ταξιάρχοι haben uns beachtliche Einblicke sowohl in die betreffenden Komödien als auch, wie gesagt, in die Art solcher Kommentare ermöglicht. - Fragmente einer antiken Eupolis-Ausgabe liegen uns allein aus den Δήμοι vor. Es sind zwei Codexblätter, die zusammen mit dem berühmten ersten großen - soeben genannten - Menander-Fund von Aphroditopolis gemacht wurden. Daß diese Stücke identifiziert werden konnten, ist nicht nur Zufall: Denn gerade aus dieser Eupolis-Komödie besaßen wir besonders viele literarische Zitate, und je eines davon kehrt auf diesen Blättern wieder. Wahrscheinlich gehört auch noch ein weiteres, drittes Blatt desselben Fundes zu dieser Komödie, obwohl nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden kann, daß es nur aus demselben Eupolis-Codex und damit aus einer anderen Komödie stammen könnte. Diese Fragmente geben Einblicke in die derb-drastische Art der Spottlieder des Eupolis, seiner Parabasen-Gestaltung und Näheres über den Verlauf des Stückes, speziell den Auftritt der in jener Komödie aus der Unterwelt heraufgeholtten Politiker. Es ist nur ein kleiner Einblick in eine Eupolis-Komödie, aber der größte, den wir überhaupt besitzen.

Ähnlich ist es mit dem ältesten der berühmten drei Vertreter der Alten Komödie, *Kratinos*, bestellt, insofern wir auch hier wesentliche Papyrusstücke wenigstens aus *einer* antiken Ausgabe einer Komödie haben, nämlich Reste einer Rolle seiner Πλοῦτοι. Auch hier erfahren wir durch einen Papyrus Neues von der Darstellungsweise einer nicht-aristophanischen Komödie: Ein Chor von Plutoi aus dem Geschlecht der Titanen erscheint und sucht offenbar seinen Bruder Plutos/Reichtum in Athen. In einer weiteren Szene wird dieser Reichtum in Athen geprüft und es werden Athener, die ihn zu Unrecht in Besitz genommen haben, in einer Gerichtsszene verhört.

Das bedeutendste Stück aber, das uns Fortuna aus der Alten Komödie durch einen Papyrusfund beschert hat, ist m. E. die Hypothesis zu Kratinos' Διονυσαλέξανδρος: Es ist die einzige Komödie, von der wir nun nähere Kenntnis haben, die gänzlich aus Mythen-travestie besteht. Dionysos übernimmt darin, offenbar im Komplott mit Hermes, die pikante Schiedsrichterrolle im Paris-Urteil als Paris/Alexandros verkleidet. Es wird hier deutlich, wie ein Komiker eine bekannte Sage umgestalten konnte, aber letztlich in den Sagenverlauf zurückkehrt: Zwar ist es hier Dionysos, der Aphrodite den Schönheitspreis zuerkennt und von ihr die Helena als Gegengabe erhält, aber als die Achäer eintreffen und Dionysos es mit der Angst zu tun bekommt, erfährt Paris/Alexandros vom Spiel in seinem Namen, greift ein, läßt sich jedoch von Helena bestriicken und übernimmt diese, so daß der Trojanische Krieg der Sage gemäß stattfinden kann. Zugleich, und das ist das Frappierende, ist diese Mythen-travestie von höchster politischer Brisanz: Hinter diesem Dionysos steckt nämlich Perikles, der wie Dionysalexandros, leichtfertig einen Krieg, nämlich den Peloponnesischen, verursacht habe. Solche politische Kritik im Kriegsjahr 430 an dem maßgeblichen Staatsmann veranschaulicht uns die athenische Demokratie. Außerdem zeigt das Stück, wie ein Komiker mit dem Gott der

Festspiele, dem Dionysos selbst, seinen Ulk treiben konnte. Eine köstliche Probe, die uns dieser Papyrus geschenkt hat, wenn auch - leider - nur in einer Inhaltsangabe.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei erwähnt, daß uns die Papyri auch einige Stücke aus der *Dorischen Komödie*, nämlich von Epicharm, geschenkt haben. Hier sind vor allem Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος und Προμαθεὺς ἢ Πύρρα zu nennen.

Den Komödienbericht beschließe ein kurzer Hinweis: Alle Papyrusfragmente der Komödie, die bis 1973 vorlagen, sind bekanntlich in einer vorzüglichen Ausgabe gesammelt; ich meine Colin Austins *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta*. Was danach an Komödien-Papyri publiziert wurde, ist in zwei entsprechenden Berichten zusammengestellt, im *APF* 27, 1980, 233 ff. und 38, 1992, 75 ff. Die Papyrusfragmente von Aristophanes, Cratinus und Eupolis finden sich außerdem in der Jahrbunderausgabe der *Poetae Comici Graeci* von R. Kassel und C. Austin.

Zur Tragödie:

Die Fragmente zu den *erhaltenen* Tragödien des *Aischylos* sind sehr dürftig: außer zu den 'Sieben gegen Theben' nur Reste weniger Verse jeweils einer Rolle von 'Agamemnon', 'Prometheus' und 'Hiketides'.

Aber ein kleiner sensationeller Fund hat die *communis opinio* der Chronologie und Entwicklungstheorie aischyleischen Schaffens zu Fall gebracht: Daß die 'Hiketiden' *nicht* das älteste der erhaltenen Stücke sind, erbrachte 1952 ein kleines Didaskalien-Fragment (P. Oxy. 2256 fr. 3), das den Sieg des Aischylos mit derjenigen Tetralogie zeigt, zu der diese Tragödie gehört, und einen zweiten Platz im selben Jahr für Sophokles bezeugt; Sophokles aber hat 470 das erste Mal aufgeführt. Die 'Hiketiden' sind also zumindest *nach* den 'Persern' von 472 auf die Bühne gekommen, vermutlich erst 463. Versuche, die Frühdatierung zu halten, nämlich das Zeugnis als Wiederaufführung zu deuten oder anzunehmen, diese Tetralogie hätte Aischylos viele Jahre gewissermaßen in der Schreibtischschublade ruhen lassen, sind gescheitert: Gegen das erstere spricht eindeutig der Wortlaut; das zweite widerspricht antiker Aufführungspraxis.

An *verlorenen* Aischylos-Tragödien, zu denen sicher identifizierte Papyri vorliegen, sind zu nennen: Γλαῦκος Πόντιος, Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς, Μυρμιδόνες, Νιόβη und schließlich der neueste Fund, 13 anapästische Verse aus den Ψυχαγωγοί, ein 1980 veröffentlichter Kölner Papyrus, aus einer Szene mit einer Totenbeschwörung in der Unterwelt.

Im ganzen sind die Tragödien-Papyri zu Aischylos die dürftigsten unter denen zu den drei großen Tragikern.

Reichlicher als für Aischylos sind die Papyrusfunde zu den *erhaltenen* Dramen des *Sophokles*. Aufgetaucht ist zumindest *ein* Papyrus zu jedem der uns erhaltenen sieben Dramen, zum 'Aias' und zum 'Oidipus Tyrannos' sind es jeweils 4, zur 'Elektra' 2; die byzantinische Trias der Sophokles-Dramen gehörte also offenbar bereits in der Zeit vom 2-6. Jahrhundert zu Sophokles' bekannteren Dramen.

Beachtliche sicher identifizierte Papyrusbruchstücke liegen vor zu den *verlorenen* Tragödien Αἶας Λοκρός, Νιόβη und Σκῦριοι. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit sind andere dem Εὐρύπυλος und dem Ἴναχος zugesprochen. Von Aufbau und Sagengestaltung seiner Νιόβη sind wir zudem seit kurzem (1984) durch einen weiteren umfangreichen Fund informiert, der Hypothese zu diesem Drama. Es ist die einzige sichere Hypothese zu einem verlorenen Sophokles-Drama, die wir nun zum großen Teil kennen. (Voraus geht dieser Hypothese übrigens der Schluß der Hypothese zum Ναύπλιος καταπλέων. Das zeigt, daß diese Bruchstücke aus einem alphabetisch angeordneten Werk von Sophokles-Hypotheseis stammen.) Bereits 10 Jahre zuvor war eine solche Hypothese zur Tereus-Sage publiziert worden, die vermutlich auf den sophokleischen 'Tereus' geht, aber - ohne Bezugnahme - nur

die Überschrift trägt Τηρέυς, [ἡ ὑ]πόθεσις. Diese Hypothese ist fast ganz vollständig und berichtet uns vom gesamten Verlauf des Mythos dieser Sophokles-Tragödie, wenn denn die Zuordnung zutrifft.

Daß alle Papyrusbruchstücke zu den verlorenen Aischylos- und Sophokles-Tragödien in den beiden Tragiker-Fragment-Bänden von Stefan Radt in vorbildlicher Edition vorliegen, bedarf eigentlich keiner gesonderten Erwähnung.

Am allermeisten unter den Tragikern ist *Euripides* durch Papyri vertreten, was eindeutig zeigt, daß derjenige Dramatiker der Tragiker-Trias, der zu Lebzeiten nur 4mal den ersten Platz erreichte, in der späteren Zeit bei weitem der beliebteste Tragiker war. Wir besitzen zu den meisten seiner uns erhaltenen Dramen nun auch zahlreiche Papyri, allein zu den 'Phoinissai' über 20. Zwei davon zeigen übrigens - ebenso wie die den Anfangsvers zitierende Papyrus-Hypothese - die überraschende Tatsache, daß dieses Drama ursprünglich mit unserem Vers 3 begann.

Ein Papyrusfund aus dem 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. führt m. E. zu dem Schluß, daß der uns bekannte 'Herakles' vermutlich eine zweite, von Euripides selbst überarbeitete Fassung dieses Dramas darstellt. Die offenbar ältere Fassung, die der Papyrus bietet, enthält nämlich neben teilweise erheblich abweichenden Partien eine völlig andere Parodos. Das setzt ein Überarbeitungsverfahren voraus, wie wir es bisher eindeutig lediglich aus der Komödie kannten, nämlich bei Aristophanes' 'Wolken'.

Aus den verlorenen Tragödien des Euripides, zu denen wir nun größere Papyrusfunde besitzen, zählen vor allem Ἀντιόπη, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀρχέλαος, Ἐρεχθεύς, Θησεύς, Κρεσφόντης - zu diesem Drama wird in Kürze noch ein neuer Papyrus von L. Koenen vorgelegt werden - , Κρήτες, Μελανίππη ἡ δεσμῶτις, Οἰδίπους, Τήλεφος, Ὑψιπύλη, Φαέθων, und Φρῖζος, um hier nur die wichtigsten zu nennen. Neben den speziellen Ausgaben sei auf die bekannten Sammlungen von Arnim (1913) und Austin (1968) hingewiesen, außerdem auf die entsprechenden Papyrusberichte im *APF* 22/23, 1974, 329 ff.; 27, 1980, 242 ff. und 37, 1991, 82 ff.

Wesentliche Erkenntnisse über das dramatische Schaffen des Euripides haben schließlich die zahlreichen (etwa 12) Papyrusfunde aus der - alphabetisch nach Stücktiteln angeordneten - Sammlung von mythologischen Hypothesen gebracht. Daraus sei die fast vollständige Hypothese zum Ἀλέξανδρος besonders hervorgehoben. Diese Hypothesen-Papyri haben ferner bestätigt, daß es zwei Tragödien des Titels Φρῖζος von Euripides gegeben hat - und zwar eine in Thessalien und eine in Bötien spielende. Ferner haben sie offenbart, daß es - abgesehen vom Κρεσφόντης und vom Ἀρχέλαος - neben den Temenos-Dramen Τήμενος und Τημενίδαι mindestens noch ein weiteres Temenos-Drama gegeben haben wird, möge es Τημενίδαι δεύτεροι, Τημενίδες oder anders geheißen haben. Eine kleine Sensation bringen Fragmente der Hypothese zum ersten 'Hippolytos', die kürzlich unter den Michigan-Papyri aufgetaucht sind.

Für die sogenannten 'kleinen Tragiker' haben die Papyri so gut wie nichts gebracht.

Genannt sei an dieser Stelle ein Papyrus des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus einem Atlas-Drama, der kurioserweise ohne Sigma geschrieben ist. (Meines Erachtens war das ganze Drama in dieser Weise gestaltet, und zwar als originale Schöpfung, nicht etwa als Umarbeitung.) Entstehungszeit und Gattung (Tragödie oder Satyrspiel) bleiben ungewiß.

Zum Abschluß sei noch kurz über unseren Erkenntniszuwachs für die Gattung des *Satyrspiels* gesprochen, das die Fortuna der Überlieferung so stiefmütterlich behandelt hat. Zum Satyrspiel haben Papyri neue Erkenntnisse für alle drei großen Tragiker gebracht.

Das sind einmal *Aischylos'* Δικτυουλκοί, die 'Netzfischer'. Hier ist in herzerfrischender Weise die Danaë-Sage mit den Satyrn verknüpft: Als Fischer helfen die Satyrn unter Staunen, eine große Kiste aus dem Meer zu ziehen. Dieser entsteigt die darin ausgesetzte Akrisios-Tochter zusammen mit dem Perseus-Knaben. In derb-drastischer Ausdrucksweise unterbreitet der alte Silen, was man mit der jungen Dame alles anfangen könnte, und versucht, durch frivoles Schäkern mit dem kleinen Perseus sich bei seiner Mutter einzuschmeicheln. Es hat sich uns hier eine ganz andere Seite im Schaffen des altehrwürdigen Aischylos eröffnet.

Ein zweites durch Papyrus näher bekannt gewordenes Satyrspiel dieses Dramatikers sind die Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἴσθμιασταί. In ihm versuchen die Satyrn, sich als Athleten zu produzieren, was köstliche Szenen zumindest erahnen läßt.

Für *Sophokles* aber sind die reichhaltigen Fragmente seiner Ἰχνευταί zu nennen. Es handelt sich um die dramatische Gestaltung des homerischen Hermes-Hymnos. Die Satyrn bemühen sich mit Erfolg, den Diebstahl der Rinder Apollons aufzuklären, um sich den dafür ausgesetzten Preis zu verdienen. Ihr Unternehmen wird freilich zeitweise gehemmt durch die Angst, welche die aus der Höhle dringenden unbekanntenen Klänge der neugebauten Leier des Hermes bei ihnen hervorrufen. Hier ist, um es mit Lesky zu sagen, 'das freche, lüsterne und doch immer liebenswerte Wesen dieser Waldteufel mit wunderbarer Unmittelbarkeit eingefangen'.

Aus einigen Satyrspielen des *Euripides* ist etwas mehr vom Inhalt durch einen großen Hypotheseis-Fund deutlich geworden: Aus dem Anfang des Σκείρων wird berichtet, daß Papposilen als Diener dieses Unholds ein Felsenplateau am Isthmos zu überwachen hat und sich dort die Satyrn zu ihm gesellen, zusammen offenbar mit einer Schar von Hetären, die sie sich in Korinth eingefangen haben. Vom Satyrspiel Συλεύς wird berichtet, wie Herakles als Diener von Omphale gegen diesen vorgeht, seine Weingärten verwüstet und seine Tochter offenbar vor den Zugriffen der Satyrn bewahrt.

Weitere Fragmente aus den Hypotheseis geben Anlaß zu der Vermutung, daß es so, wie beim Αὐτόλυκος, auch zwei Satyrspiele des Euripides mit dem Titel Συλεύς gegeben hat. Und noch ein weiteres bisher unbekanntes Satyrspiel scheint durch diese euripideischen Hypotheseis-Fragmente kenntlich zu werden.

Wenig gesprochen habe ich von den zahllosen Ungewißheiten, die diese Papyri zwangsläufig mit sich bringen. Und die vielen Fragen, die sich neu stellen, habe ich oftmals nur angedeutet. - Zu Einzelheiten schien mir hier die Zeit zu kurz.

Abschließend läßt sich feststellen: In allen vier dramatischen Gattungen, in der Tragödie, dem Satyrspiel, der Alten Komödie und der Neuen Komödie, haben Papyrusfunde unsere Kenntnis bedeutend erweitert. Davon konnten im einzelnen hier freilich nur Streiflichter gegeben werden.

I PAPIRI E LA LETTERATURA GRECA IN PROSA

Manfredo Manfredi

Non tutte le scoperte possono essere valutate adeguatamente se non si tien conto di quanto esse conferiscano all'approfondimento dell'umano. Da un lato, le scienze applicate e le tecnologie hanno contribuito in passato (e altrettanto si auspica possano fare in futuro) a sollevare gli esseri umani dal peso di un tipo di lavoro che - pur essendo indispensabile ed inderogabile per la sopravvivenza della specie e del singolo - non dava piena soddisfazione alle possibilità raziocinanti ed intelligenti dell'uomo. Tuttavia, nel far questo, talvolta, o da taluni, le tecnologie sono state accolte entusiasticamente come mezzi per esimersi dal lavorare, per aver tempo per 'riposarsi' o per distrarsi, per dedicarsi ad attività, anche intellettuali, aventi il mero scopo del proprio soddisfacimento egoistico, in base alla cosiddetta 'molla dell'ambizione', che in realtà, per l'uomo, non dovrebbe certo essere posta alla vetta delle sue aspirazioni.

Questo avviene anche per i cultori della storia dell'uomo, quando le ricerche diventano scopo a se stesse e non sono rivolte al miglioramento non più (o non solo) delle condizioni elementari di vita, ma della mente. Per parlare del contributo della papirologia agli studi di letteratura greca, mi sembra insomma che valga la pena di precisare quale è il mio concetto di "apporto", apporto utile agli uomini.¹

Non si tratta dunque delle minute osservazioni, delle piccole correzioni al fraseggio o alla scrittura altrui, che non hanno uno spessore umano, cose che personalmente reputo di scarsissima importanza. Si tratta della lettura e della meditazione su quanto i nostri predecessori ci hanno trasmesso, non soltanto con i cromosomi (che certo è quasi tutto ciò che di loro abbiamo), ma anche con la parola, ahimè, scritta e quindi un po' morta. Convengo anch'io, fautore della comunicazione orale, che la scrittura è stata "una grande invenzione" e che, come è stato detto fin da principio e come ogni tanto qualcuno crede di riscoprire, consente ad un uomo di entrare in collegamento con un suo simile lontano o nello spazio o nel tempo.

Io penso che per gli studiosi della storia o, se volete, dell'antichità, il programma essenziale sia quello di verificare se e quanto del passato ci è sfuggito, quanto è necessario recuperare ai fini dell'eventuale avanzamento dell'umanità (cosa in cui credo sempre meno). E speriamo nei cromosomi; speriamo cioè che possano trasmettere ai posteri il seme di uomini migliori, non solo in senso intellettuale, ma di comportamento (che è poi la stessa cosa).

I ritrovamenti dei papiri hanno consentito di recuperare testimonianze scritte realizzate alcuni secoli fa, con scopi e finalità diverse tra loro, non sempre intese a durare nel tempo, talvolta addirittura destinate a vita effimera. Per noi, che consideriamo le stesse cose di lontano, tali scritti possono assumere un significato e un valore di memoria di volta in volta diverso da quello postovi dagli antichi, ma soltanto se sappiamo leggere in essi quello che in realtà c'è da leggere, e non di più e non di meno.

Se teniamo presente per un momento la mole dei testi pervenutici dall'antichità, in tutte le possibili manifestazioni linguistiche e grafiche, dobbiamo constatare che oggigiorno le tecnologie (vedi la stampa giornalistica) producono una quantità di materia spaventosamente squilibrata rispetto a quei testi che - a giudizio di molti - conservano tutto il loro valore e sono dunque segni di umanità. Quale è dunque il vero "recupero" che ci hanno dato i papiri?

¹Diceva E. Breccia nella Prolusione del 1932 (*Inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1932-1933*. Discorso inaugurale del Prof. Comm. E. Breccia: 'L'eredità di Alessandro Magno e l'Impero Romano', Pisa, R. Università degli Studi di Pisa, stab. V. Lischì, 1932, pp. 11-35), p. 29: «Tale risultato (quello delle ricerche papirologiche) non dobbiamo considerarlo in se stesso ma in relazione all'accrescimento umano».

Anzitutto una tenue speranza che non tutto quello che è stato fatto e disfatto in passato sia ormai per noi superstita soltanto entro i limiti della normale 'tradizione' di idee, pensieri, concetti e storie, tradizione realizzata o per mera continuità quasi inavvertita (che è il 90%), o per mezzo di successive ripetute e variate riproduzioni di testi, di espressioni artistiche, di oggetti che noi conosciamo appunto attraverso questo percorso accidentato, lungo il quale moltissimi sono caduti, come nelle ritirate militari nella nevosa pianura russa.

La nostra vita è fatta di memorie inavvertite e gratuite (e neppure oggetto di gratitudine verso chi ci ha preceduto). Le opere letterarie di ogni epoca sono impregnate di concetti, di contenuti, di forme attinte al passato (e i nostri critici ne sanno qualcosa quando, con vana fatica, vanno a cercare in un autore le più vaghe allusioni all'opera di un certo altro). E quella è la vera eredità del passato, quella che è viva oggi e che - speriamo - sarà viva anche in futuro, nonostante ogni tentativo di distruggere la memoria.

Ebbene, i papiri ci hanno consolato; ci hanno detto che non tutta la poesia di Saffo, non tutta la dottrina di Callimaco, e così via è andata perduta definitivamente. E tutto questo è dovuto alla natura e al caso (e non all'uomo). Ora l'uomo tenta di rimediare andando a cercare o anche commerciando volgarmente questi antichi testi, salvati - come dicevo - soltanto dal terreno arido (quello che ha fatto anche morire tanti uomini), da fortuite trascuratezze antiche, da meschine dispute del passato.

Le domande che possiamo porci sul piano strettamente letterario sono fondamentalmente due: perché alcuni testi sono andati perduti per la "tradizione medievale"? È questo un mero caso, oppure ciò si deve sempre a scelte precise? Donde discende la questione della impostazione della cultura bizantina, quella tarda, messa a confronto con quella 'antica' rappresentata in parte anche dai papiri.

E poi: che cosa dobbiamo pensare delle testimonianze papirologiche relative ad autori ben noti nella storia letteraria greca e latina? Quale caso fortuito ne ha consentito il recupero?²

Molte volte mi è parso possibile sostenere che le statistiche, in disponibilità di cifre non troppo ristrette, di numeri non troppo piccoli, nel caso degli autori classici, potevano fornire indizio di una frequenza di lettura (il che può anche significare interesse vivo per determinati temi e determinati scrittori). Adesso, incomincio a pensare che anche questo non sia sufficiente. Infatti, dovremmo sempre sgombrare il campo da quelle, numerose, testimonianze, che debbono considerarsi attinenti all'ambiente scolastico. Questi documenti di utilizzazione dei testi sono ovviamente di tutt'altro valore per gli aspetti più propriamente filologici, e anche di storia della cultura, rispetto ai documenti che emanano dagli studi dei critici e dei letterati, o dalle biblioteche. Quest'ultimo mi sembra ancora un problema degno di qualche attenzione: quante erano le biblioteche? Quale numero di manufatti librari poteva costituire una "biblioteca"? Temo che le biblioteche che definiamo "pubbliche" fossero in numero assai limitato e che dunque sarà indispensabile tenere presente l'esistenza di collezioni private molto più di quanto non si sia fatto finora.³

I papiri hanno fornito dati nuovi, importanti per numero e per qualità, alle nostre conoscenze della letteratura antica e, in generale, della cultura antica. In questo non possiamo non confermare l'atteggiamento di fiduciosa aspettativa che ebbero di fronte ai papiri quegli studiosi che alla fine del secolo scorso (quasi esattamente cento anni fa, ormai) davano un fondamentale contributo - spesso entusiastico - a quella diversa modalità di affrontare lo studio dei testi antichi che presto prese il nome di una disciplina a sé stante, la papirologia. Questo

²Gli stessi spunti avevano indotto Paul Collart a formulare analoghe domande, con un più stretto riferimento agli studi bizantini, nella breve ma acuta nota su 'Papyrologie et byzantinisme', in *REA* 43 (1941), pp. 41-48.

³Le biblioteche cui mi riferisco sono quelle attestate in Egitto. La biblioteca della Villa dei Pisoni, in Italia, era un caso relativamente particolare.

vale anche per i papiri ercolanesi che - cento anni fa - sembravano quasi aver esaurito il loro messaggio. Ancor oggi ci si aspetta molto da quei resti di antiche carte; e sempre più numerosi sono stati gli studiosi coinvolti in questo interesse nei decenni trascorsi, in un continuo crescendo fino a questi anni, quando molte ricerche antichistiche si affacciano sui 'papiri'. Gli esiti degli apporti papirologici alle conoscenze sono differenti caso per caso: ma vorrei sottolineare che, invece, nella valutazione d'insieme, complessiva, dei 'papiri', ciascuno di essi - in quanto documento (e parlo dei papiri cosiddetti "letterari") - è equivalente agli altri, rappresenta un dato dello stesso peso, almeno dal punto di vista degli 'antichi'.

Quanto ai testi già conosciuti attraverso quella che ormai è uso chiamare la "tradizione medievale", per distinguerla appunto dai papiri, il contributo che ogni papiro può dare si manifesta sotto diversi aspetti: da quello più elementare della storia della scrittura, alla storia del testo sia della singola opera che della produzione complessiva di un determinato autore, alla costituzione del testo attraverso le proprie 'lezioni', e, oserei dire soprattutto, alla collocazione di quel testo e di quell'autore nella storia della cultura 'occidentale', attraverso la documentazione della diffusione di un certo testo e dunque dell'interesse per i temi e le forme in esso attestate.

Dallo stesso punto di vista, subito accanto a questa prima categoria di papiri, porrei quelli, o meglio le parti sussistenti di quelli che - in un modo o in un altro - fanno *riferimento* o *citano* certi autori e testi, già noti o meno, e che parimenti ci attestano la conoscenza che determinati ambienti avevano di quegli autori e dei loro scritti. Tale conoscenza poteva essere diretta oppure avvenire mediante il riferimento a libri di insieme quali potremmo considerare i manuali, i trattati, le antologie. Il lavoro ai papiri filosofici mi ha permesso di osservare meglio la trama delle "testimonianze" di un certo autore, che possono riaffiorare in contesti apparentemente lontani tra di loro e fors'anche un po' lontani dall'autore stesso.

Se posso aprire una breve parentesi esemplificativa, vorrei richiamare due casi che si sono verificati in questi ultimi anni, sempre nel settore delle opere in prosa. I casi, a dire il vero, sarebbero molti, e tali sarebbero stati anche in passato se gli editori di un nuovo frammento avessero sempre avuto il tempo, la capacità e la voglia di approfondire tutti gli aspetti dell'apporto di un papiro. Il che francamente non sempre è altrettanto necessario, né immediatamente utile. I due casi sono quelli della serie dei papiri tucididei pubblicata da Michael Haslam nel vol. LVII dei P.Oxy., che lo ha indotto ad esporre succintamente considerazioni sulla trasmissione del testo e sui rapporti tra i 'papiri' e la tradizione medievale. La stessa problematica - forse in maniera più analitica - è stata presa in considerazione a proposito di un gruppo di papiri di Eschine destinato alla pubblicazione in uno dei prossimi volumi della stessa serie; per essi si è sempre più chiaramente evidenziata la difficoltà di procedere a quel puntuale esame della situazione testuale che presupporrebbe una nuova lettura di codici medievali per i quali gli apparati non forniscono, né possono fornire, tutte quelle informazioni di dettaglio che il papirologo è abituato a raccogliere dai miseri brandelli superstiti degli stessi testi, per fornirli al proprio lettore. Abbiamo così notato quanto diventi difficile connettere le attestazioni fornite dai papiri con uno stato del testo che i manoscritti medievali possono attestare soltanto se riesaminati singolarmente nello stesso modo. Cosa senza fine, per molti autori antichi. E non voglio per ora immaginare quale sarebbe la situazione del papirologo che volesse affrontare la stessa problematica per un papiro con il testo di un autore latino di vasta tradizione medievale, quale ad esempio il Cicerone delle *Orazioni*. Si dovrà in ogni caso limitare questo impegno ai testimoni più importanti; così appunto sembra indirizzarsi il lavoro nell'ambito dei papiri filosofici.⁴

⁴A questo proposito, cfr. quanto diceva P. Collart, *art. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

Veniamo adesso al caso del papiro che ci riconsegna un brano di un testo apparentemente ignoto alla tradizione medievale, un testo "nuovo". In questo caso, se il contesto è sufficientemente esteso e significativo, si manifesta l'ovvio entusiasmo dell'editore e dei filologi e degli storici della letteratura. E riconosco che spesso l'entusiasmo può essere giustificato, quando il testo ritrovato può essere attribuibile con qualche fondamento ad un autore noto, e rappresenta dunque un accertato *addendum* alle nostre conoscenze, sia per quel che riguarda il testo in sé sia per le informazioni che il testo stesso fornisce sul mondo antico. L'altra eventualità, abbastanza frequente, è che l'editore non sia in grado di procedere oltre la presentazione di una o più ipotesi attributive, o anche semplicemente di riconoscimento del genere del testo. È spesso molto difficile (e non so fino a che punto la tecnologia potrà darci una mano) riconoscere in un passo più o meno breve un contenuto preciso, l'atteggiamento, l'impostazione culturale, il tempo dello scrivente, per tacere dello stile che, tranne rari casi, non può essere se non vagamente categorizzabile. In questo caso le nostre conoscenze sarebbero veramente ampliate se potessimo utilmente comparare tra loro i testi recuperati: ma, come è ben noto, - anche soltanto guardando ad elenchi provvisori di quanto è stato edito - si tratta di un numero notevole di frammenti testuali disparati.⁵ L'opera di comparazione è stata almeno in parte affrontata per il «Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini». Uno degli scopi preminenti della Redazione, al momento stesso in cui si diede inizio all'impresa, era (e credo sia rimasto) quello di scoprire rapporti reciproci tra i testi su papiro editi che avessero sentore di filosofico, mediante un esame comparativo. E, con l'accostamento dei testi ed un'analisi più sottile dei brani di pensiero recuperati, creare un quadro d'insieme tale da consentire di dare una collocazione - se non altro in maniera relativa - ai singoli frammenti adespoti considerati. Talvolta, speravamo, per attribuire ad essi un nome d'autore, talaltra (ahimè) per rimuoverlo.⁶

Si tratta comunque, anche nel campo della prosa, di acquisizioni che potranno essere utilizzate dagli specialisti dei diversi settori dell'antichistica. Nel caso dell'autore noto, la cui produzione viene meglio documentata, abbiamo ancora una volta la testimonianza della notorietà di detto autore presso gli antichi, o, per meglio dire, in determinati circoli culturali di

⁵Come è noto, un gruppo di papirologi di Liegi, guidati dal prof. Paul Mertens, sta attuando il progetto dell'aggiornamento dei dati relativi alle scoperte papirologiche attinenti la letteratura rispetto a quelli forniti da R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2ª ed., Ann Arbor 1965. Diversi contributi sono stati pubblicati nel corso degli ultimi anni: P. Mertens, 'Vingt années de papyrologie odysseenne', in *CE* 60 (1985), pp. 191-203; P. Mertens, 'Les papyrus littéraires latins d'auteurs classiques durant les deux dernières décennies', in *Miscellanea papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig*, Barcelona 1987, pp. 189-204; M.-H. Marganne e P. Mertens, 'Medici et Medica'. Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires grecs et latins, in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology (Athens 25-31 May 1986)*, vol. I, Athens 1988, pp. 105-146; D. Marcotte e P. Mertens, 'Les papyrus de Callimaque', in *Miscellanea Papirologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, Parte seconda, Firenze 1990, pp. 409-427; O. Bouquiaux-Simon e P. Mertens, 'Les témoignages papyrologiques d'Euripide. Liste sommaire arrêtée au 1/6/1990', in *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 1 (1992), pp. 95-107; P. Mertens e J. Straus, 'Les papyrus d'Hérodote depuis 1965', in *BACPS* 8 (1992) [in stampa]. - Per esempio, negli ultimi volumi del P. Oxy. usciti dopo la 2ª edizione del Pack sono stati editi: XXXI frammenti di oratoria, Ditti; XXXII Manetone, Demostene, Lisia; XXXIII Platone; XXXIV Nuovo Testamento, Iperide, Aristosseno, Tucidide; XXXVI Tucidide, Senofonte, Platone; XXXVII storia egiziana; XXXIX Eschine Socratico; XLI Caritone; XLII Demostene; XLIV Platone; XLV Isocrate, Tucidide; XLVII Ermarco, fr. di filosofia e di romanzo; XLVIII Erodoto; XLIX fr. di prosa, Demostene, Isocrate, Dinarco, Strabone, Tucidide; L Vecchio e Nuovo Testamento, Erma, filosofia; LII Antifonte, Conone, Cornuto, fr. di medicina e di filosofia, Platone, Plutarco; LIII fr. di filosofia, mimo, medicina, mitografia, retorica, musica; vita Aesopi, Teofrasto; LVI Achille Tazio, Demostene; LVII Tucidide.

⁶Non sempre si trova un' *Athenaion Politeia*, anche se le testimonianze dimostrano, oltre che una conoscenza dell'esistenza, una diffusione di copie dell'opera in ambienti specialistici del mondo culturale in Egitto. Molti passi di opere storiche non meglio identificate, molti passi di retorica/oratoria (questo anche in funzione dell'importanza pratica in generale della conoscenza degli oratori classici), molti passi di autori cristiani, di pensatori rimangono senza nome. Vuoti ancora persistenti per opere il cui autore e titolo erano peraltro ben noti negli ambienti culturali antichi, almeno in certe epoche. Silenzi.

una provincia specifica quale era l'Egitto in epoca tolemaica, romana o bizantina. Nel caso dell'adespoto, la prima domanda che ci poniamo è quale fosse la posizione dell'imprecisato autore nell'ambito delle letterature antiche, o, più modestamente, di una scuola, di un gruppo. Dobbiamo chiederci se le parole che leggiamo sono testimonianza di un pensiero che ha avuto peso nella vita dei contemporanei e dei posteri; quanto vasta fu l'eco che quel pensiero ebbe, quanto duratura. Brevi brani di opere storiche che, ammesso che sia possibile identificare la loro collocazione nel tempo e il loro tema, possono gettare uno spiraglio di luce su un particolare evento, o sull'interpretazione di un evento, o di un'iniziativa umana. Brani di oratoria che possono essere frutto di un'attività forense svoltasi in epoca "classica", oppure in altri momenti della discussione pubblica (che a sua volta può essere più o meno fittizia), e che pertanto dobbiamo considerare brani di interventi diretti, non posti all'interno di un contesto narrativo; ovvero brani di discorsi inseriti in una narrazione storica o cronachistica, che vanno dunque collegati ad un'attività interpretativa affatto differente, molto meno vincolata a farsi specchio degli eventi del loro presente. Occasionalmente, capita di imbattersi in frammenti di opere che appaiono più decisamente manualistiche, destinate all'insegnamento di una *technè*, che può essere quella del retore o del grammatico, talvolta di alto livello, quello che per noi sarebbe un linguista.

E, parlando di *technai*, ci sovengono prontamente i trattati di medicina, di scienze naturali, di astronomia, astrologia, matematica, che sono tutti ben documentati nella messe dei papiri. Qui la distinzione, come, e più, che per la storia o la oratoria, cade - spesso peraltro per nostra ignoranza - tra opere di autori famosi, di capiscuola cui è ancora possibile attribuire con relativa sicurezza un testo un tempo ben noto (anche se a noi appare nuovo); e manuali dall'apparenza più propriamente scolastica, destinati all'apprendimento immediato delle basi di tali *technai*, se non destinati all'iniziazione a pratiche pseudo-scientifiche (come avveniva, scientemente, anche in antico) soprattutto per l'astrologia e l'alchimia, quelle pratiche che fecero progressivamente perdere dignità a ricerche ed osservazioni che intendevano essere impostate seriamente. In questi campi - che meritano un'esplorazione ancora più attenta - i papiri hanno dato un contributo non indifferente facendo riapparire una quantità di testi perduti alla tradizione medievale, la quale aveva da un lato preferito selezionare due o tre grandi autori in ciascun campo, e dall'altro - quando i veri trattati erano diventati incomprensibili al comune mortale - aveva optato per soluzioni meno scientifiche ma più impressionanti.

Un settore in cui, a mio parere, si fa maggiormente sentire la passione per il libero racconto talora quasi svincolato dalla comune realtà fattuale, è quello del romanzo, che molto deve alla mentalità 'orientale' con cui i Greci entrarono in contatto quando essa aveva già sviluppato, da secoli, in maniera pienamente adeguata al genere, esemplari in parte giunti fino a noi, anche se spesso in versioni imperfette e via via adattate ai tempi. Ho preferito staccare questo aspetto della letteratura prosastica dalla storiografia, e parlo a sé, proprio perché mi sembra che la documentazione ci inviti a farne un genere da porre di fronte a quelli appartenenti alle *technai*, siano esse scienze esatte o materie letterarie. I papiri hanno contribuito in modo tale al romanzo greco, che non vale la pena di tornarci sopra, se non per ricordare come i frammenti di tali antiche copie diano indicazioni concrete del livello di considerazione in cui il romanzo veniva tenuto, in confronto ad altri prodotti letterari. E tuttavia, come dicevo, mi sembra preferibile tenere a parte il romanzo rispetto ad altre opere prosastiche affini, a motivo delle sue origini e dunque della diversa prospettiva in cui dobbiamo collocare questa produzione in rapporto alla vena della tradizione greca importata dalla madrepatria, quale fondamento culturale indispensabile ad ogni *gymnasium*, e opportunamente attecchita nel fertile terreno spirituale della Alessandria dei primi Tolomei, divenuta a sua volta centro di irradiazione della cultura greca, o - in determinati settori soprattutto - della cultura *tout court*. Ma, d'altro canto, non possiamo sottovalutare le reciproche influenze di pensiero e di scrittura per cui a fianco del

romanzo si collocano opere 'biografiche' che, pur essendo fondate nella storia, non esitano a mettere in evidenza gli aspetti meno pubblici e più aneddotici di una vita d'uomo.

A fianco di questa produzione, ancora una volta quei testi che, per essere legati alla vita del paese e alla sua storia e alle sue tradizioni, possono nascondere - a noi che non sempre siamo in grado di cogliere tali sfumature - non solo le origini, ma i modelli egiziani trasportati in lingua greca per uso degli egiziani ellenizzati e talora dei greci ben radicati anche culturalmente in Egitto. Non dimentichiamo dunque il gran numero di frammenti di papiro il cui testo non è neppure classificabile latamente entro un genere letterario, o per le scarse dimensioni del pezzo superstite, o per la troppo vaga collocazione semantica del lessico in esso rappresentato. E ho trascurato di ricordare i gruppi per così dire minori, quali i testi di legge, o di mitografia, o di geografia, o di musica, o di grammatica.⁷

L'apporto diretto dei papiri, con la loro documentazione vincolata a tempi, a luoghi, ad ambienti culturali, si colloca a fronte delle notizie che ci giungono filtrate attraverso le opere storiche e cronachistiche degli antichi, opere che hanno lasciato sopravvivere certi dati e certi eventi, cancellandone o sminuendone altri, senza tener conto di quante vite umane sono state coinvolte positivamente o negativamente nei fatti stessi; opere che hanno costruito quella rete di dati che noi oggi denominiamo "storia", ma che spesso è soltanto una visione unilaterale e tendenziosa di eventi più o meno importanti che hanno segnato la storia dell'uomo.

Dunque un 'apporto' non indifferente alle conoscenze dell'antichità, ed insieme una complessa serie di problemi messi innanzi a chi dell'antichità si occupa.

Esiste poi, tra i papiri, una documentazione che ci offre, più che un aiuto, una chiave, per arrivare a cogliere, nella complessa vicenda del tempo e dello spazio, le modalità e le connessioni degli eventi culturali, dei mutamenti socio-politici che sulla cultura hanno avuto un peso determinante; che ci apre la via per seguire le fila dell'atteggiamento dei nostri predecessori verso la produzione letteraria e scientifica, fila che pian piano conducono fino ad oggi. Alludo con questo a tutta la documentazione pubblica e privata trasmessaci dai papiri, entro la quale si può sempre leggere quali fossero le conoscenze letterarie, giuridiche, scientifiche e tecnologiche del redattore del documento. In maniera più specifica, si possono menzionare le lettere private, e soprattutto quelle di carteggi come quello che fa capo a Teofane, eccezionali - è vero - nel loro genere, ma che ci dicono come, in una determinata cerchia, fossero considerate normali certe conoscenze e letture di classici, o di grammatici. Il che può indurre a meditare di rintracciare quale fosse, in un determinato momento storico, in un determinato luogo, la conoscenza di autori famosi, giunta in ambito familiare semplicemente attraverso la scuola primaria, o attraverso studi specifici condotti da critici e letterati di varia estrazione sociale e formazione.

Queste attestazioni, coeve rispetto a manoscritti di ogni genere, a mio parere, possono inquadrare un po' meglio le presenze di certi testi, la manifesta volontà di riprendere certe tematiche, insomma possono dirci perché e come si sono formati certi ambienti culturali, che ovviamente hanno avuto il loro peso sulla vita di ogni giorno di chiunque si muovesse nella loro sfera.⁸

Non solo dunque i testi di qualunque genere scritti sull'altra faccia di un pezzo di carta riutilizzato sono testimonianze che offrono validi e obiettivi elementi di giudizio rispetto ad un testo letterario, ma anche la documentazione che sta intorno ai manoscritti, in un modo o nell'altro. Donde l'importanza di stabilire correttamente la provenienza di ritrovamento di un manufatto. Quanto alla provenienza di redazione, è tutt'altro discorso.

⁷Vedi ancora P. Collart, *art. cit.*, pp. 44 e 45-48.

⁸Ancora Breccia, *ibid.*, p. 27: «Se i papiri hanno determinato un nuovo parziale Rinascimento, arricchendo il patrimonio della letteratura greca, essi hanno portato un contributo d'inestimabile valore alla conoscenza del diritto romano e di tutte le forme di attività pubblica e privata quali si svolsero in una delle più interessanti regioni annesse all'impero».

Un accenno alle possibili biblioteche lo abbiamo già fatto, e torno un istante sull'argomento per ricordare che la parola biblioteca, almeno in Egitto, fa normalmente riferimento a quelle raccolte di testi che noi chiamiamo 'archivi'; e, naturalmente, in una raccolta privata è possibile che la *bibliothèque* contenesse sia le carte di famiglia sia i libri. Dipenderà dunque dal livello di preparazione specifica, dalla professione, dall'appartenenza a un gruppo o ad una categoria di funzionari, la qualità e la dimensione della biblioteca personale. Si ha per lo più l'impressione che i manoscritti che abbiamo ritrovato un po' dovunque appartenessero prevalentemente a tali biblioteche private, conservati assieme ad altre carte.

Debbo forse, a questo punto, fare elenchi e cataloghi? Debbo dire ancora una volta quanto numerosi sono i papiri di Demostene? O quelli di Tucidide? Debbo sottolineare l'importanza che ha avuto il recupero di Filodemo o di tanto Iperide? O quello del *Peri phygês* di Favorino? Preferisco citare i papiri che hanno conservato qualche cosa di Dione Crisostomo, Filostrato, Imerio, Libanio, e in particolare quei brani di Dinarco che - se non ci consentono di completare i testi delle sue orazioni giunteci monche - ci forniscono alcuni elementi per la storia e la critica del testo. Tralascio le *Elleniche di Ossirinco*, per menzionare i minuti recuperi di alcuni storici noti a noi soltanto per nome: Ellanico, Sosilo, Filisto, Ippolito Romano. Tra i grammatici, simbolico è il papiro ossirinco di Satiro; ma non pochi sono i piccoli ma significativi recuperi di studiosi del livello di Arpocrazione.⁹

E terminerò con i filosofi, per i quali - accanto ad Epicuro e alla sua "scuola" Ercolanese - basta un rimando al Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici, all'interno del quale, se Dio vorrà, saranno ripresi i testi che - qualunque peso si voglia dare a questa categoria di intellettuali - hanno influito sulla ricerca, sulla impostazione degli studi in tanti settori specialistici, sull'etica e sul comportamento degli uomini.

Con l'augurio che i papiri, come ormai è divenuto un *topos*, ci possano far conoscere qualcosa del famoso II libro della *Poetica* aristotelica.¹⁰

⁹Una utile sintesi di testimonianze, con analoghe considerazioni, ha fornito Abdallah Hasan El Mosallamy, 'The Echo of the Alexandrian Scholarship in Provincial Egypt', in *BACPS* 3 (1986), pp. 52-69.

¹⁰Vedi R. Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy. Towards a reconstruction of Poetics II*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984.

SUMMING UP

P. J. Parsons

Our three speakers have considered the literary papyri in three lights: as survivals of Greek literature; as documents of Greco-Roman culture; and as the materials, and stimulants, of scholarship.

As to the positive additions to Greek literature, little needs to be said. Sappho, Stesichorus, Bacchylides, Menander, Herodas, Callimachus have come back from the dead in this last century. Who can now imagine Greek history without the *Hellenika* of Oxyrhynchus or the *Athenaion Politeia*? or Greek philosophy without the Epicurus and Philodemus to whom Naples has been giving a second life? The little we recover demonstrates how much we have lost: we see from the Vienna Pinakes¹, the Philodemus incipits² and the new collection eagerly expected from Milan, that our substantial inheritance of Greek epigram is a drop in the bucket. Not just authors: genres as well. We now understand old genres much better: iambus, satyr play, New Comedy, the novel. New genres emerge: the lyric epic of Stesichorus, the lyric diatribe of Cercidas; the political pamphlet of the Alexandrian Martyrs, the comic narrative in prosimetrum. Some parts of this have joined the imaginative stock: Archilochus and his Lolita, Heracles' battle with Geryones, Menander's love-lorn soldier mooching in the rain. Some parts remind us that, in Greek literature, chance and choice had preserved Bach but not Handel, Mozart without Salieri. Now we can read Bacchylides alongside Pindar, Cratinus alongside Aristophanes; the papyri give us poetasters and speechifiers, exercises and handbooks - we have come closer to the Library of Linus, as Alexis depicted it, where the young Heracles bypassed Orpheus, Hesiod, tragedy, Choerilus, Homer, and Epicharmus - and chose a cook-book.³

The larger classical world, we hope, is grateful. And yet, as Professor Haslam has remarked, the reception of our material is often slow. Yes, indeed, it is scattered and fragmentary and doubtfully deciphered; that is why we have a duty not only to publish new texts, but to revise and to collect the older ones. Yes, indeed, it has a touch of the sensational: a colleague once said "Why waste time writing 50 articles on the Cologne Archilochus? - when we don't even understand Thucydides". Yet sometimes we might suspect our colleagues of regretting anything that might disturb their scholarly repose. Typically, papyri occur as an adjunct to MSS in the construction of a text (it would be instructive to publish a text of *Iliad* I based entirely on sources before 400 AD). Typically, new texts have been rejected, because they did not square with what was thought to be known about the old: thus the Cologne Archilochus set aside as a hellenistic freak, or indeed the new Gallus as a forgery. That is a mistake. It is not just that our papyri are new; it is that they come to us without that haze of reception and interpretation which darkens the reading of the older texts. It is true also that they realign those older texts. Pindar and Callimachus, Euripides and Menander, Menander and Plautus - the links have emerged. One new author shakes the kaleidoscope. Now that we possess some Stesichorus, we can recognise, as Burkert has,⁴ a guiding thread of Greek literature: the successive revolutions which revivify the old material of myth in new literary forms - Stesichorus, tragedy, hellenistic poetry.

¹ H. Harrauer in *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.* (1981) 49.

² P.Oxy. LIV 3724.

³ Fr. 140 KA.

⁴ W. Burkert, in C.M. Robertson and others, *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (1987) 52.

In their second aspect, the papyri are an epiphenomenon of Hellenistic and Roman culture. Professor Manfredi has touched on the subject of taste, and its reflection in statistics. We can of course agree that brute statistics mislead: even if you can allow for archival contexts, distinguish private reading from scholastic, separate classical masters from local amateurs, they are skewed by geography, by the water-table, by clumping in single finds. Above all, simple chance rules; you remember the calculation made, just for the sake of example, for documentary texts, that the survival rate is 1 in 150,000.⁵ Add to that the choice of editors: all known papyri of Sappho will have been published, but by no means all known papyri of Homer. That makes difficulties with the argument. We have two papyri of Callimachus from the Ptolemaic period, no papyrus of his conventional contemporaries: is that enough to refute Ziegler?⁶ (In the Roman period, we have greater resources; but by then the propaganda war had been won.) Nonetheless, we do find patterns. Wild papyri of Homer and Plato cease with the second century BC. Menander outpaces Aristophanes (until the watershed of the fourth century); Euripides dominates the tragedians, and the plays which were to survive outnumber more and more those which were not.⁷ You can try limiting yourself to a single site. Oxyrhynchus has produced a mass of papyri (some 4,500 already published), the waste-paper of a city of 30,000 people over 600 years. Allowing for inedita, we find 700 papyri of Homer. For comparison, more than 100 pieces of magic, some 20 fragments of the novel, and no cookery book so far identified. The top twenty authors include none later than 200 BC; no doubt the school curriculum was tied to the classics, no doubt taste was generally conservative. The papyri do little to redress the catastrophe of hellenistic prose. It is interesting (as Professor Manfredi pointed out) that the Roman prose writers do turn up occasionally: thus, some one at Oxyrhynchus was reading Plutarch, for two of his works appear there, if not in his own time, at least within a generation. But this was a minority interest; the novel makes a respectable showing, but certainly not enough to sustain the theory that it was a bourgeois best-seller. Overall, the statistics illustrate the cultural change of the early Byzantine period: the inroads of Latin, the triumph of the codex, the decline in literary circulation. That early medieval world finds its best exemplar further south, in two codices (from the same library?) of the fourth century: PBodm. XLV-XLVI contains Thucydides VI alongside *Susanna* and *Daniel*; the Barcelona Codex has Cicero and the anonymous *Alcestis* alongside a Hymn to the Virgin, in Latin, and the canon of the Mass, in Greek.

Our third topic was scholarship. Here, partly as cause and partly in coincidence, the rise of papyrology has accompanied the decline of certainty. 1890 might serve as a landmark: the golden age of *Altertumswissenschaft* stood at its height; Wissowa began the revision of Pauly's encyclopedia, which was, like the new scholarship, to combine every aspect of the ancient world in a single science. A hundred years on, we may view the scholarship of that age, romantic, positivist, confident, with surprise as well as envy. Two world wars, the fragmentation of high culture, Einstein and Heisenberg, Freud and Wittgenstein, have all contributed to undermine those moral and scientific certainties. Well, it was the accumulation of minor discrepancies that helped to undermine Newtonian mechanics. The papyri have served in the same way, to test the *fable convenue*. In consequence, they have not only shown the extent of scholarly ignorance; they have also shown up the fragility of scholarly methods.

By 'methods' I mean no more than the simple procedures which often seem so commonsensical, and indeed necessary, if we are to find a pattern in an epoch or an oeuvre or even a

⁵ M. Hombert & C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (1952) 148.

⁶ See Prof. Haslam's paper, above.

⁷ Julian Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 257. The same monograph provides useful statistics for the reception of literary texts at Oxyrhynchus itself.

single work. Let me recall some examples from the traditional activities of classical scholars: constructing a text, a commentary, a biography, a literary history.

First the text. We have recovered a fair number of *ipsissima verba* (important to the romantic - but also for a close reading). We now know that Euripides began the *Phoinissai* at line 3.⁸ We now know that when Pindar enjoins man to watch his step, the verb he used was βλέπειν, not σκοπεῖν or any of the other words that scholars have put into the medieval lacuna: τὸ δὲ πρὸς ποδὸς ἄρειον ἀεὶ βλέπειν χρῆμα πάν.⁹ Scholars have strained over τοῦ πρός at *OT* 525; now a papyrus has given new charm to Heimsoeth's τοῦπος.¹⁰ At Theocritus 15.72 Praxinoa exclaims ὄχλος ἀλαθέως, as two papyri show;¹¹ accident reduced this to ἀθεως, and ineptitude then generated the readings, ie conjectures, of the MSS; no editor, I think, guessed the truth. Classical texts still have room for improvement. More generally, we have seen our faith in simplicity and stemmatics undermined in various ways. (i) Texts degenerated quickly: we see this in *Sikyonios*, of which we have a highly corrupt copy written within a century of composition, or in Julius Africanus' *Kestoi*, corrupt within fifty years. This should be no surprise: Cicero and St Jerome complain of it, Demetrius Laco¹² and Origen¹³ exemplify it from their sacred texts. But optimism was surprisingly tenacious. (ii) Contamination has recently become the fashion among textual critics; the papyri show very clearly the extent and the mechanics of the process at the Roman stage, whether incidental notes or systematic collation. Look at Pindar, *Paean*s 6.10, one variant (possible) above, another (ludicrous) in the margin. (iii) The medieval tradition was neither so good nor so representative nor so simple as has often been believed. The papyri of Aeschines, as Professor Manfredi has said, show that it ignores a range of variants that still circulated in the Roman period.¹⁴ A conjecture in the *Odyssey*, which we knew only as a late γράφεται, turns up in the second century.¹⁵ The papyri of Theocritus show the antiquity of variants which so far have surfaced only in Moschopoulos and Triclinius (and there might have been thought conjectures).¹⁶ (iv) The papyri of Apollonius Rhodius provide a variety of new readings¹⁷ - many evidently correct, some at places which had never been doubted; Hermann Fränkel estimated that the papyri improved the text once every ten lines. Conjecture or *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, this century has shown the inadequacy of our information, and the naiveté of our categories.

Interpreting the text. One way here has been to analyse the verbal structure in terms of form and of allusion. We have learned how blinkered we were. Take that most famous poem of Sappho, φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴκος θεοίειν.¹⁸ The full text, as you know, survives only as a quotation, in Longinus. Towards the end, it dissolves in a broken context, as Sappho sums up her symptoms, 'I seem to be little short of dying'. τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδύησ / φαίνομαι: the stanza, it seems, lacks its last word. Various scholars have tried to restore it from the corrupt letters around. Some thought of an epithet. Others thought of a name, a vocative addressed to the subject of the poem. One name had a special success: Agallis (a known name, though not a known name of a friend of Sappho). It became so popular that the standard text printed it, and Wilamowitz referred to the poem as the Agallis Ode. There were

⁸ M.W. Haslam, *GRBS* 16 (1975) 149-74.

⁹ *Isthm.* 8.13 in P.Oxy. XXVI 2439 fr. 1.

¹⁰ P.Oxy. XVIII 2180 (as re-read by Mr Barrett).

¹¹ P.Oxy. XIII 1618; PAnt.

¹² Demetrius Lacon, *Aporie testuali ed esegetiche in Epicuro*, ed. Enzo Puglia (1988).

¹³ B. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (1987).

¹⁴ See P.Oxy. LX 4027ff.

¹⁵ *Od.* 10.10 in P.Oxy. XLIX 3441.

¹⁶ P.Oxy. L p. 101.

¹⁷ M.W. Haslam, *ICS* 3 (1978) 47-73.

¹⁸ Fr. 31 L-P, V.

sceptics too; and they were justified in 1965, when our colleagues in Florence published a scrap of papyrus which quoted precisely the end of this stanza.¹⁹ Not an epithet, not a name, certainly not "Αγαλλι, but a rather prosy pronoun, φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὐτά. Now, we can understand why scholars loved Agallis: what more romantic than to name, at this climactic moment, the unnamed? what more natural, to critics who modelled Sappho on Horace? Scholarship was betrayed by the unspoken assumptions of Victorian taste.

Hunters of allusion too have tended to overconfidence - to assume a closed world, in which the ancients had read only what we have read. But of course, any new text may reveal a new intertextuality. Theocritus, referring to Simonides' Thessalian patrons, quotes a phrase from Simonides' description of the Trojan war: an isolated phrase, whether reminiscence or allusion, which we could never identify, until we had the text.²⁰ Here particularly the papyri have profited Latin literature. We find Lucretius, it seems, reading Philaenis;²¹ Horace quoting two epigrams of Philodemus in a row²²; Philodemus dedicating a book to Plotius, Varius, Quintilius - and Virgil.²³ The *Third Georgic* begins with a triumph: Virgil will be the first to bring the Heliconian Muses to Italy; he will build a temple to Caesar, and drive a hundred chariots before him, and for this all Greece will leave Olympia and the groves of Molorchus. A bizarre and fragmented vision; critics have even resorted to biography - Virgil's recent visit to Greece had moved him to sprinkle his new poem with topographical touches. Well, since 1977 we can read Virgil's mind. The gesture is textual, not touristic. Callimachus, that exemplar of the sophisticated, began the Third Book of his *Aetia* with a poem relating a chariot victory and the story of Heracles and Molorchus.²⁴ Virgil alludes to Callimachus: not by translation of words, or parallelism of motifs, not symmetrically or coherently. 'Third', 'chariot', 'Molorchus' hint enough to the knowing reader. Such fabrics of allusion play a central part in Greek and Latin literature; for us, only the recovery of texts makes them clear.

Biography, and the biographical approach to literary interpretation, had had a long run. In this respect, as in many, the nineteenth century continued to explain Greek literature in the categories that Greeks themselves had established (a good historicist principle vulnerable only to an obvious anthropological objection - a nation is perfectly capable of misinterpreting its own literature). Hence the search for personal references and biographical patterns. That began quite early. Sophocles recognised three periods in his own style, so he was made to say.²⁵ In Euripides' *Palamedes*, the lament 'You have killed, you Greeks, the wise nightingale of the Muses' was understood by some to refer to the death of Socrates; but Euripides died before Socrates, as Philochorus pointed out.²⁶ Classical scholars have trodden ancient paths with modern industry. Not, of course, naively. *Quellenforschung* cast doubt on much inherited information. And yet there has been a strong sense of 'No smoke without fire'. If we today react against biography, that is partly the spirit of the age. But it is also that the recovery of fragments of ancient scholarship gives us a much clearer view of its character than the marginalised snippets of the medieval tradition. Read the Derveni papyrus, and you see at work a fool as lopsided as the editor in Nabokov's *Pale Fire*. Read Satyrus on Euripides, and you read a work of artless journalistic irresponsibility. 'The man above money, in the *Danae*, must be Socrates.' 'The women so hated Euripides that they attacked him at the

¹⁹ *Dai papiri della Società italiana, Omaggio all' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (1965) no. 2.

²⁰ Theoc. 16.45f; Simonides, P.Oxy. LIX 3965 fr. 1.13f (Simonides fr. eleg. 11.17f West²).

²¹ Lucr. 4.1160ff; Philaenis, P.Oxy. XXXIX 2891 fr. 3.

²² Hor., *Serm.* 1.2.121 and 123, with P.Oxy. LIV 3724 v 29 and iii 15 (I owe the observation to Marcello Gigante).

²³ Gigante & Capasso, *SIFC*³ 7 (1989) 3-6.

²⁴ Callimachus, *Suppl. Hell. fr.* 254ff

²⁵ Plu., *Mor.* 79B.

²⁶ Eur., fr. 588 N; Philochorus, FGrH 328 F 221.

Thesmophoria.' 'Euripides was torn to pieces by the dogs of Archelaus, as the worthy and most ancient of the Macedonians relate' - a cliché masquerading as a source.²⁷ Nothing here but speculation, comedy and anecdote.

Modern intuition is equally vulnerable. Professor Luppe mentioned the didascalic notice, which (special pleading denied) limits the date of Aeschylus *Supplices*.²⁸ That play, some authority had said, was the earliest, indeed by far the earliest, of Aeschylus' plays. Wrong. We, wise after the event, can see that the judgment rested on inadequate evidence. The play was a third part of a trilogy: who knows what the economy of the whole looked like? Fewer than 10% of Aeschylus' plays survive at all: how far can we judge his overall development? But there is a more important point: the judgment relied on a doubtful premise, that of simple linear development. Artists do change, but not necessarily in linear mode. Aeschylus may have responded to the mood of the moment, or the nature of the subject, or the provocations of a competitor.

Last, literary history. Such history looks for periods and movements. 'Archaic', 'classical', 'hellenistic': handbooks still operate with these terms. But, for hellenistic at least, the line is now much harder to draw. Rudolf Pfeiffer saw the third century BC as a new epoch (though as a revival, not, like his predecessors, as a donnish decline); the reassessment of the literature of the past was an essential part of this; the writing of commentaries an essential feature of that. The model, that is, was the Renaissance: a Greek revival of learning, with Callimachus as its Petrarch. Much of this may be true. But papyri have crossed the bounds in a way Pfeiffer could not have anticipated. The Derveni papyrus explains an obscure text (or rather, the author obscures the text by explaining): Aristarchus would have despised it, but still it represents commentary of a sort. The snippets of the *Meropis* have been assigned to the third century - or to the sixth.²⁹ A fragment of the Hesiodic catalogues refers to the fatal love of Ceyx and Halcyone - a hellenistic motif we call it when it recurs in Ovid.³⁰ A papyrus of Simonides offers an elegy on the Battle of Plataea: a proem invokes Achilles, and notes how Homer made immortal the heroes of the Trojan War; then a transition, with a formula that we know from the Homeric hymns, χαῖρε ... αὐτὰρ ἐγώ; then the narrative, the Spartans march out with the Dioskouroi and Menelaos at their head, and join the Athenians at Eleusis.³¹ Now this is no doubt typical of the 480s (the Persian war is the Trojan war of our time), and of the poet (Simonides is the Homer of our time). What strikes me as interesting is the literary form. Essentially, it represents the rhapsodic form: hymn, transition, heroic narrative. But here the old heroes move into the hymn, new heroes occupy the narrative; the whole structure is transposed into elegiacs, and compassed in (at a guess) two hundred lines. Miniaturisation, crossing of genres - wouldn't we be tempted to call that Hellenistic?

The argument about the results of our work turns easily into an argument about the value of our work. Once upon a time, we papyrologists had a respected place among the pillars of scholarship. Now we are in danger of being dismissed as technicians; employment is for Generalists. That is a false opposition. It is not just, as Professor Haslam hinted, that our activities fit with curious aptness into modernist discourse: in the most literal way, our texts are artifacts, our readings are creative. The construction of a text is itself a critical act: decipherment determines supplement, supplements build up context, contexts combine in form, form interrogates readings and supplements, and so circularly; eye and understanding provoke each other. Texts combine into literature, slowly but cumulatively: over the last hundred years

²⁷ Satyrus, P.Oxy. IX 1176 fr. 39 i; x; xx-xxi.

²⁸ P.Oxy. XX 2256 (Aesch. T 70 Radt).

²⁹ P.Köln III 126; A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* I p. 132.

³⁰ P.Turner 1 fr. 4.5 (OCT Hesiod, ed. 3 (1990), fr. 10(a) 87).

³¹ P.Oxy. LIX 3965 frs. 1-2 (Simonides fr. eleg. 11 West²).

we have published, on average, one literary papyrus every ten days;³² we have recreated the *Misoumenos* from 12 different manuscripts, the *Catalogues* from 55 - and there is more to come. New texts, new literature: that means new perspectives.

You can image our trade as you will. Manfredi has pictured us assisting at a Retreat from Moscow: here and there we can restore the lost to life. I have a less romantic picture: like the wonder-dog in Goethe,³³ our business is to eat broken glass and excrete diamonds. But, one way or another, we should be proud of a century in which our work has given Greek literature its second Renaissance.

³² I owe the calculation to Professor Mertens.

³³ *Gedichte*, ed. E. Staiger (Zürich, 1949) III p. 348.

POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL-NAQLUN 1986-1991: INTERDEPENDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND PAPYROLOGY

Tomasz Derda

Plates 1-6 (figs. 1-11)

In this paper I would like to concentrate on the interdependence of archaeology and papyrology in the investigations of just one site, the monastic complex of Deir el Malak Ghubrail (Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel).¹ The monastery continues to function today and is known under two other and equally popular names: Deir el-Naqlun (etymology unknown; some indications in a Greek papyrus — see below) and Deir el Khashaba (Monastery of the Beam). The monastery lies about 15 km southeast of Medinet el-Fayum, several hundred meters from the border of cultivation of the Fayum Oasis (figs. 1–2). The modern monastery occupies an area at the foot of a low range of desert hills which runs alongside the Valley of the Nile (the valley as well as the pyramid at Medum are visible from the top of this range).

Excavations at this site by a Polish mission began in the early eighties when Prof. E. Wipszycka, in her research on monasteries in the Egyptian *chora*, came across the rule of a monastery called Nacalon. The Rule was preserved in two Arabic manuscripts, although to scholars it is known only in a Latin translation published by Migne.² In one manuscript the rule is prefaced with the words: "Rules and commandments of our holy father Anthony (given) to his sons the monks at the Nacalon monastery who had asked him for them". But St. Anthony certainly was not the author of this Rule; it was attributed to him in order to enhance its authority. The work could not have been written before the close of the 4th century, because the first generations of monks never created texts of this kind. The Rule provides many important pieces of information on the way of living of the residents of the hermitages, and on the form of their piety. The text is a unique example of its kind; we know no other rules for semi-anachoretic communities in Egypt.³ The rule remained unknown to scholars of Christian Egypt who described the modern Naqlun monastery and the visible remains of hermitages drawing upon other Arabic and Coptic sources. This abundance of sources, but primarily the "discovery" of the Rule, prompted the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University in Cairo to start excavations in 1986. It should be emphasized that Naqlun is the only case in the history of monastic archaeology where archaeologists have conducted their explorations already equipped with the Rule of the monastery under investigation.

Archaeological work began with a meticulous survey of the site during which over a hundred rock-cut hermitages were recorded (four were subsequently excavated and thoroughly in-

¹ For Polish excavations at Naqlun see: W. Godlewski, T. Herbich, E. Wipszycka, 'Deir el-Naqlun (Neklioni) 1986-87: First Preliminary Report', *Nubica* 1-2, 1989, pp. 171-207; J. Dobrowolski, 'Naqlun — Deir al-Malak Ghubrā'il: The Existing Monastic Complex', *ibidem*, pp. 161-170; W. Godlewski, T. Derda, T. Górecki, 'Deir el-Naqlun (Neklioni) 1988-89: Second Preliminary Report', *Nubica* 3 (in press) — both reports contain preliminary remarks on papyri found during the 1986 to 1989 seasons; W. Godlewski, 'Deir el-Naqlun 1990' [in:] *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean II: Reports 1989-1990*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 48-53; T. Derda, 'Deir el-Naqlun 1990: The Greek Papyri', *ibidem*, pp. 54-56; W. Godlewski, 'Deir el-Naqlun. Quelques observations historiques', [in:] *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte (Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, pp. 177-186.

² *Patrologia Graeca* 40, coll. 1065-1074.

³ E. Wipszycka, [in:] W. Godlewski, T. Herbich, E. Wipszycka, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 173; cf. E. Wipszycka, 'Une nouvelle Règle monastique égyptienne', [in:] *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies (Warsaw, 20-25 August 1984)*, Warsaw 1990, pp. 499-503. The future publication of the results of our research at Naqlun will include a detailed study of this text.

vestigated). Explorations were not limited, however, to just the hermitages of the Naqlun *laura*, but have spread to the area at the foot of the *gebel*, a hundred meters from the modern monastery. On the *kom* located here the remains of a monastery of the *coenobium* type, including a church and tower, were identified and partly uncovered. The coenobitic monastery on the *kom* is undoubtedly later than the beginnings of the *laura*; the Rule itself says nothing about a *coenobium*, while the archaeological material taken as a whole indicates clearly enough that the complex started out as a semianachoretic *laura*.

Some of the hermitages of the Naqlun *laura* were inhabited until the 13th or perhaps even the 14th century. The *coenobium* on the *kom* was in operation until at least the 10th - 11th century, while the new church at the heart of the modern complex was constructed in the 12th century. The uninterrupted occupation of the monastery from the 4th century (or first half of the 5th), the date of the beginnings of the *laura*, down to modern times has produced a great variety of archaeological artefacts, including written documents. The texts discovered are written in Greek, Coptic and Arabic, some on papyrus and parchment and some Coptic and Arabic texts on paper as well. I will discuss here the texts from the early phase in the existence of the monastery (5th-8th centuries) which are mostly Greek, although I will refer to some Coptic documents too.

Among the Egyptian monastic sites where archaeological excavations have been carried out so far, Naqlun is unique from the papyrological point of view, primarily because of the number of Greek papyri discovered there. Although they are to be found all over the site, the largest and most interesting pieces come from Sector B on the *kom* and from storage pits in some of the hermitages.

Sector B is situated in the south-western part of the *kom* where excavations revealed a vast refuse dump relating to the monastery and dating to the 6th-8th centuries (the earliest phase of the *coenobium*). In this sector almost a hundred Greek papyri were found and only a few Coptic ones, suggesting that Greek was the predominant language in the early stages of the existence of the monastery at Naqlun. Private and official letters constitute the majority of the Greek texts; unfortunately, few have been preserved whole or in large pieces.⁴ As well as the letters there are a few papyri with fragments of receipts and just two small pieces which can be identified as fragments of notarial documents. Apart from this a number of biblical and patristic texts were discovered; here seven leaves from a finely decorated codex of Psalms (P. Naqlun inv. 34/88) should be mentioned. Sector B also yielded two ostraka (O. Naqlun inv. 64/86 and 53/88), the only two found at Naqlun so far; they contain contiguous fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew (Matth. 7.18-20 and 7.29-8.4 respectively) — these are, in fact, the only fragments of the New Testament found at the site. The Greek papyri found in sector B form a group which appears to be chronologically fairly homogeneous. As far as it can be determined on palaeographical grounds, they should be dated to the 6th-7th centuries. The state of preservation of the papyri found in this sector is, generally speaking, bad. Often the papyri are very dirty; many are so salified that numerous salt crystals are clearly visible on their surface. This state of preservation should not, however, be considered surprising in the case of finds from Sector B, given their provenance from the monastery dump.

The papyri discovered in the storage pits of the hermitages are especially important in view of their archaeological contexts. Originally, each large room in the hermitages had its own pit, and it was often the case that in cells occupied for longer periods of time (some right up to the 13th century) these pits were filled in during a renovation and covered with a floor. Conse-

⁴ Two papyri coming from Sector B have been already published by me — 'P. Naqlun Inv. 35/88: A Papyrus from the Recently Excavated Monastic Centre in the Fayum Oasis' [in:] *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrologists I*, Cairo, 1992, pp. 603-611; 'P. Naqlun Inv. 53/86: A Letter from Bishop (?) Nicolaos to Comes Basileios', *JJP* 22, 1992, pp. 11-19.

quently, it is to be expected that the pits were filled with rubbish the monks no longer needed; thus the conditions were favourable for creating small but very interesting and specific sets of papyri which can be called archives.

Two of these archives deserve special attention. They differ substantially reflecting the character of the monks who inhabited the hermitages at the time of, or just preceding, the filling of the original pits.

The first was found in the storage pit of room B1 in hermitage 25 (figs 3–6). In the *apophthegmata* the desert fathers are often shown praying, and prayer seems to have accompanied every waking moment of their lives. Obviously, the psalms made up a large part of these prayers. The archive found in hermitage 25 comprises several papyri in various states of preservation which mostly contain psalms, undoubtedly copied by the same person with a trained, although not professional, hand. The texts are full of spelling errors, and one is tempted to think that the monk copied the psalms from memory. Presumably the texts were intended as a handy compendium, but it should be remembered that copying psalms was considered a pious activity in itself and was frequently described at length in hagiographic literature and the *apophthegmata*. The monk inhabiting hermitage 25 copied the psalms on the verso of two papyri of very good quality, obviously written by a professional scribe. One had tax receipts on the recto (P. Naqlun inv. 70/89), the other a list of grain supplies to various people including *anachoretai* (P. Naqlun inv. 69/89). It seems quite probable that the monk (or monastery) had received scrap sheets of papyrus written on one side only as pious donations from, to judge by the contents of one of the documents, the office of a large estate.

The anonymous pious monk did not limit himself to copying the psalms. On another papyrus (P. Naqlun inv. 67/89) he listed with great care, although in a somewhat mechanical way, the incipits of all the psalms from 104 to 118 on the verso and from 119 to 135 on the recto. The incipits are accompanied by the numbers of the psalms, carefully written in red ink. The first words of each psalm were copied mechanically, ending as space permitted in mid-phrase or even mid-word. This sheet of papyrus certainly did not come from a codex, because the writing on the verso is upside down in respect to the writing on the recto. Therefore, although it could have had a practical purpose as a handy review of the Book of Psalms, the papyrus should rather be considered as a manifestation of the monk's private piety.

The last document from this archive is a small piece of parchment (P. Naqlun inv. 72/89) which was presumably left over from cutting a piece of parchment to the size of a codex. One can imagine such scraps from the monastic *scriptorium* being handed out to the monks for their personal needs. The monk made two very interesting notes on this scrap; in the first part (ll. 1–11) he totalled the psalms according to author (Psalms of David — 72, Psalms of the sons of Kore — 11, etc.); in the second part (ll. 12–23) there is a simple *horologion* which lists the numbers of the psalms to be recited in each of the twelve hours of the day. The first of the two lists should be considered a manifestation of the pious erudition of our monk; a text of a very similar character is a short *graffito* from a monastery at Kellia containing the numbers of verses in each Book of Kings in the Septuagint.⁵ The *horologion*, on the other hand, confirms the exceptional role ascribed to the psalms by the monk inhabiting hermitage 25, although it should be noted that none of the psalms copied on the scraps found in the pit are recorded here.

To end this presentation of the monk living in hermitage 25 it should be added that not one text is in Coptic. The monk appears to have written and read Greek exclusively, a fact worth

⁵ P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'Stichométrie biblique dans une inscription des Kellia', *Chronique d'Égypte* 63, 1988, pp. 191–192; ed. princeps of this *graffito*: J. Partyka, 'Une nouvelle variante copte des noms des trois mages découverte aux Kellia', *Chronique d'Égypte* 62, 1987, pp. 277–280.

emphasizing in itself in an Egyptian monastery of the 6th-7th century lying far from the cultural centres of the age.⁶

The second small archive, which is of a completely different nature, was found in the storage pit of room A1 in hermitage 89 (figs 3, 5-8). It is made up of three papyri which are notarial documents: two in which *apa* Neilos appears as a party to the contracts (once he lends 600 myriads of *denarii* — P. Naqlun inv. 96/90; the second time he buys 200 *kouri* of wine paying in advance or, in other words, lends the money to be repaid in kind — P. Naqlun inv. 87/90), and a third (P. Naqlun inv. 99/90) which records the loan of a small amount of money (1 solidus without 7 3/4 of a carat) from a certain *abba* Menas, another monk. These are the only notarial documents found so far at Naqlun (apart from two very small scraps from Sector B on the *kom*). Documents of this kind are particularly desirable finds because of their official character, for they should provide us with dates and the official name (or names) of the monastery.

The first problem which — one might think — could be solved from the evidence of these documents is the Greek name of the monastery. It is not mentioned in Greek historical sources, while in Coptic ones it bears the name *Neklone*, which also appears in one of the Coptic papyri (a contract in which the *oikonomos* of the *Neklone* hospital is one of the parties). Unfortunately, only one of the documents from hermitage 89 has a preserved beginning (inv. 96/90), in which *apa* Neilos is called προεστὸς Πύργου κα[ὶ τοῦ] ἁγ[ίου] Φοιβάμμ(ωνος) (ll. 6-7). The significance of the title is far from clear and, if the evidence is considered, it is unlikely to refer it to the *coenobium*:

1. the papyrus was found not on the *kom*, but in a hermitage;

2. although the *coenobium*, like most monasteries, had a defence tower and the term Πύργος could have been used to stress this fact, it does not seem probable that the reference to the tower would have been placed before the phrase ἁγίου Φοιβάμμ(ωνος) which in this context should be taken as the name of the monastery; what is more, no saint of the specifically Theban name Phoibammon is known from the history of Naqlun.

There remains another possibility for the interpretation of the title of *apa* Neilos. He may have been *proestos* (prior) of two hermitages, of which one could have been called Πύργος, while the other could have received the name of the saint Phoibammon. It is easy to imagine particular hermitages, in which, to judge by the archaeological evidence, a monk who was the master lived together with his pupil or pupils, having their own names which were commonly used by the semianachoretic community. Πύργος in Egypt meant not only a tower or refuge, but any free-standing structure serving primarily as a store.⁷ In this case the first of *apa* Neilos' hermitages could have been called Πύργος since it had a building of this type erected in front of its entrance. Remains of constructions of this kind, made of dried mudbrick, are still visible in the courtyards of several Naqlun hermitages. A "pyrgos", therefore, constituted a distinctive feature and could have come to designate a hermitage. The name of St. Phoibammon used as

⁶ The problem of relations between Greek and Coptic in the church milieu in the 6th-8th centuries still deserves a special study, as H. Heinen pointed out in his remarks on my paper. Some new evidence is given by P. Leiden (= P. L. Bat. XXV) 13, a papyrus recently published by P. van Minnen and dated by the editor to the 7th/8th cent. The papyrus contains an inventory of church property (perhaps of a bishopric church) including various liturgical objects as well as scores of books. Most of 45 books listed in the document are Greek. On the other hand P. Van Minnen, *ibidem*, pp. 45-47, quotes other documents of similar character which list mostly Coptic books.

⁷ Cf. F. Preisigke, 'Die Begriffe Πύργος und στέγη bei der Hausanlage', *Hermes* 44, 1909, pp. 423-432; A. Alt, 'Noch einmal Πύργος «Wirtschaftsgebäude»', *Hermes* 45, 1910, pp. 334-336; E. Meyer, 'Πύργος «Wirtschaftsgebäude»', *Hermes* 45, 1910, pp. 100-102; J. Hasenbroek, 'Noch einmal Πύργος «Wirtschaftsgebäude»', *Hermes* 57, 1922, pp. 621-623; B. Boyaval, *Chronique d'Egypte* 41, 1966, p. 368; P.M. Fraser, *Berytus* 15, 1964, p. 75; G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 72, 1972, pp. 166-167.

the name of a hermitage could be explained in this case as given to the hermitage by its founder (builder?), who could have been a monk from Upper Egypt.

The term *proestos* also requires a few words of commentary. It is commonly believed that the term denoted a person standing quite high in the monastic hierarchy (immediately after the archimandrite). It must be said, however, that in a clear majority of the texts the term *proestos* appears in a context which makes it absolutely impossible to define exactly its meaning. At least once, in P. Jews 1913, *proestos* seems to denote the priors of particular hermitages constituting part of the Melitian monastery of Hathor,⁸ a monastery presumably similar in character to the semianachoretic *laura*. We would have a similar case in Naqlun: *apa* Neilos as the prior of two hermitages, one of the many *proestotes* in the Naqlun *laura*.

In the third document (inv. 99/90) found in hermitage 89 the lender is *abba* Menas μονάζων [ἀπὸ τοῦ] μοναστηρίου — followed by a name, of which only the first three letters can be read: *kappa*, *omega* and *theta*, and two letters almost completely in a lacuna — and the ὄρος (instead of ὄρους) κελλ[ίω]ν (the reading κελλ[ῶ]ν is not to be totally excluded). The short five-letter name of the monastery (*laura*) is too damaged to be interpreted beyond all doubt, but the accompanying phrase ὄρος κελλίων (or ὄρος κελλῶν), if it is part of the name, may yet hide the answer to a question concerning the etymology of the most widely used name of the Naqlun complex.

In my opinion, Naqlun (the Coptic *Neklone*⁹) could be interpreted as the transliteration of the Greek noun κελλίον preceded by the Coptic plural prefix (NE) and the genitive formant (N̄). In this case the phrase would be the exact equivalent of the Coptic name of the monastery ΠΤΟΥΥ¹⁰ [ΤΟΥΥ = ὄρος] N̄NEKΛΩNE which occurs, for example, in the *Life of Samuel of Kalamun*.¹¹ The use of a Greek noun in the singular combined with the plural prefix should not be considered surprising, because this is the way Coptic creates names on the basis of loanwords. One should remember, however, that the etymology of the name Naqlun proposed here is no more than a hypothesis, all the more difficult to verify as our knowledge of the Fayumic dialect of Coptic is less than modest.

A second important matter in the complex investigations of this site is the exact dating of particular objects. Here again the archaeologist's expectations with reference to documents remain unfulfilled. Among all the Greek texts found so far at Naqlun there is not one which is dated in a way permitting the calculation of an absolute date (consular date, date according to reigning years). The dating of texts on palaeographic grounds does not ensure the desired exactness and is often even less precise than dating on the basis of archaeological evidence.

There is one exception to this sad state of affairs. Hermitage 89 which has been mentioned already is important from the point of view of the interdependence of archaeology and papyrology. The hermitage itself was used for a long time (until the 12th century), so it comes as no surprise that the texts found there are from a period later than the 6th–8th centuries. The storage pit in room A1 (figs 7–8) was at a certain moment filled and covered with a new floor. A unique assemblage of pottery was discovered here; it consists of vessels of an unusual form not known from Egypt. The vessels are small, handmade, and some of them are miniatures of large vessels of everyday use (i.e., amphora, water jar) — figs 9–11. All the vessels are richly

⁸ P. Jews 1913 is a contract made between a priest named Pageus and the monastery of Hathor represented by the *proestotes* (ll. 2–3: Παγεῦς ὄρου ... πρεσβύτερος τοῖς προεστῶσι) μονῆς μονοχωῶν (l. μοναχωῶν) [καλ]ομένης Ἀθῶρ.

⁹ On the forms of the Coptic name of the Naqlun monastery see: W. Godlewski, 'Deir el-Naqlun. Quelques observations historiques', *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 180–181.

¹⁰ The Coptic noun ΤΟΥΥ has a similar range of meaning as the Greek noun ὄρος; cf. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 440–441, s.v., 1. *mountain*, 2. *community of hermits, monastery*; H. Cadell, R. Rémondon, 'Sens et emplois de τὸ ὄρος dans les documents papyrologiques', *REG* 80, 1967, pp. 343–349.

¹¹ A. Alcock (ed.), *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*, Warminster 1983, chapter 8.

decorated with appliquéés, painting incisions, openwork. It is worth emphasizing that no two are alike in this assemblage and all of them seem to have some small defect which presumably originated in the production process. Together with these vessels some small fragments of unfired pottery were found as well (small handles, fragments of decorative appliquéés), suggesting that perhaps the inhabitant of hermitage 89 was a potter by trade and that the vessels found there were pieces not sold by the monk because of their deficiencies. This interpretation, however, is not easy to accept considering the difficulties in supplying the necessary fuel for operating a pottery kiln. Excavations did not reveal any traces of a pottery workshop, but this does not preclude its existence in the courtyard of which a large part has disappeared in a rockslide. Such a furnace could have been located further away from the hermitage for the comfort of its inhabitants.

The group of vessels found in the storage pit of room A1 is extremely difficult to date owing to its uniqueness. Some analogies to the form are to be seen in Arabic pottery of the Omayyad period of the second half of the 7th and first half of the 8th centuries. The pottery could have been dated similarly were it not for the three documents discussed above which were found in the fill together with it.

From the archaeological point of view, the dating of the documents is undoubtedly the most important question. Two of the papyri (P. Naqlun inv. 96/90 and 99/90) have headings with the indiction dates only, which cannot be calculated into an absolute chronology. What is significant is the second document with an invocation in the form of a christological formula (ll. 2-3: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς [lege Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς] τοῦ θε(οῦ) (καὶ) σωτῆρος ὑμῶν [lege ἡμῶν]; I also find the absence of this in the first document very significant. The invocation was introduced by the emperor Maurice in 591 A.D. as a necessary element beginning all notarial documents; it is indeed lacking in documents from before this date, while later ones always have it as far as I know. What is more, the kind of formula used can also be an indication of the date. A Christ formula as in P. Naqlun inv. 99/90 is used all over Egypt in the reign of Maurice (591-602) and later again (but only in Lower Egypt and the Fayum) in the years 610-619 and 629/30-641 (Reign of Heraclius)¹². P. Naqlun inv. 99/90 is dated: 15th Mesore of the 12th indiction. This gives two possible dates: 8th Sept. 593 or the same day in the year 638. We should, however, prefer the first date, if we assume that the papyri found in hermitage 89 were written more or less simultaneously. On this assumption P. Naqlun inv. 96/90 (with no formula), dated 20th Phaophi of the 4th indiction, might be dated either to 17th Oct. 585 (i.e., the last possible date before the decree of Mauricius) or, what seems to be less convincing, to the same day 15 years earlier. This dating of the two documents moves back the chronology of the vessels found together with them by about one hundred years. Independent confirmation of the dating of the storage pit's fill to the turn of the 6th century is provided by a coin of Tiberius II (578-582) found in the deposit.

In wishing to illustrate the interdependence of archaeology and papyrology through the example of just one excavated site, I have necessarily selected some special problems in the belief that there is no better way of demonstrating how an archaeologist and a papyrologist could work together. In the interpretation of documentary papyri knowledge of the archaeological context often proves necessary. Naqlun is in fact the first archaeological monastic site which provides us with a large number of Greek papyri. Thanks to full cooperation between members of the mission it is finally possible to juxtapose the information taken from the interpretation of

¹² Cf. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, 'Christian Invocations in the Papyri', *Chronique d'Egypte* 56, 1981, pp. 112-133; *idem*, 'Christian Invocations in the Papyri: a Supplement', *Chronique d'Egypte* 56, 1981, pp. 362-365.

the texts with archaeological data. As this report shows, what has been gained so far, is a wider historical perspective on the texts. The discovered papyri do not, unfortunately, give information about the topography of the site and the appearance of the hermitages and monastery, as do, for example, the three papyri concerning the Labla *laura*, a reedition of which has recently been prepared by Brian C. McGing.¹³

¹³ B.C. McGing, 'Melitian Monks at Labla', *Tyche* 5, 1990, pp. 67-94.

TROUVERA-T-ON ENCORE DES PAPYRUS EN 2042?

Claudio Gallazzi

La question, qui constitue le titre de ma communication, n'est pas la provocation gratuite d'un conférencier expérimenté qui veut étonner son public: c'est une question que je me suis vraiment et sincèrement posée quand j'ai vu un *zygophyllum* juste devant le kiosque romain du *dromos* de Tebtynis, où fouille la Mission franco-italienne de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire et de l'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Milan, que je dirige. Le *zygophyllum* est une petite plante du désert, qui pousse lorsque le sable est humecté par la pluie ou par des remontées d'eau. L'arbuste vu par moi à Tebtynis est donc l'indice que l'humidité commence à envahir même ce site-là, qui était resté sec pendant des siècles et qui juste pour cette raison nous a valu le trésor de papyrus que tout le monde connaît.

Il n'est pas besoin de s'appeler Grenfell ou Hunt pour savoir que les papyrus pourrissent, quand l'eau remonte dans le terrain. Par conséquent, chers collègues, vous comprenez bien pourquoi, devant le petit *zygophyllum* de Tebtynis, m'est venu à l'esprit la question "Dans cinquante ans, en 2042, trouvera-t-on encore des papyrus?" Pour le moment le *zygophyllum* a pris racine seulement dans un des endroits les plus bas de Tebtynis; mais, dans cinquante ans, jusqu'où sera arrivée l'humidité, qui fait pousser les plantes et fait pourrir les papyrus? Personne aujourd'hui ne peut le dire. Mais un fait est certain: après la construction du Haut Barrage d'Assouan la nappe phréatique remonte dans le sous-sol égyptien à une vitesse qu'on n'avait pas prévue. Pour s'en rendre compte il suffit de regarder les étangs saumâtres qui pullulent un peu partout, ou la route qui longe le Birket Qarûn: celle-ci a du être surélevée de 3 à 4 mètres, pour empêcher l'eau du lac de submerger le Fayoum. Voilà plus de vingt ans, Eric Turner écrivait prophétiquement que la nappe phréatique, en montant, détruirait les papyrus encore enfouis sous le sable.¹ Maintenant, ce danger s'est concrétisé d'une façon éclatante. Et ce n'est pas le seul, qui menace les *kimân* et les nécropoles d'où sont venus et d'où peuvent encore venir des papyrus.

Tout aussi dramatiques sont l'expansion des cultures et l'urbanisation intensive, qui s'efforcent de satisfaire les besoins d'une population en augmentation de 1.200.000 unités chaque année. Lisez la presse égyptienne: presque toutes les semaines vous y trouvez la nouvelle que des milliers d'hectares ont été gagnés sur le désert et mis en exploitation, ou que de grandes surfaces ont été affectées à la construction de nouveaux quartiers d'habitation, ou bien que de nouvelles routes ont été ouvertes dans des régions à développer. L'étendue de ces changements du territoire peut être bien évaluée en voyageant à travers l'Égypte: si vous avez l'occasion de revenir sur les mêmes lieux quelque temps plus tard, presque toujours vous trouvez les sites changés. Par exemple, si vous allez dans le Delta, où ont été récupérés, il n'y a pas longtemps, les rouleaux carbonisés du nome Boubastite,² vous verrez que les immeubles de la moderne Zagazig progressent de plus en plus vers les ruines de l'ancienne Boubastis. Au Fayoum, vous remarquerez que Karanis, il y a quinze ans en plein désert, aujourd'hui se trouve au milieu d'une zone cultivée, près d'une grande briqueterie; et, un peu au sud de Karanis, vous constaterez que Bacchias aussi commence à être cernée par les cultures. On pourrait évoquer des dizaines de cas semblables, mais ce n'est pas la peine de les décrire en

¹ *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*. Princeton 1968. 40.

² Voir les textes déjà édités dans P.Bub. I et les renseignements donnés sur l'ensemble de la découverte à la p. 7 et sqq. du même volume.

détail un après l'autre.³ Vous savez bien que, quand un *kôm* est rasé pour bâtir des immeubles, le matériel archéologique, qu'il recèle, est perdu. De même, lorsqu'un *kôm* n'est plus qu'une île au milieu des terrains irrigués, l'humidité ne tarde pas à l'imprégner, la végétation le recouvre, et le matériel organique, qu'il contient, pourrit; au premier chef, pourrissent les papyrus.

Aux menaces, que je viens de signaler, il faut en ajouter une autre: les fouilles clandestines. C'est un fléau qui sévit depuis toujours et qui ne sera jamais extirpé complètement, non par la faute des autorités égyptiennes, mais parce qu'il est matériellement impossible de protéger des milliers de sites. Les autorités de l'Égypte pourraient même redoubler d'efforts et rendre plus sévères encore les peines infligées aux trafiquants; il y aura toujours quelqu'un prêt à faire des trous au risque de la prison, tant que les antiquités garderont les prix exorbitants qu'elles ont atteints, et tant qu'en Europe ou en Amérique ou au Japon il y aura quelqu'un disposé à payer. Je ne crois pas que prochainement ceux qui ont des moyens renonceront à acheter du matériel nouveau; les clients, donc, ne manqueront pas, et par conséquent les saccages des anciens sites continueront. Probablement, ces pillages fourniront la matière à quelque belle publication; mais quel dommage irréparable il causeront à nos études et de quelles données précieuses nous priveront! Prenez les tablettes découvertes il y a vingt ans. Nous les avons tous vues éditées dans des revues, surtout *Enchoria*, dans *MPER N.S. XV* et dans le volume *XVIII* de la *Papyrologica Florentina*;⁴ mais nous ignorons dans quel contexte elles ont été récupérées, et nous ne sommes pas en mesure de dire quels sont les exemplaires qui font vraiment partie de la même découverte. Et tout ce tas de cartonnage qui a envahi le marché depuis les années soixante-dix?⁵ On sait qu'il vient d'Abousir el-Melek et de quelque autre nécropole de la Moyenne Égypte; mais personne ne peut faire une estimation quantitative du matériel récupéré et indiquer quels papyrus ont été enlevés de la même momie; ainsi il ne sera pas facile de reconstituer les dossiers qui ont servi à la fabrication de tout ce cartonnage. Ce ne sont que deux exemples. La liste des dommages causés par les fouilles clandestines pourrait être bien plus longue; mais je m'arrête ici, parce que ce sont des histoires que tout le monde connaît. Le désastre est sous les yeux de tous; il ne faut pas d'autres propos pour en faire comprendre la gravité.

Dans cette situation, que peuvent faire les papyrologues? Le plus facile est de rester indifférent à ce qui se passe en Égypte, et de continuer à chercher de nouveaux textes à publier dans les armoires des vieilles collections ou dans les magasins des antiquaires. Mais les

³ La menace portée sur les anciens sites par l'agrandissement de villes et villages et par l'extension des terrains agricoles a été dénoncée avec vigueur, il y a désormais plusieurs années, par L. Habachi dans 'Damages and Robberies of Egyptian Monuments in the Last Half Century', *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology*, Berlin 1979, 271-5 et 'Collaboration of Egyptians Egyptologist with Foreign Expeditions in Facing Problems Threatening the Pharaonic Monuments', *Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Égypte*, ed. par N.Ch. Grimal, Le Caire 1981, 87-90. On peut se référer à ces travaux pour y trouver des renseignements sur d'autres localités endommagées ou menacées.

⁴ Pour le matériel acheté dans les années soixante-dix ou au début des années quatre-vingts, qui a des caractéristiques semblables pour la typologie et la datation, sans prétention à l'exhaustivité, on peut évoquer les nombreux textes parus dans *CE* 56 (1981) 99-101 et 57 (1982) 303-8; *Enchoria* 12 (1984) 1-6, 13 (1985) 13-23, 14 (1986) 1-16 et 17 (1990) 1-16; *StudPap* 21 (1982) 11-4; *The P. Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983) 161-8; *ZPE* 49 (1982) 112-4, 52 (1983) 291-2, 77 (1989) 209-10 et 78 (1989) 143-6; *MPER N.S. XV* 60, 154 et 171; R. Pintaudi - P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni (Papyrologica Florentina XVIII)*, Firenze 1989, nrr. 1-78.

⁵ Si nous voulons nous en tenir aux lots de matériel le plus importants, qui ont été déjà publiés ou décrits, il suffit de mentionner les documents parus dans CPR XIII, CPR XVIII, P.Erasm. I-II, P.Hels. I, P.Trophitis et PUG III; plusieurs papyrus de Cologne édités dans P.Köln V et VI; les P.Med.Bar. et d'autres textes de l'Université Catholique de Milan (cfr. *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, Chico 1981, 251-8); les papyrus de Turku (cfr. *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, I, Athens 1988, 95-103) et le rouleau littéraire de P.Vindob. G. 40611 (cfr. *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress* cit., 49-53).

armoires petit à petit se vident: dans certaines collections on voit désormais le fond; en même temps les prix du marché montent sans cesse, au point que beaucoup d'institutions n'ont déjà plus les moyens de se ravitailler chez les antiquaires. Et pendant que les armoires se vident et les prix montent, les papyrus, qui sont sous le sable, pourrissent. Par conséquent, la politique de l'autruche, qui se refuse à voir les choses en face, serait un choix suicidaire pour les papyrologues et pour la Papyrologie. Celle-ci, on le sait bien, est avant tout la science qui fait connaître des textes nouveaux; donc, le jour où il n'y aura plus de nouveaux textes à publier, la Papyrologie perdra son but le plus important. Pour cela les papyrologues, s'ils ne sont pas aveugles et voient que l'avenir de leur discipline est en jeu, doivent laisser momentanément de côté le matériel des armoires, qui est déjà à l'abri, et doivent diriger leur attention vers les papyrus qui sont enfouis sous le sable, pour essayer de sauver ceux qui peuvent l'être encore.

Contrairement à ce qu'on a écrit depuis longtemps,⁶ dans les *kimân* et dans les nécropoles de l'Égypte il y a encore beaucoup de matériel à récupérer: en témoignent les découvertes de ces dernières années. Passons sur les trouvailles des clandestins, qui sont difficiles à estimer, mais qui ont bien alimenté le marché; et laissons de côté même les découvertes de textes en langue égyptienne, qui n'intéressent pas directement les papyrologues. Si nous voulons nous en tenir aux textes grecs trouvés par des missions scientifiques depuis les années soixante, tout de suite nous viennent à l'esprit les découvertes étonnantes de Qasr Ibrîm, le matériel littéraire et documentaire récupéré à Saqqarah par l'Egypt Exploration Society, les 500 ou 600 textes de Médînet Mâdi, les ostraka d'el-Kab et ceux de Douch, les milliers de documents du Mons Claudianus, les 2600 tessons écrits d'Abou Mena, les codices en bois et les papyrus de l'oasis de Dakhleh, la documentation tardive de Der el-Naqlûn, les papyrus et les ostraka retrouvés à Tebtynis par la Mission franco-italienne.⁷ Cette liste de trouvailles, tout-à-fait incomplète, est plus que suffisante pour révéler quels trésors sont encore cachés dans le sous-sol de l'Égypte et pour prouver qu'une campagne de sauvetage des papyrus serait bien rentable pour la récupération de nouveaux textes.

Évidemment, personne ne peut penser de chercher les papyrus en faisant des trous ici et là et en dédaignant l'application des méthodes archéologiques les plus correctes, comme au vieux temps. Aujourd'hui, pour récupérer le matériel écrit, il faut faire des fouilles systématiques, les seules qui nous permettent de recueillir même les plus petits fragments, de regrouper d'emblée les archives et d'enrichir le contenu des textes par la connaissance du milieu archéologique où ils ont été trouvés. Le sauvetage des papyrus entraîne, donc, une formidable occasion pour connaître aussi les lieux qui les recèlent, d'autant plus que la fouille systématique porte toujours des fruits, même si l'on travaille dans des endroits déjà plus ou moins pillés. Par exemple, à Tebtynis la Mission franco-italienne a abordé le site par un secteur qu'il fallait fouiller, afin de mettre en évidence les raccords entre le temple de Soknebtynis et les quartiers d'habitation,

⁶ En 1914 A. Hunt jugeait que les sites les meilleurs pour trouver des papyrus étaient désormais épuisés: cfr. *JEA* 1 (1914) 81-92, en partic. p. 91; peu après B.P. Grenfell écrivait que le Fayoum était complètement exploité, mais il avait confiance dans l'exploration des nécropoles de la Moyenne Égypte: cfr. *JEA* 4 (1917) 4-10, en partic. p. 9; et dans les années trente E. Breccia estimait très réduites les possibilités de faire des découvertes importantes: cfr. *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 296-305, en partic. p. 302 sq.

⁷ Pour ce qui concerne les découvertes de textes dans les sites mentionnés, on se rapportera aux publications ici indiquées en détail, où il y a souvent d'autres références bibliographiques: pour Qasr Ibrîm voir *JEA* 62 (1976) 115-30 et 63 (1977) 159-70, *JRS* 69 (1979) 125-55, *Orientalia* 51 (1982) 101-2 et 54 (1985) 394-5; pour Saqqarah *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists*, London 1975, 250-1, *JEA* 54 (1968) 199-208 et 60 (1974) 239-42, *WS n.F.* 10 (1976) 48-60, *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1976, 573-7; pour Médînet Mâdi O. Medinet Madi, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 117-22 et 48 (1982) 75-8, *ASAE* 69 (1983) 183-93, *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 221-5; pour el-Kab et Douch O. Elkab gr. et O. Douch I-III; pour le Mons Claudianus O. Claud. I; pour Abou Mena *Orientalia* 57 (1988) 309-10 et 58 (1989) 339-40; pour Dakhleh *MeditArch* 1 (1988) 160-78, *Orientalia* 58 (1989) 404-5; pour Der el-Naqlûn *Athenaeum* n.s. 66 (1988) 447-521 et ici-dessus pp. 000-0; pour Tebtynis *ZPE* 81 (1990) 255-60, *Tyche* 5 (1990) 5-7, *BIFAO* 91 (1991) 291-2 et 92 (1992) 000-0.

mais qui était tout ravagé et plein de décombres.⁸ Dans ce coin du *kôm*, apparemment peu prometteur, au bout de quatre campagnes de fouilles, la Mission a mis au jour une grande rue, dont l'existence était insoupçonnée, qui aboutit sur le vestibule du sanctuaire de Soknebtynis et qui était un des endroits les plus importants et les plus mouvementés du village. Très probablement y passaient les fidèles venus adorer le dieu-crocodile, et certes y avaient lieu des cérémonies religieuses, aussi qu'en témoignent de nombreuses sépultures de chèvres et brebis sacrifiées, qui sont apparues le long des murs près du temple de Soknebtynis. Sur le côté Nord de la rue la Mission a découvert un petit temple, dans lequel nous pouvons reconnaître la chapelle dédiée à Isis Thermouthis dont parlent les papyrus démotiques du Caire C.G. 30612a + 30612b, 30617a et 30617b.⁹ Sur le côté opposé ont été dégagés deux îlots de maisons avec trois niveaux superposés de constructions, qui datent du IIIe s. av. J.-C., c'est à dire de l'époque où les Grecs agrandirent et aménagèrent l'ancienne implantation égyptienne, au IIIe s. de notre ère, quand le secteur Sud du village fut envahi par le sable du désert et abandonné par la population. À l'Est de ces maisons le terrain reste à fouiller; mais on aperçoit déjà le mur massif d'un bâtiment imposant, et un peu plus loin on s'attend de trouver le temple d'Osiris, dont il y a encore une fois mention dans le papyrus du Caire C.G. 30617a évoqué ci-dessus. Il est évident que la découverte de la grande rue et la fouille des structures voisines ont remarquablement amélioré notre connaissance de la topographie et du développement urbain de Tebtynis. À cela il faut ajouter que, en dégagant la rue et les édifices à côté, la Mission a récupéré papyrus et ostraka en nombre suffisant pour combler au moins deux volumes. Et pourtant ce secteur du *kôm* était déjà tellement bouleversé dans les années trente, que C. Anti e G. Bagnani y déversèrent dessus les déblais de leurs fouilles. Il y a des dizaines d'autres sites dans le même état que Tebtynis, et probablement sous leur surface se trouvent des milliers d'autres papyrus, qui attendent d'être sauvés.

Mais comment organiser le sauvetage? Avant tout, il est nécessaire de prospector les lieux qui ont livré des papyrus, ou qui pourraient en livrer, pour estimer ceux qui sont les plus menacés. Ensuite, il faudra établir un ordre de priorité pour les interventions, en suivant le degré du danger auquel les sites sont exposés. Enfin, on pourra commencer les fouilles. Mais de nos jours, pour fouiller, deux papyrologues audacieux et 150 ouvriers ne sont plus suffisants, comme à l'époque de Grenfell et Hunt. Aujourd'hui, pour ouvrir un chantier, nous avons besoin de spécialistes de disciplines différentes: archéologues, topographes, papyrologues, égyptologues, céramologues, numismates, zoologues, botanistes; des techniciens nous sont nécessaires: architectes, dessinateurs, restaurateurs, photographes; sans parler des ouvriers, qui doivent être nombreux, si nous voulons faire une fouille de quelque envergure. Et n'oublions pas l'infrastructure logistique: tentes, groupes électrogènes, decauilles, camions, véhicules tous terrains: des choses qui n'apportent rien à la Science, mais qui sont indispensables. Multipliez cela, chers collègues, par 20, par 30 chantiers; imaginez le nombre de personnes nécessaires, calculez à peu près les frais, et vous arrivez inévitablement à la conclusion que la fouille des *kimân* et le sauvetage des papyrus exigent une action pareille au sauvetage de la Nubie. Il est évident, en effet, que le travail prévisible est si vaste et les moyens nécessaires si importants, que seule une large coopération internationale permettra d'obtenir de bons résultats. En premier lieu, il faudra que se passent des conventions, probablement sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, entre l'Égypte et les institutions étrangères (Universités, Instituts scientifiques, Musées, Centres de recherches, Fondations culturelles, Associations) qui voudrons

⁸ Descriptions sommaires des travaux effectués à Tebtynis par la Mission franco-italienne dans *BIFAO* 89 (1989) 179-202, 90 (1990) 229-40, 91 (1991) 291-2 et 92 (1992) 000-0.

⁹ Cfr. *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Die demotischen Denkmäler*, von W. Spiegelberg, II, Strassburg 1908, p. 39 sqq. Sur C.G. 30617a voir aussi R.K. Ritner, 'A Property Transfer from the Erbstreit Archives', *Grammata Demotica. Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens*, Würzburg 1984, 171-87, en partic. p. 177.

s'engager dans l'opération. Deuxièmement, les institutions qui participeront au sauvetage, devront être prêtes à collaborer entre elles, parce que certaines n'auront pas les moyens d'ouvrir un chantier toutes seules, donc elles seront obligées de s'associer, en s'inspirant des missions internationales qui travaillent en ce moment au Mons Claudianus ou à Tebtynis.

Il ne sera pas facile de mettre en route une opération pareille à celle de la Nubie. Il faudra sensibiliser l'opinion publique, obtenir l'appui des autorités compétentes, surmonter des difficultés diplomatiques, repérer des mécènes, chercher de grands partenaires, trouver beaucoup d'argent, créer des centres de liaison, etc. etc. À cela s'ajoute que la conjoncture internationale n'est pas tellement encourageante. Pour le moment je ne sais pas trop bien comment surmonter tous ces obstacles; et ce que ce programme a encore de vague ou d'utopique, ne m'échappe pas. Mais j'ai une certitude: que les papyrologues et leur Association doivent absolument tenter quelque chose pour sauver les papyrus, comme il convient à ceux qui sont les plus directement concernés.

Un premier apport de l'Association internationale de Papyrologues à l'opération de sauvetage pourrait être la constitution d'un comité restreint de 5 ou 6 membres, qui s'engagent à effectuer des travaux préparatoires. Les tâches de ce comité ne devraient pas être nombreuses:

1) dresser un tableau de la dégradation des *kimân* et des nécropoles, en faisant directement des prospections en Égypte ou en s'appuyant sur les missions qui sont déjà sur place;

2) recueillir tous les avis sur la manière d'organiser le sauvetage;

3) étudier, du point de vue diplomatique et financier, s'il est possible de réaliser une opération pareille à celle de la Nubie;

4) présenter les résultats du travail effectué au prochain congrès ou, mieux encore, dans un colloque spécial qu'on intitulerait "Congrès de l'Association Internationale de Papyrologues pour le sauvetage des papyrus". C'est à cette occasion que la campagne de sauvegarde pourrait être officiellement lancée.

Cette proposition, que je fais, n'est pas grande chose, mais c'est déjà un premier pas. Naturellement, elle peut être modifiée et améliorée en fonction des avis qui seront données par vous, chers collègues. N'hésitez pas, donc, à offrir vos suggestions pour la solution du problème que j'ai soulevé, parce que seulement le concours de tous nous permettra de résoudre un problème qui nous concerne tous. Mais, faisons attention: évitons de tomber dans les sables mouvantes des discussions qui n'aboutissent à rien; et passons à l'action le plus tôt possible, avant que les *kimân* soient atteints par de nouveaux bâtiments, ou envahis par le *zygophyllum*, ou tapissés par des tâches d'humidité. Pour sauver les papyrus il faut être sur les lieux quand les ruines ne sont pas encore rasées, le terrain est sec et l'*afsh* est souple, tel que Grenfell et Hunt l'ont décrit dans l'introduction aux P.Fay. (p. 24 sqq.). Hâtons-nous, donc, chers collègues, car il y a péril en la demeure: au moment même où je vous parle, dans quelque coin de l'Égypte il y a sûrement un morceau de papyrus qui est menacé par quelque danger et qui bientôt sera perdu pour la Papyrologie et pour toute la Science.

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIETY IN GREEK AND ROMAN EGYPT*

D.W. Rathbone

Papyri, both literary and documentary, and ostraca are archaeological finds, even if, in common with ancient coins and painted vases, many were not recovered in a controlled excavation and their precise provenance is unknown. However, such is the abundance of written material available to the historian of Greek and Roman Egypt that other archaeological evidence can seem superfluous. The difficulties of using the papyrological evidence also encourage a narrow specialism, and at first sight the other archaeological material does not look promising. The sites and monuments of Greek and Roman Egypt have not fared well in more than a century of 'scientific' excavation in Egypt: some were cleared away with few or no records being kept either, as in the area of Thebes, to expose Pharaonic monuments, or, as in the cases of Oxyrhynchus and Theadelphia, in the search for papyri; the remains of these sites and of many others never or barely touched by excavations, such as Arsinoe, have been destroyed in the development of modern Egypt, while others, notably Alexandria, lie inaccessible and perhaps heavily damaged under a modern settlement or under a blanket of Nile silt, which is presumably the fate of most of the village sites of ancient Egypt.¹

There is, however, much to be gained from combined papyrological and archaeological research, including the careful combing of past records of sites and monuments, scrappy as they may be, and new archaeological work, for which there still is, perhaps surprisingly, considerable potential. I am thinking, in particular, of some of the interests and approaches of the so-called 'new archaeology', even if it is now old hat, which were developed principally by prehistoric archaeologists as strategies to combat their total lack of written evidence, and have since been adopted by many classical archaeologists interested in socio-economic questions for which, outside Egypt, there is precious little documentary evidence.² The general theme which I will use to illustrate this claim is 'settlement history', in which the main topics are human interreaction with the natural environment, and the pattern and the nature of human settlements. What I hope to show is that where papyrological and archaeological evidence co-exist, they can be used, if the right questions are asked, to enrich each other, and that archaeological evidence,

*The footnotes to this paper do not pretend to give a full bibliography of the topics and sites discussed, but are selective and exemplary. I am grateful to Roger Bagnall, Donald Bailey, Peter Garnsey and Heinz Heinen for useful comments and suggestions.

¹I know of no survey of archaeological work on Graeco-Roman sites in Egypt. The flavour of older work can be sampled in B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt & D.G. Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri* (London, 1900) pp.17-74; N. Bonacasa, 'Cento anni di archeologia italiana per la conoscenza dell'Egitto greco-romano', (in) ed. L. Criscuolo & G. Geraci, *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba* (Bologna, 1989) 291-9; ed. T.G.H. James, *Excavating in Egypt. The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (London, 1982), esp. Chs.1, 2 and 9; cf. A.Calderini, 'Studi e studiosi di topografia dell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aeg.* 17 (1937) 321-33, repr. in *ActesV Congr.Int.Pap.* (Brussels, 1938) 98-114. The destruction of sites is a common theme in all the archaeological literature; cf. ed. N.-C.Grimal, *Prospection et sauvegarde des antiquités de l'Égypte (MémIFAO 88; Cairo, 1981)* - significantly with not one paper on Graeco-Roman sites, which tend to fall, forgotten, between Pharaonic and Coptic/Arabic archaeology while classical archaeologists work elsewhere.

²General surveys: B.G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 1989); G. Daniel, *A Short History of Archaeology* (London, 1981) Ch.5. 'Newer' archaeology (reconstructing 'behaviour' rather than 'processes'); I.Hodder, *Reading the Past. Current Approaches in Archaeology* (2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1991). Archaeology in the context of classical history: A.M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: the Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (Berkeley, 1987).

which has a much wider geographical distribution within Egypt than the papyri, can take the historian into new areas and issues.³

I begin with the relationship between the natural environment and its human inhabitants, an area where many suggestions for research can be drawn from Sallares' recent study of the ecology of the ancient Greek world, without necessarily adopting his strict determinist approach.⁴ Broadly speaking, the basic ecology of the Nile valley in the Greek and Roman period had been formed over a millenium before the arrival of Alexander the Great, producing the opportunities for human settlement - the ecological niches for the human species - with which we are familiar: the ribbon-strip of naturally inundated and fertilised riverine land in the Nile valley of Upper and Middle Egypt, the delta-shaped flood-plain of Lower Egypt, and the oases in the western desert, with a reasonable range of wild and domesticated flora and fauna. In an almost completely arid climate, the key to the fortunes of the human (and other) species lay in controlled exploitation of the water-supply from the Nile. In his stimulating study of irrigation and demography in Predynastic and Pharaonic Egypt, Butzer has traced the emergence, by the late Predynastic period, of a simple local system of basin irrigation to manage the winter flood. Because the Nile has a very gentle longitudinal gradient, it was not possible to develop a complex system of radial canalisation, and by the Ptolemaic period cultivation had more or less reached its 'natural' low-technology limits. The only significant areas in which the horizontal expansion of agriculture, that is the bringing of new land under cultivation, was possible and was achieved were the northern Delta and the Fayum.⁵

The case of the Fayum should be of particular interest to papyrologists, because it is the provenance of so many of our papyri, including the Zenon archive which reveals details of part of a grand scheme of settlement and agricultural development in the area under the patronage of Ptolemy II. There is, however, an as yet unresolved debate about the nature and date of developments in the Fayum. While most studies hold that the lake was drained by regulating the flow from the Nile through the Lahun gap in two main phases, under the Pharaohs of the XII Dynasty and under the early Ptolemies, various other theories are still current, and the nature and extent of the Ptolemaic developments remain unclear.⁶ The Fayum also provides a controversial case of contraction of the farmed area in the decline and abandonment of several marginal Fayum villages in the third to fifth centuries A.D., which, despite doubts over the dates and causes (perhaps purely local), are commonly cited to prop up the thesis of an empire-wide decline in the agricultural economy of late antiquity due to fiscal oppression and administrative incompetence.⁷ Between them, archaeology and papyrology, with the help of hydrological experts, should be able to resolve these questions. Archaeology could date the construction of major irrigation installations, such as the two great dykes at the eastern end of the Lahun gap, and their hydrological purpose could then be re-evaluated. Palynological

³ Cf. R.S. Bagnall, 'Archaeology and papyrology', *JRA* 1 (1988) 197-202.

⁴ R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1991); cf. K.W. Butzer, *Archaeology as Human Ecology. Method and Theory for a Contextual Approach* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁵ K.W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt. A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago, 1976); cf. H. Kees, *Das alte Ägypten. Eine kleine Landeskunde* (3rd ed.; Vienna, 1977; English translation of 1st ed. as *Ancient Egypt. A Cultural Topography*, London, 1961); J. Baines & J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1980) 12-21.

⁶ General introduction: J.A.S. Evans, 'The Faiyum and the Lake of Moeris', *Anc.Hist.Bull.* 5 (1991) 66-74. Another theory: G. Garbrecht & H. Jaritz, *Untersuchung antiker Anlagen zur Wasserspeicherung im Fayum/Ägypten* (Braunschweig, 1990).

⁷ M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1957) I 479-91; cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford, 1964) II 773-5, 819. Doubts: R.S. Bagnall, 'Agricultural productivity and taxation in Later Roman Egypt', *TAPhA* 115 (1985) 289-308; note too that evidence such as *P.Col.* VIII 237 (Theadelphia, A.D.395?) and 242, *P.Haun.* III 58 and *BGU* II 608 (Karanis, VA.D.) is extending the attested life of these villages.

samples of relevant date could also clarify the nature of developments. We could map documented ancient settlements, canals, 'marshy' areas and so on, and then, by paying attention to their location and dates of attestation, hope to identify, date and explain particular phases of expansion or contraction.⁸ So too in the case of the northern Delta, although there is little papyrological evidence, the foundation of major new settlements and the institution of new administrative regions should be traceable to some extent from written (including numismatic and epigraphic) sources, and geological and palynological sampling specifically directed at our period could clarify considerably the pattern and chronology of land-reclamation and human settlement.⁹ More generally, this kind of evidence from these and other areas could be compared with the record of Nile floods compiled by Bonneau from the papyrological and other documentary sources to see if there were long-term trends across our period towards higher or lower inundations with traceable effects on the ecology and the pattern of human settlement.¹⁰

This leads us into the topic of maintenance and development of the irrigation system, and thus to the question of vertical expansion, that is intensification, of agriculture, or, conversely, of declining productivity. Butzer has pointed out that the predominant system of local basin irrigation did not, as has often been assumed, require strong centralised direction. Locally, however, communal effort was required, involving some official supervision if not constraint, to maintain communal feeder canals and the dykes round basins of communal land, and the papyrological evidence for this has already attracted a fair amount of study.¹¹ For agricultural intensification, mechanical aids to irrigation were crucial. From descriptions of early modern machines in action, surviving examples, some archaeological remains (including wall-paintings) and papyrological attestations, we know what the *shaduf*, the *saqiya* and the Archimedean screw were like, and we have some idea of when they were introduced. There is still room, however, for study of the context and effect of the diffusion and use of these machines (and, perhaps, of the *tabut*). I suspect, for instance, that although the more expensive and effective *saqiya* appeared in the Persian or Ptolemaic period, its widespread diffusion came later and is to be associated with the rise of large private wine-growing estates in the Roman period.¹²

⁸ Irrigation installations: Garbrecht & Jaritz, *o.c.* (n.6). Palynology: P.J. Mehringer, K.L. Petersen & F.A. Hassan, 'A pollen record from Birket Qarun and the recent history of the Fayum, Egypt', *Quat.Res.* 11 (1979) 238-56 (samples of c.1650 and c.1920!). Mapping: see further below. The best study of the papyrological evidence for the early Ptolemaic developments (Zenon archive) remains M.I. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison, 1922); cf. N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford, 1986) Ch.2 on the archive of the engineer Kleon. Late Roman developments: D. Bonneau, 'Loi et coutume en Egypte: un exemple, les marais du Fayoum appelés *drymoi*', *JESHO* 26 (1983) 1-13; id., 'Aigialos (αἰγιαλός), la "terre riveraine" en Egypte d'après la documentation papyrologique', *YCS* 28 (1985) 131-43.

⁹ Literary/documentary evidence: A. Bernard, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I: Les confins libyques* (Cairo, 1970); A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1971) 298-300; cf. the forthcoming study of the 'nome' coins by J.A. Sheridan. Archaeology: ed. E.C.M. van der Brink, *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta, Egypt: Problems and Priorities* (Amsterdam, 1988); *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times (Discussions in Egyptology special no. 1;* Oxford, 1989); M. Bietak, *Tell El-Dab'a II. Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta* (Vienna, 1975).

¹⁰ D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Egypte grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1971) 215-65; cf. id., *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne* (Paris, 1964) Part I.

¹¹ Butzer, *o.c.* (n.5) 50-1; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich, 1925) Ch.2; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 12;* Leiden, 1964); D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Egypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden, 1993 forthcoming).

¹² Schnebel, *o.c.* (n.11) 69-84; T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (Odense, 1973); J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices (Phoenix suppl. 16;* Toronto, 1984).

Another form of agricultural development which can be traced in papyrological and archaeological sources is the introduction and diffusion of new species and types of domesticated plants and animals. The experimental importation of Greek and other strains in the early Ptolemaic period has received a fair amount of attention, and we are in broad terms aware of the important long-term displacement of the traditional Egyptian grain called *olyra*, a type of emmer, with the naked wheats preferred by the Greeks and Romans. More archaeobotanical evidence, however, could enrich the picture greatly, particularly as regards the emergence of sub-species which have no distinct names in the documents.¹³ There is also much work to be done on technical developments in agriculture, such as crop rotation, and harvesting and processing techniques, and on the general socio-economic background to food-production. For this there is some archaeological evidence, such as surviving agricultural implements and installations and tomb-paintings with agricultural scenes, but most information will come from documents, especially sets of accounts which allow us to follow through agricultural operations over a year or more; studies of Greek agricultural terminology, which build on the fundamental work of Schnebel, will also aid this work greatly. Comparative evidence from later better documented periods can also be considered, although the dangerous lure of misleading analogies must be recognised.¹⁴ The end-purpose of all this research would be to produce a long-term overview of the ecological impact on Egypt of human settlement, and of how successfully or not the land was made to produce the foodstuffs, whether essential or luxury, demanded of it.

This leads to the question of population in Greek and Roman Egypt and its historical dynamics, that is the changes across time in the level, distribution and composition of the population, and the causes and effects of these changes. I have argued elsewhere that in our period the total population probably rose and fell within the parameters of three to five million.¹⁵ Following the approach of, for example, Sallares, we could examine the 'natural', or ecological and biological, factors in population change. For the topics of diet, nutrition and health, which are now becoming quite popular among ancient historians in general, the papyri, and especially private accounts, provide a unique range of evidence for rations and diet of poor and rich; this could profitably be combined with the archaeological evidence, which elsewhere often stands virtually alone, such as study of preserved foodstuffs and their representations from tombs and graves, of botanical and faunal refuse from sites, and of installations and

Modern construction: L. Ménassa & P. Laferrière, *La saqia: technique et vocabulaire de la roue à eau égyptienne* (MémoFAO 67; Cairo, 1974).

- ¹³ Grains etc.: D.J. Thompson, 'Agriculture', (in *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.) VII.1 (1984) 363-70; D.J. Crawford, 'Food: tradition and change in Hellenistic Egypt', *World Archaeology* 11 (1979) 136-46; cf. the critical comments of Sallares, *o.c.* (n.4) 318-9, 368-72. My mistaken suggestion that *olyra* was oats (*ZPE* 53 (1983) 272-5) shows the dangers of ignoring the archaeological evidence! The available archaeological evidence is scattered and mostly of the Pharaonic period, although Mons Claudianus is now producing a rich crop of botanical and faunal material; for an introduction see W.J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui & L. Grivetti, *Food: the Gift of Osiris* (London, 1977); R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (*SonderschrDAIK* 14; Mainz, 1985); for a general comparison see J.M. Hansen, 'Palaeoethnobotany in Greece: past, present and future', (in ed. N.C. Wilkie & W.D.E. Coulson, *Contributions to Aegean Archaeology. Studies in Honour of W.A. MacDonald* (Minneapolis, 1985) 171-81.
- ¹⁴ Schnebel, *o.c.* (n.11). Studies of particular estates: A. Swiderek, *La propriété foncière privée dans l'Égypte de Vespasien et sa technique agricole d'après P.Lond. 131 recto* (Wrocław, 1960); W.S. Bagnall, *The Archive of Laches: Prosperous Farmers of the Fayum in the Second Century* (Diss. Duke, 1974) Ch.3; D.W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge, 1991) Ch.6. Cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne VI. Bas-reliefs et peintures. Scènes de la vie agricole à l'Antique et au Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1978). For a sociological-botanical approach to food-production see P. Halstead & G. Jones, 'Agrarian ecology in the Greek islands: time stress, scale and risk', *JHS* 109 (1989) 41-55. For the dangers of comparative evidence see P. Halstead, 'Traditional and ancient rural economy in Mediterranean Europe: plus ça change?', *JHS* 107 (1987) 77-87.
- ¹⁵ D.W. Rathbone, 'Villages, land and population in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 103-42.

implements for domestic food-storage and processing, and the palaeopathology of human skeletons.¹⁶ We also have for Egypt a unique mine of sociological data for the structure and dynamics of the population - that is factors such as average life expectancy, the male-female ratio, average age of marriage - which should be brought into the picture; particularly useful here are the census declarations of the Roman period, for which the classic study of Hombert and Préaux will soon be replaced by that of Bagnall and Frier, and the only regret is that similar returns were not made in the Ptolemaic or Byzantine periods.¹⁷ Apart from trying to establish a 'normal' picture for nutrition and health over long periods, combined documentary and archaeological research could help to pinpoint the key moments and causes of change and test for correlation with the serious famines, plagues and other disasters recorded in literary sources, and especially with the documentary record for the incidence of poor or destructive Nile floods.¹⁸

Of course none of these factors was completely 'natural': the components of human diet, the 'food-entitlement' of an individual or group, marriage customs, medical care, all reflect the artificial economic, social and cultural constructs of a society. An important variable here, for which the archaeological evidence is crucial, is the changing pattern of settlement, that is the distribution of population between centres of different size and their relative topographical position. What we need are detailed historical maps of Greek and Roman Egypt which show the location and size of settlement centres in the various main historical periods in relation to the main natural topographical features and the main elements of the irrigation system. Apart from the general benefit and antiquarian satisfaction of having a more precise idea of the relative location of places attested in the documents, these maps could form the basis for further socio-economic research.

Changing settlement patterns and their social and economic implications have in fact been one of the main areas of interest and development in the 'new' archaeology. On the ground the main technique has been field-survey (backed by aerial photography), with excavation of selected exemplary sites; a rich methodological bibliography now exists, and a battery of interpretative models, such as site-catchment analysis, has been developed.¹⁹ Normal field-

¹⁶ General: ed. P. Garnsey, *Food, Health and Culture in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1989); L. Gallo, *Alimentazione e demografia della Grecia antica* (Salerno, 1984). Rations: T. Reekmans, *La sitométrie dans les archives de Zénon* (*Pap.Brux.* 3; Brussels, 1966), with R. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 366; cf. R.L. Miller, 'Counting calories in Egyptian ration texts', *JESHO* 34 (1991) 258-69 (though his calculations are suspect). Food/diet: Darby et al., *o.c.* (n.13). Palaeopathology: T. Dzierzykay-Rogalski, 'Palaeopathology of the Ptolemaic inhabitants of Dakleh oasis (Egypt)', *J.Hum.Evolut.* 9 (1980) 71-4; M. Cook, E. Molto & C. Anderson, 'Fluorochrome labelling in Roman period skeletons from Dakleh Oasis, Egypt', *Amer.J.Phys.Anthrop.* 80 (1989) 137-43; F. Dunand et al., *La nécropole de Douch (Oasis de Kharga)* (*DFIFAO* 26; Cairo, 1992) 195-223 (Roman period); T. Dzierzykay-Rogalski, 'Aspects paléo-démographiques et paléo-pathologiques de l'influence de l'entourage sur la population de Gabbari - Alexandrie', (in) ed. G. Grimm, H. Heinen & E. Winter, *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (*Aeg.Trev.* 2; Trier, 1983) 205-7. Cf. (for Pharaonic Egypt) ed. D.R. Brothwell & B.A. Chiarelli, *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1973); E.-M. Winkler & H. Wilfing, *Tell El-Dab'a VI. Anthropologische Untersuchungen an den Skelettresten* (Vienna, 1991); ed. A.R. David, *Manchester Museum Mummy Project* (Manchester, 1979); (for general historical use) S.C. Biesel & J.L. Angel, 'Health and nutrition in Mycenaean Greece: a study in human skeletal remains', (in) ed. Wilkie & Coulson, *o.c.* (n.13) 197-209.

¹⁷ M. Hombert & C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 5; Leiden, 1952).

¹⁸ G. Casanova, 'Epidemie e fame nella documentazione greca d'Egitto', *Aeg.* 64 (1984) 163-201; and his other contributions in *Atti XVI Congr.Int.Pap.* (1984) III 949-56, *YCS* 28 (1985) 145-54 and *Aeg.* 68 (1988) 93-7; cf. Rathbone, *o.c.* (n.15) 114-9. Pharaonic period: J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1936). Floods: Bonneau, *o.c.* 1971 (n.10) 215-65.

¹⁹ Ed. D.R. Keller & D.W. Rupp, *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area* (*BARInt.Ser.* 155; Oxford, 1983); Snodgrass *o.c.* (n.2) 99-131; J.L. Bintliff & A.M. Snodgrass, 'Mediterranean survey and the city', *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 57-71; I. Hodder & C. Orton, *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1976). For

survey, that is field-walking, is not appropriate to the Nile valley or delta because of the centuries of overlay of Nile silt (before the construction of the Aswan dam), the absence of deep-ploughing and the probable persistence of human settlement on the same mounds, although it is being used with some success in desert and semi-desert areas.²⁰ However, the ideas and techniques of field-survey can be modified to play to the strength of the Egyptian case, which is the availability, especially for Middle Egypt, of considerable documentary evidence. 'Network-maps' of villages, like the London Underground map of stations, can be constructed from documentary clues such as that villages A and B were adjacent, or lay on the same main canal, or were administratively linked; topographic clues from inscriptions and from the demotic and Coptic sources should, of course, be included. These network-maps can then, in theory, be stretched and squeezed onto a 'real' modern map of the area, using as fixed points sites which have been excavated and securely identified and also, albeit with considerable caution, modern toponyms which apparently derive from ancient names; the project to produce the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients has made some attempts to do this, but only for the less well documented Pharaonic period.²¹ Such work is now greatly facilitated by Daris' near-completion of Calderini's topographic dictionary, by Pruneti and Drew-Bear's registers of Oxyrhynchite and of Hermopolite toponyms, and, of course, by the Duke Data-Bank.²² Granted, however, the uncertainties in linking modern with ancient toponyms, more weight must be put on actual survey of the chosen region to test the hypothetical network-map against traces of abandoned ancient villages - which are more common than is often assumed - and still occupied sites and natural topographical features. This is the procedure which a project in which I am involved hopes to try out in a sector of the Fayum, and at the next Congress we should be able to report on whether it worked in practice!

These maps, as I have already suggested with reference to the Fayum and the northern Delta, could help us to trace and date the expansion and contraction of the settled and farmed

a broad historical application of survey results see S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge, 1993, forthcoming).

- ²⁰ Difficulties of/need for surveys: Butzer, *o.c.* (n.5) 36, 71; id., *o.c.* (n.4) 261-3; H.S. Smith, 'Settlements in the Nile valley', (in) *Mélanges G.E. Mokhtar (MéMIFA0 97; Cairo, 1985) II 287-94*. Examples: Deserts: A.J. Mills, 'The Dakleh Oasis project', (in) *Mélanges Mokhtar II 125-34* (cf. annual reports in *J.Soc.StudyEg.Antiq.* 9 (1979) onwards); M. Reddé & J.-C. Golvin, 'Du Nil à la Mer Rouge: documents anciens et nouveaux sur les routes du désert oriental d'Égypte', *Karthago* 21 (1987) 5-64; S.E. Sidebotham et al., 'Fieldwork on the Red Sea coast: the 1987 season', *JARCE* 26 (1989) 127-66. Delta: E.C.M. van der Brink, 'A geoarchaeological survey in the north-eastern Nile Delta, Egypt; the first two seasons, a preliminary report', *MDAIK* 43 (1987) 7-31 (cf. ed. van der Brink, *o.c.* (n.9)); S.R. Snape, *Liverpool University Delta Survey. Six Archaeological Sites in Sharqiyeh Province* (Liverpool, 1986); W.D.E. Coulson, 'The Naukratis survey', (in) van der Brink, *o.c.* (n.9) 259-63. Large urban sites: D.G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis I. The Archaeological Report* (London, 1985); A.J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein I. The Topography of the Site* (London, 1983).
- ²¹ TAVO series: (all Egypt) F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches I-II (TAVO Bhft 66; Wiesbaden, 1986-7)*; (Oxyrhynchite/Cynopolite) F. Gomaà, R. Müller-Wollermann & W. Schenkel, *Ägypten zwischen Samalut und dem Gabal Abu Sir. Beiträge zur historischen Topographie der pharaonischen Zeit (TAVO Bhft 69; Wiesbaden, 1991)*; (north Hermopolite) D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut (TAVO Bhft 30; Wiesbaden, 1981)*. Some preliminary work on the Roman Oxyrhynchite: J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Litteraturrezeption* (Frankfurt, 1990) II.1 (esp. 49-53), 265-308.
- ²² A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Cairo-Milan, 1935-); P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchie. Repertorio toponomastico (Pap.Flor. 9; Florence, 1981)*; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite. Toponymes et sites (Am.Stud.Pap. 21; Ann Arbor, 1979)*; a study by M.R. Falivene of Heracleopolite toponyms is near completion. For the pre- and post-'classical' period: B. Porter & R.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford, 1927-); H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques I-VII* (Cairo, 1925-31); G. Roquet, *Toponymes et lieux-dits égyptiens enregistrés dans le dictionnaire copte de W.E. Crum* (Cairo, 1973); S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit 1-3 (TAVO Bhft 41; Wiesbaden, 1984-5)*.

area. We could also use them, for example, to compare the level of urbanisation or of rural dispersion between different areas and different periods, and thus test broad theories such as whether the demographic centre of gravity followed the northward move of the capital to Alexandria, and whether the Roman period saw an unparalleled urban concentration of population into the *metropoleis* which was reversed in the Byzantine period by a move back into small estate-villages (*epoikia*). On a more local level, in better documented areas such as the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, we could gain a clearer idea of the nature and significance of administrative arrangements and changes in them, such as the sharing between villages of granaries and officials, and the fourth-century change from toparchies to *pagi*.²³ We could also try to plot the distribution within regions of marsh- and scrub-land, pasturage, royal and sacred land, clerouchic allotments, units of large private estates, rural craftsmen, military posts, temples and churches and so on, and look for significant patterns. It would, for instance, be very interesting to have a clearer picture of the physical nature of the *kleroi* into which much of the land of Egypt was, it seems, divided under the early Ptolemies, and which persisted as topographical units through the Roman period. More generally we would then be able to answer with greater precision the kind of questions asked in a simpler form in Braunert's pioneering study, that is the extent of and reasons for population mobility.²⁴ All of this would add greatly to our understanding of the social and economic structure of ancient Egypt, and of major changes across time.

Lastly, there is the rather different subject of the internal nature and articulation of settlement sites. Basic questions, for example, are what a 'typical' *metropolis* or village was like, or how different the new Ptolemaic villages or the Roman *metropoleis* were from their predecessors. From sites already excavated some idea of what we might find is already apparent. We can contrast the typically Graeco-Roman orthogonal grid-plans of Alexandria, Antinoopolis and Philadelphia with the more traditional lay-out of Karanis which had, it seems, no public centre or planned thoroughfares. We could look at the division of space between public and private uses, subdividing public use into religious and secular and seeing if private use shows any zoning by wealth, status or occupation. We could look at where people met for public and private business, and how such places were exploited to display statues and inscriptions. We could look at the relation of settlement sites to burial grounds and to major sanctuaries.²⁵ Indeed some idea of the changing place of major sanctuaries emerges from what

²³ General: K.W. Butzer, 'Remarks on the geography of settlement in the Nile valley during Hellenistic times', *Bull.Soc.Géog.Eg.* 33 (1960) 5-36; Rathbone, *o.c.* (n.15) 111, 119-24; cf. D. O'Connor, 'The geography of settlement in ancient Egypt', (in) ed. P.J. Ucko, R. Tringham & G.W. Dimbleby, *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (Cambridge Mass., 1972) 681-98; A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägyptens* (Vienna, 1959). A study of the early administrative divisions of the Arsinoite nome is being prepared by W. Clarysse, the toparchy-boundaries of the Heracleopolite are being elucidated by M.R. Falivene, and *P.Col.* IX will contain a study by J.A. Sheridan of the development of the Hermopolite *pagi*.

²⁴ H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit* (Bonn, 1964).

²⁵ General: A.K. Bowman, 'Public buildings in Roman Egypt', *JRA* 5 (1992) 495-503; F. Dunand, 'L'exemple égyptien', (in) ed. P.A. Février & P. Leveau, *Villes et campagnes dans l'empire romain* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982) 181-93; S. Daris, 'I villaggi dell'Egitto nei papiri greci', (in) *Egitto e società antica* (Milan, 1985) 211-31; cf. (for the wider background) W.L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire. II: An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven, 1986). Sites mentioned: P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972) Ch.1; G. Caruso, 'Alcuni aspetti dell'urbanistica di Alessandria in età ellenistica: il piano di progettazione', (in) ed. N. Bonacasa & A. Di Vita, *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* (Rome, 1983) I 43-53; E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im römischen Ägypten* (Göttingen, 1913); S. Donadoni et al., *Antinoe (1965-1968). Missione archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma* (Rome, 1974); P. Viereck, *Philadelphia. Die Gründung einer hellenistischen Militärkolonie in Ägypten* (*Morgenland* 16; Leipzig, 1928); A.E.R. Boak & E.E. Peterson, *Karanis. Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-28* (Ann Arbor, 1931);

we already know of the Serapeum in Ptolemaic Memphis, the late Ptolemaic and early Roman decline of Thebes and its temples in contrast to the flourishing of Tentyra, the Roman encroachment of private housing into the sanctuary of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, the later Roman conversion of temples to forts and churches and the general growth of Christian churches and monasteries, and so on.²⁶ We could more generally look at Hellenisation and Romanisation in public and private building in the context of persisting local traditions. The spread of gymnasia, of bath-houses, of mosaic floors, of 'classical' columns, for example, can already, to some extent, be traced and evaluated, and, more generally, we already have considerable evidence for private housing.²⁷ In short, much material is already available for putting the social history of Greek and Roman Egypt in its physical setting, without which it is not properly comprehensible.

Once again the combination of documentary and archaeological evidence can give our reconstruction a depth and wealth of detail which is not normally possible for other areas of the classical world, even if their archaeological sites have been better preserved and excavated. The papyri can give identifications and dates of construction and repair for public buildings, as is best-known from the third-century A.D. account of repairs at Hermopolis Magna; they also reveal the use made of buildings, such as those which show officials conducting their business in temples and private activities in them, or the account which records ceremonies at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoe.²⁸ As regards private housing, Husson has produced a valuable analysis of the Greek terminology in the papyri for houses and their elements, and Hobson has made a pioneering attempt to link the papyrological evidence for family-structure and house-occupancy with the archaeological record from Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis; recent excavations at Eilithyopolis have gone a stage further in interpreting family documents in

E.M. Husselman, *Karanis: Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt, 1928-35. Topography and Architecture* (Ann Arbor, 1979). Some other cases: Hermopolis Magna - see n.28 below; Oxyrhynchus - Krüger, *o.c.* (n.21) II.2. R. Alston is currently investigating the question of social zoning in Oxyrhynchus; for a glimpse of Ptolemaic Thebes see P.W. Pestmann, 'Egizi sotto dominazioni straniere', (in) ed. Criscuolo & Geraci, *o.c.* (n.1) 138-58 (at 141-4). Sanctuaries: cf. B.J. Kemp, 'Temple and town', (in) ed. Ucko et al., *o.c.* (n.23) 657-80.

²⁶D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988); A.J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein II. The Temple Area* (London, 1989); J.C. Golvin & M. El-Saghir, *Le camp romain de Louqsor (MémFAO 83; Cairo, 1986)*; S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendera. Guide archéologique (BiblénIFAO 12; Cairo, 1990)*; F. Daumas, *Dendara et le temple d'Hathor, notice sommaire (RechIFAO 29; Cairo, 1969)*; P. Grossmann, *Elephantine II. Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof (ArchVeröffDAIK 25; Mainz, 1980)*; C.C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster, 1974); M. Rodziewicz, 'Remarks on the domestic and monastic architecture in Alexandria and surroundings', (in) ed. van der Brink, *o.c.* (n.9) 267-77.

²⁷D.M. Bailey, 'Classical architecture in Roman Egypt', (in) ed. M. Henig, *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1990) Ch.8; W.A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt I* (Mainz, 1985); I. Noshay, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt. A Study of Greek and Egyptian Influences in Ptolemaic Architecture and Sculpture* (Oxford, 1937); cf. (excluding Egypt) M. Colledge, 'Greek and non-Greek interaction in the art and architecture of the Hellenistic East', (in) ed. A. Kuhrt & S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East* (London, 1987) Ch.6. Housing: M. Nowicka, *La maison privée dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque* (Wrocław, 1969); cf. n.29 below for El-Kab; R.E. Campbell, *An Archaeological Study of Egyptian Houses, Particularly Those from the Hellenistic Period* (Ph.D. Durham, 1984) (non vidi); H. Maehler, 'Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayûm in der Kaiserzeit', (in) ed. Grimm et al., *o.c.* (n.16) 119-37; M.Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III. Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1984); Grossmann, *o.c.* (n.26) on Elephantine.

²⁸H. Schmitz, 'Die Baukunde in P.Vindob.graec. 12565 im Lichte der Ergebnisse der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition', *Münch.Beitr.Pap.Rechtsgesch.* 19 (1934) 406-28 (= SB X 10299); see now D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein IV. Hermopolis Magna, Buildings of the Roman Period* (London, 1991). Examples of official use of temples: *W.Chr.* 41; *P.Oxy.* XLV 3248.2; LIV 3757.3 (with note); *P.Stras.* IX 876; of private activities: *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3487; LI 3642; LII 3693; Jupiter Capitolinus: *BGU* II 362 = *W.Chr.* 96 (A.D.215). General: A. Lukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine, problèmes administratifs et financiers* (Warsaw, 1986).

the context of the houses where they were found, and for Karanis it is apparently also possible, by trawling the excavation notes, to relate some groups of papyri to particular houses.²⁹ At present Karanis is the site with the greatest potential for a 'total' reconstruction of its social and economic history through the combination of documentary and archaeological data, and a project to do this, building on previous more restricted studies, has been announced by Bowman. There are, of course, gaps in our evidence, but some could be filled by new archaeological research, for many sites of various types still survive which would repay proper modern archaeological investigation. Recent work at various Delta sites has illustrated what can still be possible; more work specifically targeted at historical questions of the Graeco-Roman period could help to compensate for our relative lack of documentary evidence from this area.³⁰ In Upper Egypt and the deserts, where deliberate investigation of Graeco-Roman sites seems at the moment to be concentrated, the drier environment means that these sites are also adding to the corpus of documents, mainly in the form of ostraka, which may be a reason for their choice.³¹ Even, however, in areas long subject to foreign and local digging, such as the Fayum, some fairly intact sites survive, and a stratigraphic excavation which paid due attention to the pottery and faunal and botanical remains, would provide a model against which the information from earlier less systematic excavations could be re-evaluated. Archaeology can also help to fill lacunae indirectly: while, for example, we cannot excavate Ptolemaic Alexandria, the site of Plinthine, to its south-west, could give us some idea of private housing in a Ptolemaic new town, and the Roman 'villas' in and around nearby Marea could illustrate the documentary evidence for large estates elsewhere whose buildings are unlikely to be recoverable.³² And, although it is strictly off my subject, I would again insist on the enormous gains which could be made in combining the archaeological with the documentary evidence for trade in Egypt, especially in the case of the wine-trade.³³ Lastly, when reconstructing the socio-economic history of Greek and Roman Egypt in its physical setting, we should be alive to the aid that can be drawn from comparison with Egypt in more recent and better-recorded eras, but also to the dangers of this approach, and we should also be ready to compare our Egyptian findings with similar studies of other areas of the Greek and Roman worlds and to contribute

²⁹G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris, 1983); note too her 'L'habitat monastique en Egypte à la lumière des papyrus grecs, des textes chrétiens et de l'archéologie', (in) ed. J. Vercouter, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron (MémFAO 82; Cairo, 1979)* II 191-207. D.H. Hobson, 'House and household in Roman Egypt', *YCS* 28 (1985) 211-29. Eilithyopolis: J. Bingen & W. Clarysse, *Elkab III. Les ostraca grecs* (Brussels, 1989); Karanis: work in progress by P. van Minnen and T. Gagos.

³⁰W.D.E. Coulson & A. Leonard, *Cities of the Delta I: Naukratis. Preliminary Report on the 1977-78 and 1980 Seasons (ARCE Rep. 4; Malibu, 1981)*; J.S. Holladay, *Cities of the Delta, Part III. Tell el-Maskhuta. Preliminary Report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978-1979 (ARCE Rep. 6; Malibu, 1982)*; R.K. Holz et al., *Mendes I* (Cairo, 1980); H. De Meulenaere & P. MacKay, *Mendes II* (Warminster, 1976); L. Dabrowski, 'La topographie d'Athribis à l'époque romaine', *ASAE* 57 (1962) 19-31; M. Abd el-Maqsoud, 'Preliminary report on the excavations at Tell El-Farama (Pelusium): first two seasons (1983/4 and 1984/5)', *ASAE* 70 (1984/5) 3-8.

³¹Leukos Limen: R.S. Bagnall, 'Papyri and ostraka from Quseir al-Qadim', *BASP* 23 (1986) 1-60; Mons Claudianus: *O. Claud. I*; El Khargeh Oasis: *O. Douch I-III*; Dakleh Oasis: see n.20 above; Eilithyopolis: see n.29 above; cf. (in Middle Egypt) Hakoris: P. van Minnen & K.A. Worp, 'A new edition of ostraka from Akoris', *Tyche* 5 (1990) 95-9.

³²Cf. F. El-Fakharani, 'Recent excavations at Marea in Egypt', (in) ed. Grimm et al., *o.c.* (n.16) 175-86.

³³Cf. D.W. Rathbone, 'The ancient economy and Graeco-Roman Egypt', (in) ed. Criscuolo & Geraci, *o.c.* (n.1) 159-76 (at 167-9); add to the items cited there J.-Y. Empereur & M. Picon, 'A la recherche des fours d'amphores' and J.-Y. Empereur, 'Un atelier de Dressel 2-4 en Egypte au IIIe siècle de notre ère', (in) ed. J.-Y. Empereur & Y. Garlan, *Recherches sur les amphores grecques (BCH suppl. 13; Paris, 1986)* 103-26 and 599-608; D. Foraboschi & A. Gara, 'Le direttrici del commercio alessandrino', *Quad. Ticinesi Num. Ant. Class.* 18 (1989) 279-93; G. Nachtergaele, 'Le chameau, l'âne et le mulet en Egypte gréco-romaine. Le témoignage des terres cuites', *CdE* 64 (1989) 287-336.

directly to the wider study of the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, of which Egypt was one of the principal components.

To conclude, I hope that the rather negative retrospective tone of this survey of settlement and society in Greek and Roman Egypt is more than balanced out by its positive outlook for the future. Although papyri are archaeological artefacts, as written documents they have become divorced from their origins. Most socio-economic studies have been written exclusively from the documentary evidence. This is understandable granted the quantity of written evidence, the academic specialism of papyrologists, and the thinness and poor quality of the inherited archaeological data, which itself reflects the obsession of earlier excavators with papyri. Regrettably this century has seen the continuing destruction of Greek and Roman sites, but more survive than is often pessimistically supposed, and the value of new, professional archaeological work is demonstrated by several recent and current projects. Furthermore, the socio-economic studies produced on the basis of the documents provide the essential foundation for now exploiting what we can salvage from earlier excavations and, above all, for generating specific historical questions for new archaeological projects to answer. There is easily enough here to keep us going for another hundred years!

PAPYRI UND ARCHÄOLOGIE*

Heinz Heinen

Plates 7-10 (Abb. 1-4)

Von Unterägypten hat Herodot II 5 gesagt, daß es ein Geschenk des Nils sei. Vielleicht darf man *mutatis mutandis* sagen, daß die Papyri ein Geschenk der Archäologie Ägyptens seien, denn in aller Regel stammen die Papyri aus Grabungen, gleichgültig ob diese von Archäologen oder von Raubgräbern durchgeführt worden sind. Diese enge und natürliche Verbindung von Papyrologie und Archäologie ist eine von niemandem bestrittene Tatsache. Dafür sprechen gerade heute, um nur dieses eine Beispiel hervorzuheben, die gemeinsamen Arbeiten von Archäologen und Papyrologen am Mons Claudianus in der Ostwüste Ägyptens mit ihrem überaus reichen Ertrag an Ostraka.¹ Von der Verankerung der Papyrologie im Boden Ägyptens und von ihrer Bedeutung für die historisch-archäologische Landeskunde zeugt auch der große von Aristide Calderini begründete und von Sergio Daris fortgeführte *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano*.² Trotz vielfältiger Tätigkeiten und zahlreicher Publikationen sind bisher die Beziehungen zwischen Papyrologie und Archäologie noch nicht systematisch untersucht, sind auch die Möglichkeiten einer engeren Zusammenarbeit zwischen diesen beiden Fächern noch nicht umfassend geprüft worden. Mit der Einrichtung einer eigenen Sektion 'Papyrologie and Archäologie' hat der 20. Internationale Papyrologenkongreß in Kopenhagen meine Anregung aufgegriffen und einen Rahmen für die Diskussion dieser Thematik geschaffen. Es bleibt auch nach diesem Kongreß noch viel in dieser Hinsicht zu tun. Doch immerhin haben die in dieser Sektion gehaltenen Referate sowie die im Anschluß daran geführten Diskussionen wichtige Probleme angesprochen und interessante methodische Perspektiven aufgezeigt.

Stellungnahme zu den Referaten der Sektion 'Papyrologie und Archäologie'

Als 'chairman' dieser Sektion und als 'respondent' hatte ich zunächst die Aufgabe, zu den Referaten von T. Derda, C. Gallazzi und D. Rathbone Stellung zu nehmen. Diese Stellungnahme bildet, in der gebotenen Kürze, den ersten Teil der folgenden Ausführungen. In den folgenden Teilen möchte ich auf einige weitere Themen hinweisen, die durch das Gespräch zwischen Papyrologen und Archäologen gefördert werden können.

Ich beginne mit der ernstesten Frage von Herrn Gallazzi 'Trouvera-t-on encore des papyrus en 2042?' Die Dramatik der von ihm beschriebenen Lage wird niemand verkennen, und die Dringlichkeit von Rettungsmaßnahmen wird hoffentlich nicht nur den Papyrologen einleuchten. Aber wie soll man praktisch vorgehen? Herr Gallazzi selbst hat dazu schon einige Vorschläge gemacht, die es nunmehr in konkrete Schritte umzusetzen gilt. Vielleicht sollte die Verfahrensweise zunächst im Internationalen Komitee der Association Internationale des Papyrologues besprochen werden. Als Ergebnis der Arbeit des Komitees wäre eine

* Im Hinblick auf Archäologen und Ägyptologen, die vielleicht die betreffenden Papyruseditionen nicht zur Hand haben, zitiere ich häufiger nicht nur den Wortlaut und eine Übersetzung, sondern gebe gelegentlich auch weitere Hinweise zur leichteren bibliographischen Ermittlung der zitierten Edition bzw. von Paralleleditionen. - Für freundliche Bereitstellung von Abbildungsvorlagen danke ich E. Simon (Würzburg), G. Grimm (Trier) und F. Johansen (Kopenhagen).

¹ Vgl. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, 'The Excavation and Ostraca of Mons Claudianus', *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology*, Bd. I, Kairo 1992, S. 49-63; soeben erschienen: J. Bingen et alii, *Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, I (Mons Claudianus), Kairo 1992.

² Siehe dazu etwa noch A. Calderini, 'Studi e studiosi di topografia dell' Egitto greco-romano', *Actes du Ve Congrès International de Papyrologie*, Brüssel 1938, S. 98-113.

Beschlußvorlage denkbar, die in der Generalversammlung der Association zur Abstimmung vorgelegt werden könnte.³ Denn wenn wir überhaupt etwas bewirken wollen, dann sollte das volle Gewicht des ganzen Papyrologenverbandes eingesetzt werden. Doch wir brauchen bei einem solch großen Vorhaben auch Bundesgenossen, davon war schon in dem Referat von Herrn Gallazzi die Rede. Da in erster Linie eine Zusammenarbeit von Papyrologie und Archäologie angestrebt wird, liegt es auf der Hand, daß wir das Gespräch mit den in Ägypten arbeitenden archäologischen Institutionen suchen sollten: Service des Antiquités, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Egypt Exploration Society, American Research Center in Egypt, Abteilung Kairo des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts usw. Diese Institutionen verfügen über Verbindungen und Erfahrungen, über Personal und technische Mittel, auf die die Papyrologen dringend angewiesen sind, wenn sie größere Projekte in Gang setzen wollen. Eine aus Papyrologen und Archäologen zusammengesetzte Arbeitsgruppe wäre zu bilden, um nach konkreten Möglichkeiten für eine Realisierung der von Herrn Gallazzi entworfenen Projekte zu suchen. Dabei werden gewiß nicht alle Wünsche der Papyrologen in Erfüllung gehen können, aber auch mit einem Teilerfolg wäre schon viel gewonnen.

Wer die Unterstützung der Archäologen, der großen Institutionen, der breiten Öffentlichkeit und sogar der internationalen Organisationen (UNESCO) sucht, der muß freilich auch zeigen, daß die Papyrologie kein Glasperlenspiel eines kleinen Gelehrtenzirkels ist, sondern daß die Ergebnisse papyrologischer Arbeit von allgemeinem Interesse sind. Leider wird aber die Papyrologie in der Öffentlichkeit, ja selbst in den Nachbardisziplinen, häufig als eine Arkandisziplin betrachtet, für die allenfalls ein Nischendasein in Frage kommt. Natürlich können die Papyrologen nicht mit optisch wirksamen Ausstellungen aufwarten. Da haben es die Ägyptologen, die Archäologen wesentlich leichter. Aber was sind die Zeugnisse der Archäologie, wenn man sie nicht in einen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang, in ein kulturelles Umfeld, in den Kontext einer historischen Landschaft einfügen kann? Was die Papyrologie unter diesen Aspekten im Falle Ägyptens zu leisten vermag, hat Herr Rathbone in seinem Vortrag 'Settlement History in Greek and Roman Egypt' aufgezeigt. In methodisch anregender Weise hat er ein ganzes Programm entworfen, an dessen Ende eine große historische Landeskunde Ägyptens von der hellenistischen bis zur byzantinischen Zeit stehen könnte. Der deutsche Hörer seines Vortrages fühlt sich unwillkürlich ein wenig an die landeskundlichen Modelle (historische Kulturraumforschung) erinnert, die in Deutschland nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg diskutiert worden sind und 1920 zur Gründung des Instituts für historische Landeskunde an der Universität Bonn geführt haben.⁴ Ich will den Vergleich nicht zu weit treiben, aber wichtig erscheint mir in jedem Falle, daß alle Quellen zum Sprechen gebracht werden, die die Entstehung historischer Landschaften beleuchten können. Dann würde noch deutlicher als bisher sichtbar werden, daß Ägypten trotz aller zentralisierenden Faktoren keineswegs ein monolithisches Ganzes darstellt, sondern sich vielmehr in eine Reihe histori-

³ Dieser Beschluß ist von der Association Internationale des Papyrologues in ihrer Sitzung vom 29.8.1992 in Kopenhagen gefaßt worden und hat folgenden Wortlaut: "It has been brought to the attention of the AIP that the changes in climatic and other conditions in Egypt consequent to the construction of the Assuan High Dam have reached such proportions that there is reason to fear that whatever papyri and other organic material still left to be excavated in Egypt will be destroyed within the next decades. The General Assembly of the International Association of Papyrologists has decided to use all resources of the AIP to accelerate and encourage excavations in Egypt with the specific purpose of finding Greek and other papyri. The Assembly proposes that a committee be formed and that all possible help and support be given to archaeological missions that are judged to contribute to this end."

⁴ Die Institutsgründung war ein Gemeinschaftswerk des Historikers Hermann Aubin und des Germanisten Theodor Frings. Zur Methode vgl. H. Aubin, 'Aufgabe und Wege der geschichtlichen Landeskunde' (1925) in: ders., *Grundlagen und Perspektiven geschichtlicher Kulturraumforschung und Kulturmorphologie. Aufsätze zur vergleichenden Landes- und Volksgeschichte aus viereinhalb Jahrzehnten*, hrsg. von F. Petry und L. Petry, Bonn 1965, S. 17-26.

scher Räume mit eigenem Profil gliedert. Man braucht sich dabei nicht auf die bekannte Unterteilung in Ober- und Unterägypten zu beschränken. Alexandria und sein Umland, die Ostwüste mit ihren Verbindungswegen zu den Bergwerken und Küstenhäfen, die Wüste im Westen mit ihren großen Oasen, das Faijum, aber auch der Sinai und der Küstensaum zwischen Alexandria und Libyen, sie alle bilden innerhalb des Ganzen unterschiedliche historische Landschaften und tragen eigene Züge.

Herr Rathbone hat betont, wie sehr eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen Papyrologie und Archäologie erwünscht ist, um neue Antworten auf alte und neue Fragen zu geben. Ein Programm, wie er es entworfen und besonders auch an die Adresse der Archäologie gerichtet hat, ist so eindrucksvoll, so vielversprechend, daß es hoffentlich dazu beitragen kann, die Archäologen für Herrn Gallazzis Projekt zur Rettung der Papyri zu interessieren. Ich möchte den Ausführungen von Herrn Rathbone an dieser Stelle lediglich hinzufügen, daß gerade auch die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften Ägyptens eine wichtige Quelle für die meisten Aspekte seines Programms darstellen. Das geographisch gegliederte Inschriftencorpus von André und Etienne Bernand stellt dafür schon jetzt eine umfassende Grundlage dar, auch wenn es noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Andererseits sind diese Inschriften auch wiederum nur Ausschnitte aus einem unauflösbaren Lebenszusammenhang, den man ohne Archäologie, Ägyptologie und Papyrologie nicht wirklich verstehen kann. Inhaltlich und methodisch sind alle diese Fächer auf Zusammenarbeit angewiesen, wenn nicht der Blick für das Ganze verloren gehen soll. Mir scheint, daß Herr Rathbone mit seinem Vortrag einen konzeptuellen Rahmen entworfen hat, in dem die genannten Fächer eine methodisch fruchtbare Kooperation entwickeln können.

Herr Derda hat mit seinem Bericht über die polnischen Grabungen in Deir el-Naqlun (Faijum) genau jenen Aspekt herausgearbeitet, der Herrn Gallazzi am Herzen liegt, die enge Verbindung nämlich von Papyrologie und Archäologie: 'Polish Excavations at Deir el-Naqlun 1986-91: Interdependence of Papyrology and Archaeology'. Noch sind die Grabungen von Deir el-Naqlun in vollem Gange, so daß eine generelle Beurteilung noch nicht angezeigt ist. Jedoch allein schon die Funde und Interpretationen, die Herr Derda vorgelegt hat, lassen reiche Ergebnisse erwarten. Einige der von ihm angesprochenen Punkte möchte ich kommentieren, wobei ich vorausschicke, daß ich mich dabei ausschließlich auf den Text von Herrn Derda stütze, ohne Kenntnis der Gesamtsituation vor Ort und der in Naqlun gefundenen Objekte.

Eine erste Betrachtung betrifft den $\pi\rho\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ Πύργου, den "Vorsteher des Turmes". Πύργοι (Türme) gehören bekanntlich zu den markanten Teilen ägyptischer Klöster. Ihre Rolle als Elemente der Verteidigung, als Getreidespeicher und Magazine sowie ihre Stellung im Rahmen der Klosterverwaltung sind m.W. noch nicht im Gesamtzusammenhang untersucht worden, obwohl viele Grabungsbefunde und Detailbeobachtungen vorliegen. Ich nenne *exempli gratia* die reich dokumentierten Ausgrabungen der Kellia mit ihrer großen Anzahl von Türmen.⁵ Es läßt sich gut vorstellen, daß die in den $\pi\rho\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ angelegten Magazine einem eigenen Verwalter ($\pi\rho\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) unterstellt waren. Erst die Einbindung der Funde von Deir el-Naqlun in den allgemeinen Rahmen ägyptischer Klosteranlagen und -verwaltung wird eine zuverlässigere Interpretation ermöglichen.

Eine weitere Beobachtung betrifft die Feststellung von Herrn Derda, daß in Ermitage 25 nicht ein einziger koptischer Text, sondern nur Zeugnisse in griechischer Sprache gefunden worden sind, "a fact", so Herr Derda, "worth emphasizing in itself in an Egyptian monastery of the 6th-7th century lying far from the cultural centres of the epoch". Auch dieser interessante Befund läßt sich nur im größeren Kontext wirklich beurteilen. Zunächst einmal im Kontext von Deir el-Naqlun, den wir bisher noch nicht vollständig kennen. Sodann im allgemeinen Rahmen

⁵ Vgl. D. Weidmann, in: *Coptic Encyclopedia*, hrsg. von A.S. Atiya, Bd. 5, New York 1991, S. 1404, s.v. 'Kellia', hier speziell zu den Türmen.

dessen, was wir vom Gebrauch der griechischen Sprache und von der Aufbewahrung griechischer Texte in den Kirchen und Klöstern Ägyptens wissen. Zu diesem Aspekt gibt es eine Menge Papyri und Ostraka, vor allem aber auch literarische Texte, die auf die Kultur der ägyptischen Kirche ein helles Licht werfen. Das kann hier nicht weiter dargelegt werden, lediglich ein jüngst bekannt gewordenes Beispiel möchte ich anführen, um die Zeugnisse von Deir el-Naqlun in einen größeren Kontext zu stellen, nämlich den in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25, 1991, als Nr. 13 veröffentlichten Papyrus. Es handelt sich um ein Inventar von Kirchenbesitz, leider unbekannter Provenienz, das der Herausgeber, P. van Minnen, aus paläographischen Gründen in den Zeitraum 7./8. Jh. datiert. Auffallend ist nun in dieser Liste, die 45 Buchtitel aus der alttestamentlichen und christlichen Literatur nennt, die offenbar absolute Dominanz griechischer Texte (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25, S. 47). Umfang und Sortiment der in diesem Inventar aufgeführten Objekte und Bücher legen es für P. van Minnen nahe, nicht ein Kloster, sondern eine Kirche, wahrscheinlich einen Bischofssitz, für die Provenienz dieses Verzeichnisses ins Auge zu fassen.⁶ Es bleibt aber das Problem, daß wir über den jeweiligen Anteil der griechischen und der koptischen Sprache in den Kirchen und Klöstern der Gaumetropolen wie auch des Hinterlandes nicht hinreichend Bescheid wissen. Ostraka und Papyri, Inschriften und literarische Texte vermitteln uns zahlreiche Elemente für ein Bild der Kultur der Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens und von ihrer sprachlichen Orientierung.⁷ Doch noch kein Forscher hat dieses Bild unter Auswertung auch der vielen dokumentarischen Quellen gezeichnet.⁸ Man darf wirklich gespannt sein, in welcher Weise die Funde aus Deir el-Naqlun das bereits vorhandene reiche Material ergänzen. Doch der Stellenwert dieser neuen Zeugnisse kann erst dann sicher beurteilt werden, wenn das allgemeine Bild spätantiker und koptischer Kultur in Ägypten gezeichnet worden ist. Aber bisher fehlt ein solches Werk, in dem ja auch der so überaus kontrovers diskutierte Standort der Kunst des byzantinisch-koptischen Ägypten bestimmt werden müßte. Von einer solchen Zusammenschau sind wir leider noch weit entfernt, aber sie ist ohne die Verbindung verschiedener Disziplinen, darunter gerade auch der Papyrologie und der Archäologie, nicht denkbar.

...

Alle Vortragenden der Sektion 'Papyrologie und Archäologie', Tomasz Derda, Claudio Gallazzi und Dominic Rathbone, haben interessante, anregende Themen behandelt. Trotz aller Unterschiede im einzelnen ist allen drei Referenten gemeinsam, daß sie das Thema unserer Sektion vorwiegend aus der Perspektive der Papyrologie betrachten. Vielleicht darf ich diese Ansätze um einige weitere Aspekte ergänzen. Mein Vorschlag, die Thematik 'Papyrologie und Archäologie' auf diesem Kongreß zu behandeln, war ganz wesentlich geprägt durch die Erfahrungen, die ich im Forschungszentrum Griechisch-Römisches Ägypten der Universität Trier gesammelt habe. Im Rahmen der Colloquien dieses Forschungszentrums treffen sich

⁶ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25, S. 41 und 68.

⁷ Wichtig für das Verhältnis von Griechisch und Koptisch im byzantinischen und früh-arabischen Ägypten: M.R.M. Hasitzka, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht* (MPER XVIII), Wien 1990.

⁸ Zu den Bibliotheken im christlichen Ägypten vgl. M. Krause, in: *Coptic Encyclopedia*, Bd. 5, 1991, s.v. 'Libraries', S. 1447-1450, hier auch Hinweis auf ein frühes Faijum-Kloster mit griechischen und koptischen Bibliotheksbeständen; ausführlicher dazu P. van Minnen, in: *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25, S. 45-47, aus dessen Ausführungen allerdings hervorgeht, daß in der besagten Bibliothek im Faijum nur 9 von mehr als 100 Titeln ausdrücklich als griechisch bezeichnet werden. J.M. Robinson, 'The First Christian Monastic Library', in: W. Godlewski (Hrsg.), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Warschau 1990, S. 371-378, vertritt die Auffassung, daß die berühmten Bodmer-Papyri (die sog. Nag Hammadi-Funde) zur Bibliothek bzw. zum Archiv des pachomianischen Mönchsordens, genauer zum Kloster in Faww Qibli, gehörten. Auch in diesem Fall ist das Material gemischtsprachig (vorwiegend Griechisch und Koptisch). Koptische Texte neben einer überwiegenden Zahl von griechischen finden sich ebenfalls im Archiv des Nephros: B. Kramer, J. Shelton, *Das Archiv des Nephros und verwandte Texte* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia, 4), Mainz 1987.

regelmäßig Ägyptologen, Klassische Archäologen, Papyrologen und Althistoriker, um neue Funde, Texte und Publikationen zu besprechen. Unter dem Blickwinkel der Fragestellungen, die ich im täglichen Kontakt mit den Vertretern der Nachbarfächer kennengelernt habe, möchte ich im folgenden einige Themen vorstellen, deren Bearbeitung mir im Hinblick auf die Kooperation zwischen Papyrologie und Archäologie lohnend schiene. Einige ausgewählte Texte und Abbildungen sollen das Gesagte nur veranschaulichen, nicht erschöpfend kommentieren. Ich will hier gleich vorausschicken, daß ich nur einige wenige Beispiele anführe, wobei ich nicht einmal annähernd Vollständigkeit der Quellen- und Literaturbelege anstrebe. Auch so schon muß ich fürchten, den mir gesetzten Rahmen überschritten zu haben.

In erster Linie möchte ich den Charakter der Papyri als Bild- und Textcorpus für die Archäologie hervorheben, und zwar sowohl für die klassisch als auch für die ägyptologisch ausgerichtete Archäologie. Nur von den griechischen Papyri soll hier die Rede sein, nicht von den Papyri in hieroglyphischer, hieratischer und demotischer Schrift, denn deren Illustrationen, beispielsweise zum Totenbuch, sind bestens bekannt und erforscht.

Als archäologisches Text- und Bildcorpus umfassen die Papyri zwei Aspekte:

1. *Darstellungen auf Papyri*, beispielsweise mythologische Szenen, Illustrationen zu Werken der antiken Literatur, magische Gestalten und Zeichen: Diese zahlreichen Darstellungen sind zwar in einer Reihe von Einzelinterpretationen und kürzeren Abrissen besprochen, jedoch bisher noch nicht systematisch untersucht worden.⁹ Erst im Laufe des Kongresses erfuhr ich, daß eine solche systematische Untersuchung im Druck ist: Ulrike Horak, *Illuminierte Papyri, Pergamente und Papiere*, I (Pegasus oriens, I), Wien 1992. Es handelt sich um eine Edition von Illuminationen auf Papyri, Pergamenten und Papieren aus den Beständen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (*nondum vidi*). In dem angekündigten ersten Band werden laut Verlagsprospekt 67 Objekte "minutiös beschrieben, erläutert und mit Parallelen aus dem kunsthistorischen Umfeld kommentiert". Außerdem wird der Band "ein kritisches und deskriptives Verzeichnis bisher edierten Materials mit einem Sachindex" bieten. Damit wird ganz offenkundig genau eines der Desiderate erfüllt, auf die ich in meinem Referat hinweisen wollte. Da die Edition von U. Horak Abhilfe schaffen wird, braucht dieser Aspekt hier nicht weiter vertieft zu werden.

2. *Aussagen in Papyri zu archäologischen Themen und Objekten*: Diese Textkategorie umfaßt eine wesentlich größere Anzahl von Stücken als die Gruppe der illustrierten Papyri und sie ist auch inhaltlich sehr disparat. Eine monographische Behandlung dieser ganzen Gruppe in der Form eines Textcorpus ist nicht möglich. Es muß nach anderen Wegen gesucht werden, den Reichtum dieser papyrologischen Zeugnisse für die Archäologie zu erschließen. Im Rahmen meines Referats kann ich nur einige wenige Beispiele geben, um zu zeigen, welche Art von Informationen wir von diesen Texten erwarten dürfen. Ganz selbstverständlich können diese wenigen Exempla nicht alle Gebiete abdecken, auf denen Papyri und archäologische Objekte sich gegenseitig kommentieren. So hat zum Beispiel G. Nachtergaele, der als

⁹ Vgl. etwa V. Bartoletti, in: *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*, V, 1963, S. 943-947, s.v. papiro; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton 1970; E.G. Turner, 'The Charioteers from Antinoe', *JHS* 93, 1973, S. 192-195, Taf. III-IV; N. Horsfall, 'The Origins of the Illustrated Book', *Aegyptus* 63, 1983, S. 199-216; *Papiri dell' Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"* (Quaderni dell' Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, 1), Florenz 1988, Nr. 27-38 (kommentierte Abbildungen); H. Whitehouse, 'The Elephant and its Keepers. A Postscript on P.Mich. inv. 4290', *ZPE* 85, 1991, S. 277f.; W.M. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 25), Brüssel 1991; PSI XX Congr. (= Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" Firenze [Hrsg.], *Dai Papiri della Società Italiana. Omaggio al XX Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Florenz 1992) Nr. 20 (S. 93-96, Taf. XII) = PSI VIII 1919: Amor und Psyche (Oxyrhynchos, 2. Jh. n.Chr.). Manche dieser Bildzeugnisse sind jenseits des klassisch-archäologischen Bereiches auch für die Ägyptologie von Interesse, so z.B. die Darstellung eines widerköpfigen Gottes mit Sonnenscheibe und Was-Zepter auf der Rückseite eines Verwaltungspapyrus aus Tebtynis (2. Jh. n.Chr.): B. Holmen, 'P.Carlsberg 53 Back', *ZPE* 78, 1989, S. 132 und Taf. VIII b.

Papyrologe wie auch als Kenner der Terrakotten des griechisch-römischen Ägypten hervorgetreten ist, in verschiedenen Untersuchungen sehr schön dargelegt, was die Papyri als Zeugnisse des täglichen Lebens und der Religion zum Verständnis der Terrakotten (und umgekehrt diese für die Welt der Papyri) beitragen können.¹⁰

Porträts und Papyri

Ein Berliner Tafelbild mit der Darstellung der Familie des Septimius Severus ist deswegen berühmt, weil es das einzige erhaltene auf Holz gemalte Kaiserporträt der Antike ist. Ein Tempelinventar aus Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. XII 1449) zeigt meiner Auffassung nach, daß derartige Kaiserporträts in großer Zahl in den Tempeln Ägyptens hingen. Andere Papyri sowie Inschriften beleuchten die Rolle solcher Tafelbilder im Herrscherkult Ägyptens. Ich gehe auf diese Zeugnisse, die ich an anderer Stelle behandelt habe,¹¹ hier nicht näher ein, sondern benutze den Hinweis auf die Kaiserporträts lediglich als Ausgangspunkt, um eine mögliche Verbindung zwischen den zahlreich erhaltenen ägyptischen Mumienporträts und einem bekannten Papyrus anzudeuten.¹² Ich schicke noch eben voraus, daß es sich bei den sogenannten Mumienporträts um Bilder handelt, die meist zu Lebzeiten angefertigt und später auf die Mumie des Verstorbenen aufgelegt wurden.¹³ Aufgrund der klimatischen Verhältnisse haben sich solche auf Holz gemalte Porträts nur in Ägypten erhalten, aber sie wurden natürlich auch anderswo in der antiken Welt hergestellt. Genau dies scheint ein den Papyrologen bestens bekannter Text zu belegen, nämlich der oft abgedruckte Brief, den der in Misenum stationierte Flottensoldat Antonius Maximus, alias Apion, an seinen Vater Epimachos nach Philadelphia (Arsinoites) geschrieben hat.¹⁴ Uns interessiert in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem Z. 21, wo U. Wilcken durch Nachprüfung am Original [εἰ]κότιον (= εἰκότιον) ergänzt hat.¹⁵ Wenn diese Ergänzung stimmt,¹⁶ haben wir es vielleicht mit einem auf Holz gemalten Porträt des Soldaten zu tun, das in Italien hergestellt und nach Ägypten gesandt worden ist. So jedenfalls lautet eine weit verbreitete Meinung, die εἰκότιον in diesem Falle als "Bild, Portrait" versteht,¹⁷ aber es ist in Erinnerung zu rufen, daß es seit langem auch eine andere Auffassung gibt, wonach εἰκότιον als "Personenbeschreibung, Signalement" zu verstehen wäre.¹⁸ Das

¹⁰ Siehe den Ausstellungskatalog *Götter, Gräber und Grottesken. Tonfiguren aus dem Alltagsleben im römischen Ägypten*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, redigiert von C. Ewigleben und J. von Grumbkow, Hamburg 1991, hier G. Nachtergaele: 'Die Terrakotten des griechisch-römischen Ägyptens - eine Einführung', S. 19-24; vgl. auch die Literaturhinweise, ebda., S. 39f.

¹¹ H. Heinen, 'Herrscherkult im römischen Ägypten und *damnatio memoriae* Getas. Überlegungen zum Berliner Severertondo und zu Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XII 1449', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 98, 1991, S. 263-298, Taf. 68f.

¹² Die im Erscheinen begriffene Monographie von M. Novicka, *Le portrait dans la peinture antique* (Bibliotheca Antiqua, 22), Warschau, war mir noch nicht zugänglich.

¹³ Vgl. dazu das Standardwerk von K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, S. 74f.

¹⁴ BGU II 423 (2. Jh. n.Chr.) = J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeugnisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens, griechisch-deutsch*, München 1978, Nr. 84, mit Hinweis auf weitere Editionen.

¹⁵ Mitgeteilt durch A. Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, 4. Aufl., Tübingen 1923, S. 148 Anm. 17.

¹⁶ Vgl. das Photo des Papyrus bei A. Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten*, S. 146; schärfer jedoch das Photo bei W. Schubart, *Papyri Graece Berolinenses*, Bonn 1911, Nr. 28a. Wegen der Beschädigung des Papyrus bemerkt J.R. Rea, P.Oxy. LV, S. 60 (n. 19), zur Lesung [εἰ]κότιον: "Some doubt must attach to it there."

¹⁷ So auch, nach Deißmann und vielen anderen, K. Parlasca, a.O., S. 74, der an ein "kleinformatiges Bildchen" denkt.

¹⁸ Vgl. zuletzt P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden 1990, S. 169: Er faßt εἰκότιον als "personal description" des Soldaten auf, d.h. "his new Latin name and the name of his ship"; so auch Preisigke - Kießling, *Wörterbuch*, IV, s.v. εἰκότιον, unter Berufung auf W. Crönert, 'De critici arte in papyris exercendi', in: *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, Mailand 1925, S. 439-534, hier S.

εἰκόνην des ägyptischen Rekruten, wenn es sich denn wirklich um ein Porträt handelte, ist leider verloren, doch wie ägyptische Soldaten des römischen Heeres bzw. Soldaten des römischen Heeres in Ägypten dargestellt wurden, wissen wir trotzdem, und zwar durch Dutzende alexandrinischer Soldatengrabstelen.¹⁹

Papyri, Inschriften und archäologische Zeugnisse greifen hier ineinander und führen uns vor Augen, in welchem Grad die ägyptischen Soldaten romanisiert wurden, aber auch in welchem Maße sie ihren einheimischen Traditionen verbunden blieben. So schreibt der oben erwähnte Antonius Maximus, alias Apion, im gleichen Brief (Z. 6-8): Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι, ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν ἔσωσε εὐθέως.²⁰ In einem späteren, vermutlich ebenfalls in Italien verfaßten Brief berichtet derselbe Antonius Maximus seiner Schwester Sabine in Ägypten, daß er ihrer "bei den hiesigen Göttern", also wohl bei den Göttern der Garnison, gedacht habe.²¹ Wir sehen, wie der fromme Soldat sich an die ihm nahen, vor Augen stehenden Gottheiten seines Garnisonsortes gewandt und zu ihnen für seine ägyptischen Angehörigen gebetet hat.

Andererseits zeigt der in Ägypten gefundene Grabstein des im Alter von drei Jahren verstorbenen C. Iulius Valerius eine vollständige Einbettung in die Religion Ägyptens.²² Der Knabe trägt die charakteristische Horuslocke und opfert inmitten der tiergestaltigen Götter Ägyptens: des Horusfalken mit ägyptischer Doppelkrone, des Totengeleiters Anubis in Schakalgestalt und des Nemesis-Greifen. Der in der Grabinschrift ebenfalls genannte Vater des Knaben, C. Iulius Severus, war Angehöriger der legio II Traiana, deren Hauptquartier sich in Nikopolis bei Alexandria befand. Da der Grabstein offenkundig in das 3. Jh. n.Chr. gehört, ist es durchaus möglich, daß C. Iulius Severus ein Ägypter mit römischem Namen war.²³ Seine Zugehörigkeit zum römischen Heer hat jedoch keineswegs zu einer Abwendung von den Tierkulten des Landes und den Jenseitshoffnungen Ägyptens geführt.

Die epistula Claudiana (P. Lond. 1912) als archäologische Quelle

Papyri illustrieren jedoch nicht nur erhaltene Objekte, sondern sind oft auch die einzigen Zeugnisse für verlorene Denkmäler. Ein sehr bekannter Text, der P. Lond. 1912 mit der *epistula Claudiana* aus dem Jahre 41 n.Chr., ist geradezu eine Fundgrube für Archäologen, und zwar speziell der Teil dieses Papyrus, der von den Ehren des Kaisers Claudius handelt. Ich zitiere den Wortlaut und die Übersetzung nach CPJ II 153, Z. 29-51:²⁴

498, Nr. 12. Das Problem ist zu verwickelt, um nebenbei geklärt werden zu können. Ich hoffe, darauf in anderem Zusammenhang zurückkommen zu können.

¹⁹ Eine Edition der alexandrinischen Soldatengrabstelen (aus der Nekropole des Legionslagers Nikopolis bei Alexandria) wird derzeit von H. Devijver / Löwen und G. Grimm / Trier vorbereitet.

²⁰ "Ich danke dem Herrn Sarapis, daß er, als ich in Seenot war, mich sofort errettet hat." (Übersetzung A. Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten*, S. 148).

²¹ BGU II 632, Z. 5f.: Μνίαν σου ποιούμενος παρὰ τοῖς [ἐν]θάδε θεοῖς. Auch dieser Brief ist abgedruckt, übersetzt und kommentiert von A. Deißmann, *Licht vom Osten*, S. 150-153.

²² Text, Abbildung und Kommentar bei K. Herbert, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn N.Y. 1972, S. 45-47, Nr. 22 mit Taf. XIV.

²³ C. Iulius Severus kann infolge lokaler Rekrutierung in das römische Heer Ägyptens gelangt sein oder seinen Bürgerstatus aufgrund der Constitutio Antoniniana (212 n.Chr.) erlangt haben. Es ist deshalb mehr als bedenklich, wenn K. Herbert, a.O., S. 46, aus der Darstellung auf dem Grabstein schließt: "the scene offers an excellent example of the prevailing Roman interest in Egyptian cults". Die römischen Namen von Vater und Sohn sind keineswegs ein Beweis für eine nicht-ägyptische Herkunft der Familie.

²⁴ Für kommentierte Ausgaben verweise ich besonders auf die *editio princeps* von H.J. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy, Illustrated by Texts from Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1924, Nr. 1912 (S. 1-37 = P. Lond. VI 1912). Siehe auch St. Lösch, *Epistula Claudiana. Der neuentdeckte Brief des Kaisers Claudius vom Jahre 41 n.Chr. und das Urchristentum. Eine exegetisch-historische Untersuchung*, Rottenburg a.N. (Württ.) 1930; weitere

... καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Σεβαστὴν

- 30 ὑμῖν ἄγειν ἐπιτρέπω τὴν ἑμὴν γενεθλίαν ὃν τρόπον αὐτοὶ προ-
εἶρησθαι, τὰς τὲ ἑκα(τασ)σταχοῦ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις
ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γένους μου ποιήσασθε συνχωρῶι· ἐγὼ ὀρῶι γὰρ
(ὅτι) πάντη μνημεῖα τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας εἰς τὸν ἑμὸν οἶκον
ὑδρῶσασθαι (ἐ)σπουδάσεται. τῶν δὲ δυοῖν χρυσῶν ἀνδριάντων
35 ὁ μὲν Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς γενόμενος, ὡς περ ὑπέθετο
καὶ προσελειπάρη[σ]εν ὁ ἐμοὶ τιμ[ι]ώτατος Βάρβιλλος ἀρνούμενου
μου διὰ τὸ φορτικότε[ρο]ς δ[οκ]εῖ[ν], ἐπεὶ Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται,
ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἀξιούτε πομπεύσει ταῖς ἐπονύμαις
ἡμέραις παρ' ὑμῖν· συνπομπενέτωι δὲ [καὶ αὐ] αὐτῶι καὶ δίφρος
40 ᾧ βούλεσθαι κόσμωι ἡσκημένος. εὐῆθες δ' ἴσ(σ)ως τοσαύτας
προσ[ι]έμενον τειμὰς ἀρνήσασθαι φυλὴν Κλαυδιανὰν καταδίξαι
ἄλση τε κατὰ νόμον παρεῖναι τῆς Αἰγύπ(τ)ου· διόπερ καὶ ταυτὰ [ἡμῖν]
θ' ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ Οὐειτρασίου Πωλείωνος
τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τοὺς ἐπίππους ἀνδριάντας ἀναστήσατε. τῶν δὲ
45 τετραπῶλων ἀναστάσε[ι]ς (ἄς περὶ τὰς εἰς)βολὰς τῆς χώρας ἀφιδρῶσέ μοι
βούλεσθαι
συνχωρῶι, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ταπόσιριν καλουμένην τῆς Λιβύης,
τὸ δὲ περὶ Φάρον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, τρίτον δὲ περὶ Πηλούσιον
τῆς Αἰγύπ(τ)ου στῆσαι. ἀρχ(ι)ιερέα δ' ἑμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς
παρετοῦμε, οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις
50 βουλόμενος εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐξέρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίν[ω]ν.

32. 1. ποιήσασθαι. 33.1. ἡμετέρας 34. 1. ὑδρῶσασθαι ἐσπουδάσατε 40. 1. βούλεσθε, *passim*. 45. 1. ἀφιδρῶσαι 49. 1. παραιτοῦμαι; kleinere orthographische Eigenheiten hier nicht korrigiert.

"Firstly then, I allow you to keep my birthday as a sacred day as you have requested, and I permit you to erect in their several places the statues of me and my family; for I see that you are anxious to establish on all sides memorials of your reverence to my family. Of the two golden statues, the one of Pax Augusta Claudiana, which I was inclined to refuse, since it seemed rather excessive, shall be set up at Rome, as my most honoured Barbillus suggested and entreated, and the other shall be carried in processions on name-days in your city in the manner you think best, and a throne shall be carried with it, according to your request. It

Edition als CPJ II 153 bei V.A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, II, Cambridge/Mass. 1960, Nr. 153 (S. 36-55), mit reichen Literaturangaben; leicht zugängliche Ausgabe (Text, Übersetzung, aber ohne Kommentar) in der Loeb Classical Library: A.S. Hunt, C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* II, Nr. 212. Der Papyrus gehört zum 'Archiv' des Steuereintnehmers Nemesion in Philadelphia (Arsinoites); vgl. zu diesem Archiv A.E. Hanson, 'Village Officials at Philadelphia: a Model of Romanization in the Julio-Claudian Period', in: L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (Hrsgg.), *Egitto e storia antica. Dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto*, Bologna 1989, S. 429-440, hier besonders S. 431 Anm. 8.

would perhaps be absurd for me to allow such great honours and to refuse the creation of a Claudian tribe and the dedication of groves after the Egyptian custom, and I therefore allow these too. If you wish, you may also erect the equestrian statues of Vitrasius Pollio my procurator. I allow you also to set up the four-horse chariots which you wish to set up at the entrances to your country, at the place called Taposiris in Libya, at Pharos of Alexandria, and a third at Pelousion in Egypt. But the establishment of a high-priest and temples of myself I decline, not wishing to be offensive to my contemporaries and in the belief that temples and the like have been set apart in all ages for the gods alone."

Ich habe nicht die Absicht, diese Passagen detailliert zu kommentieren; das würde den Rahmen eines Kongreßreferats sprengen. Mir kommt es hier lediglich darauf an, die Aufmerksamkeit der Archäologen erneut auf diesen hochinstruktiven Text zu lenken. Einzelne Punkte sind bereits in den in Anm. 24 zitierten Kommentaren erörtert worden, doch eine zusammenhängende archäologisch-historische Interpretation der hier genannten Ehrungen des Claudius (und des Vitrasius Pollio) steht auch heute noch, nahezu siebzig Jahre nach Erscheinen des Textes, aus. Ich hebe im folgenden nur einige wichtige Informationen hervor, zunächst die Aufstellung von Statuen des Claudius und der *gens Claudiana*. Zu den Vorfahren des Kaisers gehörte Marcus Antonius, dessen Statuen in Ägypten einst auf Befehl des Octavianus zerstört worden waren;²⁵ zu seinen Verwandten zählte auch der gerade erst der *damnatio memoriae* verfallene Caligula. Wie mögen also solche gewiß sehr selektive Statuengruppen der *gens Claudiana* ausgesehen haben? Und worin unterschieden sie sich von solchen, die der kürzlich ermordete Caligula doch wohl auch schon hatte errichten lassen? Warum also werden die Statuen der *gens Claudiana* in unserem Text (Z. 32) ausdrücklich erwähnt, während es auf den ersten Blick vielleicht doch genügt hätte, die Statuen des verfeindeten Caligula durch solche des Claudius zu ersetzen? Offenkundig werden hier Unterschiede in der dynastischen Propaganda des Caligula und des Claudius faßbar, wie sie auch auf der Grundlage der Münzprägung herausgearbeitet worden sind.²⁶ In dieser ersten Phase der Regierung des Claudius dürften in solchen Statuenensembles neben dem Kaiser selbst seine Gattin Messalina, seine Kinder Octavia und Britannicus sowie seine am 1.5.37 verstorbene Mutter Antonia Augusta (Minor) eine hervorgehobene Stellung eingenommen haben.

Z. Kiss, *Etudes sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte*, Warschau 1984, S. 45, scheint sich zu wundern, daß von Caligula "aucun portrait sculpté provenant d'Egypte" bekannt ist. Aber angesichts der über diesen Kaiser verhängten *damnatio memoriae* ist das keineswegs verwunderlich, sondern genau das, was man erwartet. Anders verhält es sich im Falle des Claudius, von dem ebenfalls kaum Porträts aus Ägypten bekannt sind,²⁷ während allein schon unser Papyrus auf eine größere Zahl von Claudius-Statuen hinweist (Z. 32-34). Die nächste Information betrifft zwei goldene Statuen, deren eine, die Κλαυδιανή Ειρήνη Σεβαστή, offenkundig in Rom aufgestellt werden soll,²⁸ während die andere, zusammen mit einem

²⁵ Plut., Ant. 86, 9: αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου καθιρέθησαν εἰκόνες, αἱ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν. Vgl. dazu den Kommentar von C.P.R. Pelling, Plutarch. Life of Antony, Cambridge 1988, S. 323.

²⁶ W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius. Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen*, (Antike Münzen und Geschnittene Steine, VIII), Berlin 1978, zu Alexandria: S. 156-160. Zu der dynastischen *pietas* des Claudius: Suet., Claud. 11; Cass. Dio LX 5, 1-2.

²⁷ Kiss, a.O., S. 45f. Neue, zum Teil freilich hypothetische, Vorschläge: A.-K. Massner, 'Ägyptisierende Bildnisse des Kaisers Claudius', *Antike Kunst* 29, 1986, S. 63-67, Taf. 10f.

²⁸ Siehe dazu M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pax Augusta Claudiana', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 12, 1926, S. 24-29, zum Teil dagegen die Herausgeber des CPJ II, S. 45f. Auch die Deutung von ἐπεὶ (l. ἐπὶ) Ῥώμης in Z. 37 ist umstritten: "in Rom" oder "der Göttin Roma gewidmet"; für letztere Alternative entscheidet sich u.a. Th. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft, dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (Das römische Herrscherbildnis, III 5), Berlin 1985, S. 75.

δίφορος, für alexandrinische Festumzüge an den kaiserlichen Feiertagen vorgesehen ist. Interessant ist dann weiterhin unter archäologischen Gesichtspunkten die Einrichtung von heiligen Hainen "nach ägyptischer Sitte".²⁹ Wie immer man sich zwischen κατὰ νόμον und κατὰ νομόν entscheiden will, so ist der Passus jedenfalls ein willkommener Beleg für die Einrichtung von heiligen Hainen in Verbindung mit dem Kaiserkult.³⁰

Es ist in unserem Textauszug aus der *epistula Claudiana* in Z. 43-48 dann weiter die Rede von Reiterstatuen für den *praefectus Aegypti* Vitrasius Pollio und von Quadrigen, die offenkundig an den (εἰς)βολαὶ τῆς χώρας, also an den "Eingängen des Landes", errichtet werden sollen: in Taposiris im Westen, beim alexandrinischen Pharos sowie in Pelusion am östlichen Zugang Ägyptens. Das ist nun eine höchst bemerkenswerte Nachricht, gibt sie doch zu verstehen, daß die "Eingänge" nach Ägypten in irgendeiner Weise (als Tore?) monumental gestaltet waren und mit dem Kaiserzeremoniell in Verbindung standen.³¹ Schließlich erfahren wir in Z. 48-51 noch, daß Claudius Kaiserkulttempel für seine Person ablehnt.³² Zu vielen dieser Punkte hat sich die Forschung im einzelnen geäußert, doch fehlt es nach wie vor an einem Gesamtkommentar, der sowohl den Archäologen als auch den Papyrologen den vollen Ertrag der Z. 29-51 der *epistula Claudiana* vor Augen stellte. Daß dabei nicht nur Material aus Ägypten, sondern auch aus anderen Provinzen des Römerreiches zum Vergleich heranzuziehen wäre, liegt auf der Hand .

...

Doch auch für eine mehr ägyptologisch ausgerichtete Archäologie, besonders im Hinblick auf ägyptische Kulte und Tempel, bieten die Papyri ein unübersehbar reiches Material. So nennen z.B. die zahlreich erhaltenen sog. Tempelinventare Gegenstände, die in den Museen und Sammlungen meist ohne entsprechenden Kontext ausgestellt sind. Die Papyri zeigen, wie wir uns derartige Objekte im Rahmen der Tempelausstattung vorzustellen haben. Auf die Details kann ich hier wiederum nicht eingehen. Die Edition eines besonders lehrreichen 'Tempelinventars' (γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων καὶ προσόδων) verdanken wir A. Bülow-Jacobsen.³³ Auch diese in größerer Zahl erhaltenen Verzeichnisse sind noch nie zusammenhängend untersucht und ausgewertet worden, weder von papyrologischer Seite, noch aus der Perspektive der Archäologie und Ägyptologie. Wie umsichtig man allerdings in methodischer Hinsicht verfahren muß, wenn man archäologische Funde einerseits und die Verzeichnisse in den Papyri andererseits gegenüberstellt, hat F. Burkhalter in ihrem Aufsatz 'Le mobilier des sanctuaires d'Égypte et les "Listes des prêtres et du cheirismos"', *ZPE* 59, 1985, S. 123-134, dargelegt.³⁴

²⁹ H.J. Bell hatte in seiner Edition (P. Lond. 1912, wie oben Anm. 24) κατὰ νομόν akzentuiert und übersetzte folglich "sacred precincts for each nome of Egypt" (ebda., S. 27). Dagegen und gegen ähnlich lautende Vorschläge die Editoren von CPJ II, S. 46, zu Z. 42; sie übersetzten folglich: κατὰ νόμον ... τῆς Αἰγύπτου = "after the Egyptian custom".

³⁰ Weitere Belege und Erwägungen bei Bell, P. Lond. VI (wie oben Anm. 24), S. 33, zu Z. 42.

³¹ Zur Darstellung des Kaisers in der Quadriga vgl. Th. Pekáry (wie Anm. 28), S. 88f.

³² Zu dem in Z. 60f. erwähnten ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ vgl. außer den schon genannten Kommentaren zur *epistula Claudiana* noch H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers*, Rom 1985, S. 203-219, sowie G. Alföldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom. Ein historisches Monument der Antike* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Klasse, Jahrgang 1990, Bericht 2), Heidelberg 1990, S. 44f.

³³ P. Oxy. XLIX 3473 (zwischen 161 und 169 n.Chr.), mit einer Liste ähnlicher Dokumente auf S. 141f.; siehe auch E. Battaglia, 'Dichiarazioni templari. A proposito di P. Oxy. XLIX 3473', *Aegyptus* 64, 1984, S. 79-99.

³⁴ Zur Konfrontation mit den Angaben der Papyri bezieht sich Burkhalter, a.O., S. 123f., vor allem auf den Schatzfund von Tuch el-Qaramus. Zu letzterem vgl. nunmehr M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin 1987, S. 142-159. Zu einem 1989 in Duš (antikes Kysis), in der Oase Charga, ägyptische Westwüste, entdeckten Tempelschatz vgl. vorläufig M. Reddé, 'Le trésor de Douch', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1989, S. 427-445.

Natürlich ließen sich mit Leichtigkeit weitere Texte und Textgruppen bezeichnen, die für eine gemeinsame Untersuchung durch Papyrologen und Archäologen in Frage kämen. Ich nenne beispielshalber nur die vielen Texte, die mit Malerei,³⁵ Hausbau, Reparaturen³⁶ und dergleichen zu tun haben. Insgesamt wäre eine neue Sammlung und Auswertung des Materials wünschenswert, wie dies seinerzeit von Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Borna-Leipzig 1913, geleistet worden ist.

Flötenspiel zur Begleitung von Kelterarbeiten

Um es nicht bei der Aufzählung von Desideraten bewenden zu lassen, soll zum Schluß doch wenigstens ein Beispiel ausführlicher vorgestellt werden, das sich sowohl anhand eines Textes als auch mit archäologischen Darstellungen illustrieren läßt. Den Ausgangspunkt bildet ein Wiener Papyrus, den ich hier nach der Edition und Übersetzung von Klaas A. Worp (CPR XVII 19)³⁷ vorlege:

Vertrag mit einem Musikanten, Hermopolis Magna, 20.12.321

- 1 [Ἵπατεία]ς [τ]ῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 [Λι]κιν[ίου Σεβαστο]ῦ τὸ ζ΄ καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ
 ἐπιφ[ανεστάτου] Καίσαρος τὸ β΄.
 Αὐρ[ηλίω Ἀδε]λφίω γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλευτῇ
- 5 Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως
 Αὐρήλιος Ψ[.... υ]ις Κολλούθου μητρὸς Μελίτι-
 νης αὐλητῆς ἀπὸ Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως χαίρειν.
 Ὁμολο[γῶ] [σ]υντεῖσθαι καὶ συνπεῖσθαι
 πρὸς σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον ὥστε με ἀπαντήσιν
- 10 πρ[ὸς] κῶμην..... ριν καὶ τρύγας τῶν ὄντων
 [ἐκεῖ ἀμπελ]ικῶν χωρίων μ[ε]τὰ τῶν
 συν[τ]ετα[γμ]ένων ληνοβατῶν καὶ ἀμέμπτως
 ὑπ[η]ρετή[σασθαι] τοῖς ληνοβάταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἐν τῇ ἀβλήσει καὶ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ληνο-
- 15 βατῶν μέχρι λήξεως αὐτῆς τῆς τρύγης
 τῆς προσαγωγῆς {τρύγης} εὐτυχοῦς δεκάτης

³⁵ Liste der in den Papyri belegten Maler (ζωγράφοι) bei B. Palmer, H. Tegel, 'Drei byzantinische Papyri', in: M. Capasso et alii (Hrsgg.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell' edizione della Charta Borgiana* (Papyrologica Florentina, XIX, 2), Florenz 1990, S. 451-462, hier S. 457-459 (Appendix 2). Siehe von archäologischer Seite M. Novicka, 'La peinture dans les papyrus grecs', *Archeologia* 30, 1979, S. 21-28.

³⁶ Vgl. z. B. P.Köln I 52f.: Arbeiten an einer Decke des Gymnasiums von Antinoopolis, 263 n.Chr. (Vergoldungsarbeiten, Deckenhölzer); weitere Lit. zu Bauarbeiten in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25, Nr. 46, sowie vor allem bei H.J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians (Vorarbeiten zu einer Wirtschaftsgeschichte des römischen Ägypten, I)*, St. Katharinen 1991, S. 109-126 (Baukosten), S. 351-401 (Preise für gewerbliche Produkte).

³⁷ K.A. Worp, *Die Archive des Aurelios Adelphios und des Aurelios Asklepiades. Griechische Papyri aus Hermopolis aus dem frühen 4. Jh. n.Chr.* (Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Bd. XVII A), Wien 1991. Der Text von CPR XVII 19 ist bereits seit langem bekannt und wiederholt abgedruckt worden, u.a. als SB I 5810; Hinweis auf weitere Ausgaben bei Worp, a.O., S. 51.

- ἰνδικτί[ωνος] ἐπὶ δὲ τ[ῆ] ἀϋλήσει καὶ τῆ τέρψει
 λήμψομ[αι] τὰ ἐστᾶμένα παρὰ τῶν ὑπευ-
 θύνων. [Τὸ σύ]μφονον κύριον ὃ καὶ
 20 μοναχῶς ἐξεδόμην καὶ ἐπερωτ(ηθεὶς) ὡμολόγ(ησα).
 Ὑ[π]α[τ]εῖα[ς] τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Χοιὰκ κδ̄.
 (2. H.) Αὐ[ρ](ήλιος) Ψ [] υ [ις] ἀποπληρώσω
 τὰ γεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκειται.
 Αὐ[ρ](ήλιος) [Πι]νουτίων βοηθ(ὸς) Ἀνικήτου
 25 ἔγ[ρ](αφα) ὑπὲρ (αὐτοῦ) γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότος).

Verso

- 26]συμφ[ων]λη. []
 27]... []

8. 1. συντεθεῖσθαι, συμπεπεῖσθαι 9. 1. ἀπαντήσῃν 13. ὑπηρετησασθαι Pap. 17. ἰνδικτιωνος Pap.
 18. ὑπευ Pap., ex corr. (antea ὑγεν?)

"Im Konsulat unserer Herren Licinius Augustus zum 6. Mal und Licinius, des durchlauchteten Caesars, zum 2. Mal. An Aurelios Adelphios, Gymnasiarchen und Ratsherrn von Hermupolis, sendet Aurelios Ps...y.is, Sohn des Kolluthos und der Mutter Melitine, Flötenspieler aus Hermupolis, seinen Gruß. Ich erkläre, daß ich mit Dir, dem Großgrundbesitzer, übereingekommen bin und einen festen Vertrag geschlossen habe, daß ich zum Dorf -ris kommen werde und zwar zu den Erntearbeiten der dortigen Weinlandparzellen mit den dafür vorgesehenen Kelterern und daß ich tadellos den Kelterern und den anderen zu Diensten sein werde mit Flötenspiel und die Kelterer nicht im Stich lassen werde bis zum Ende der kommenden glücklichen zehnten Indiktion, und bei dem Flötenspiel und der Unterhaltung werde ich von den Verantwortlichen die verabredeten Sachen empfangen. Die Übereinkunft, die ich in nur einer Ausfertigung abgegeben habe, ist bestimmend und auf Befragen habe ich zugestimmt. Im obenerwähnten Konsulat, am 24. Choiak. Ich, Aurelios Ps...y.is, werde das Geschriebene vollständig tun, wie beschrieben. Ich, Aurelios Pinution, Gehilfe des Aniketos, habe für ihn geschrieben, weil er nicht schreiben kann."

Dieser Text ist in mehr als einer Hinsicht aufschlußreich.³⁸ Ich will mich jedoch auf die Aspekte beschränken, die unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Archäologie von Interesse sind. Weinlese und Kelterszenen sind in der antiken Kunst häufig dargestellt worden, so z.B. auf den Sarkophagen mit dionysischen Themen oder den Mosaiken mit Monatsbildern und landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiten.³⁹ Sehr viel seltener jedoch ist die Begleitung des

³⁸ Zum Weinbau im römischen Ägypten ist nunmehr maßgeblich D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge 1991, besonders S. 244-260: *Viticulture and oleiculture*, und *passim*. Neben vielen Spezialarbeiten behält das grundlegende Werk von R. Billiard, *La vigne dans l'antiquité*, Lyon 1913, auch heute noch seinen Wert.

³⁹ Vgl. P. Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage. Entwicklung und Ikonographie des Motivs der Vier Jahreszeiten auf kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen und Sarkophagdeckeln* (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, V 4), Berlin 1984 (zahlreiche Beispiele); siehe auch G. Koch, H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Handbuch der

Keltervorganges durch Flötenspiel belegt. Eines der wenigen Beispiele findet sich in dem großen Kalendermosaik der Villa von Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Rhône). Der Monat Oktober wird hier durch zwei Männer in der Kelter illustriert, ein dritter begleitet diese auf der Doppelflöte.⁴⁰ Das Mosaik von Saint-Romain-en-Gal wird in das 2./3. Jh. n.Chr. datiert und gehört zu einem großen ländlichen Anwesen; die Parallele zum γεοῦχος ("Großgrundbesitzer") unseres Papyrus liegt nahe. In beiden Fällen, in Saint-Romain wie in Hermopolis, geht es offenkundig um Weinernten größeren Ausmaßes. Zur Unterstützung der Kelterarbeiten wurden eigens Flötenspieler eingesetzt, sicherlich nicht so sehr zum Vergnügen der Kelterer, sondern vielmehr, um durch rhythmische Begleitung das Stampfen der Kelterer in Gang und im Takt zu halten.

Der Ablauf der Arbeitsgänge von der Weinlese über die Kelter bis hin zum Abfüllen des ausgetretenen Weines läßt sich sehr schön an einem weiteren Dokument aus Ägypten veranschaulichen, und zwar an der Darstellung auf der Westwand des Pronaon des bekannten Grabtempels des Petosiris in Tuna el-Gebel, der Nekropole von Hermopolis Magna (Abb.1).⁴¹ Petosiris war Priester, Würdenträger und, wie die Darstellungen dokumentieren, Großgrundbesitzer in der beginnenden Ptolemäerzeit.⁴² Freilich zeigt die Darstellung der Kelterszene im Grabtempel des Petosiris keinen Flötenspieler, aber so ganz scheint der Künstler doch nicht auf die Evozierung einer dionysischen Note verzichtet zu haben: Den einzigen der vier Kelterer, der in Vorderansicht dargestellt ist, hat er mit breitem Gesicht, Glatze und vollem Bart ganz zweifellos dem charakteristischen Erscheinungsbild eines Silens angenähert. Zwar stellt diese Szene wegen des fehlenden Flötenspielers keine vollständige Parallele zu dem oben zitierten Wiener Papyrus dar, doch ist es interessant genug, daß wir es sowohl bei Petosiris wie auch im Falle des im Papyrus genannten γεοῦχος mit hohen Würdenträgern⁴³ und Großgrundbesitzern von Hermopolis Magna zu tun haben, mögen auch die beiden Dokumente durch mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend voneinander getrennt sein.

Liest man den Wiener Papyrus etwas genauer, so wird man feststellen, daß der hier verpflichtete Musikant offenbar nicht nur die Arbeit der Kelterer unterstützen sollte (Z. 12ff.), sondern auch für "Unterhaltung" (τέρψις, Z. 17) zu sorgen hatte.⁴⁴ Damit kommt wohl jene dionysische Note ins Spiel, die in der Darstellung des Petosiris-Grabtempels nur angedeutet scheint (silenartiger Kelterer). Durch andere Zeugnisse jedoch wird der dionysische Aspekt der Weinlese deutlicher zum Ausdruck gebracht: Man erinnere sich nur der durch Flötenspiel begleiteten Reigen auf den dionysischen Sarkophagen. Nirgends aber ist der dionysische

Archäologie), München 1982, S. 209 ("Gewöhnlich ist die Lese mit dem Kelteren der Trauben verbunden."), Abb. 120, 233, 251f., 285.

⁴⁰ Vgl. H. Stern, 'Les calendriers romains illustrés', in: *ANRW* II 12, 2 (1981), S. 431-475, hier S. 445-449 (Saint-Romain-en-Gal); S. 447: "la cuve est placée sous un toit à balustrade, soutenu par quatre piliers. Deux hommes en *subligaculum* piétinent les fruits, un troisième, nu, à droite, rythme leurs mouvements au son d'une flûte." Vgl. ebda. Taf. XVI: Gesamtübersicht des 'calendrier rustique' von Saint-Romain-en-Gal; Taf. XIX, 51: Kelterszene mit Flötenspieler; Umzeichnung auch bei R. Billiard (wie Anm. 38), S. 441 Abb. 148.

⁴¹ Vgl. G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 Bde., Kairo 1923 und 1924, hier Bd. I, S. 60-63 zur Weinlese; Bd. III, Taf. XII (Weinlese mit Kelterszene). Die Darstellungen von Traubenernte und Kelter lassen sich auf den ägyptischen Grabbildern bis zum Alten Reich zurückverfolgen; siehe W. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge, 1), Bonn 1973, wobei auch Lieder und Klappern den Rhythmus der Kelterer unterstützen (S. 82). Siehe ebda., S. 91-94: Wortlaut, Übersetzung und Kommentar der Beischriften der Weinlese-Szenen im Grabtempel des Petosiris.

⁴² Neuerer Überblick von S. Nakaten, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, Wiesbaden 1982, Sp. 995-998, s.v. Petosiris.

⁴³ Der *geouchos* des Wiener Papyrus war Gymnasiarch und Ratsherr von Hermopolis (Z. 4f.).

⁴⁴ In Z. 13 ist davon die Rede, daß der Flötenspieler außer den Kelterern auch "den anderen" (τοῖς ἄλλοις) zu Diensten sein sollte. Das klingt nach musikalischer Unterhaltung bei der Arbeit und wohl auch danach. Die Belege für ἀλλήτης und ἀλλήτρις auf Papyri und Ostraka hat H. Harrauer, *Neue Papyri zum Steuerwesen im 3. Jh. v.Chr.* (CPR XIII), Wien 1987, S. 52-57, zusammengestellt.

begleiteten Reigen auf den dionysischen Sarkophagen. Nirgends aber ist der dionysische Zusammenhang von Weinlese und Weinfest so gelungen veranschaulicht worden wie auf einer Bauchamphore des Amasis-Malers im Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg (Abb. 2-3).⁴⁵ Das dem Amasis-Maler (3. Viertel des 6. Jh. v.Chr.) zugeschriebene Werk zeigt auf der einen, im chronologischen Ablauf des Geschehens vorausgehenden Seite (A) die Weinlese, freilich in Abbreviatur und in die Welt des Mythos versetzt. Drei Silene sind es, die den Wein lesen, keltern und abfüllen. Ein vierter Silen, dem Kelterer zugewandt, begleitet die Arbeit durch sein Spiel auf der Doppelflöte. Im Fries erscheint bereits der bacchische Komos, er wird im Fries der gegenüberliegenden zweiten Seite (B) wieder aufgenommen und fortgeführt. Im Bildfeld von Seite B tritt nun Dionysos selbst in Begleitung zweier tanzender Silene auf, während ein dritter Silen die Doppelflöte spielt und ein vierter dem Dionysos aus einem Schlauch Wein einschenkt.

Selbstverständlich sind mit der Kelterszene des Mosaiks von Saint-Romain-en-Gal und derjenigen auf der Bauchamphore des Amasis-Malers beileibe nicht alle Parallelen genannt, die ähnlich dem Wiener Papyrus Kelterer und Flötenspieler zusammenstellen. Aber da dieser Kongreß in Kopenhagen stattfindet, möchte ich nicht schließen, ohne ein ganz einschlägiges Campanarelieff der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek anzuführen (Abb. 4).⁴⁶ Es handelt sich um einen Vertreter der bekannten kaiserzeitlichen Tonreliefs aus Italien. Dieses Relief sowie andere, hier nicht abgebildete Parallelstücke zeigen, obschon nach unterschiedlichen Vorlagen geformt, doch die gleiche Szene: Von rechts kommend schleppt ein Silen einen mit Weintrauben gefüllten Korb herbei. In der Mitte keltern zwei Satyrn den Wein. Sie haben sich bei den Händen gefaßt und tanzen in der Kelter: Die Arbeit ist zum Spiel geworden. Links davon begleitet ein weiterer Satyr, ebenfalls in beschwingter Bewegung, auf seiner Krummflöte die 'Arbeit' der Kelterer. Wie auf der Würzburger Bauchamphore wird hier der Vorgang in die dionysische Sphäre verlegt, doch deutlicher als der Amasis-Maler verleiht das Campanarelieff der mühseligen Arbeit in der Kelter einen spielerischen und verspielten Charakter. Das erinnert an die Malereien des Vettier-Hauses in Pompeii, wo leichte und schwere Arbeiten von Amoretten wie im Spiel verrichtet werden.⁴⁷

Korrekturnachtrag:

Nachträglich stelle ich fest, daß es für das Weinkeltern mit musikalischer Begleitung einen Textbeleg gibt, der indirekt ein besonders eindrucksvolles archäologisches Zeugnis bietet. Es handelt sich um einen Passus aus der Beschreibung des berühmten Festzuges des Ptolemaios II. durch Kallixenos von Rhodos. In dem durch Athenaios, *Deipnosophisten* V 28 (199 A) referierten Passus ist von einer riesigen Kelter die Rede, in der sechzig als Satyrn verkleidete Darsteller unter Aufsicht eines Silens die Trauben keltern und dabei zum Spiel der Flöte ein Kelterlied singen: *πρὸς αὐλὸν ἄδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον*. Vgl. dazu E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983, S. 68ff.

⁴⁵ E. Simon (Hrsg.), *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg*, Mainz 1975, S. 95 (L 265), Taf. 25; dies., M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen*, München 1976, S. 82f., Taf. 68; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World. Vase-Painting in Sixth Century B.C. Athens*, Malibu, New York, London 1985, Nr. 19.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Parallelstücke bei N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italian and Roman* (Danish National Museum), Kopenhagen 1941, S. 89f., Nr. 848-857, Taf. 109f.; H. von Rohden, unter Mitwirkung von H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* (Die antiken Terrakotten, IV 1 [Text] und 2 [Tafeln]), Berlin, Stuttgart 1911, S. 65-69 (Kelterung), hier besonders Abb. 130 und 138 (= unsere Abb. 4), sowie Taf. XV; R. Billiard (wie Anm. 38), Taf. XV, nach S. 434. Siehe zu der ganzen Gattung A.H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen*, Heidelberg 1968.

⁴⁷ Vgl. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, I, Oxford 1957², Taf. XIVf., mit Kommentar. Putti bei der Weinlese und beim Keltern, begleitet von je einer Doppel- und einer Pansflöte: R. Billiard (wie Anm. 38), Taf. XI, nach S. 298: "Urne en verre polychrome. Musée de Naples".

ONE STONE: TWO MESSAGES (CG 50044)

Csaba A. La' da

It was a trilingual stele which made possible the decipherment of hieroglyphs. Such stelae continue to form an important historical source. From the relatively large body of trilingual (Hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek) material at our disposal¹ one particular inscription on stone stands out. The trilingual inscription CG 50044² is not just the only published private stele with corresponding Hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek texts, but also the only known private trilingual stele of other than funerary type.³ It is, therefore, a very special piece in our collection of trilingual material and for this reason it deserves our attention. A more careful examination of this trilingual stele may enable us to draw some interesting conclusions on social and ethno-cultural awareness at the very beginning of Roman rule in Egypt.

This fragmentary limestone stele, found in the vicinity of the temple precinct of Dendera in 1913,⁴ contains four incomplete lines of Hieroglyphic text above, seven lines of Demotic in the middle and seven lines of Greek below. The upper part of the stele, which contained roughly the first half of the Hieroglyphic section, has broken off. The Demotic text has been preserved in its full length. The Greek inscription below is almost entirely complete; only the beginning of the final line is missing. Occasional splinters mark the surface of both the Demotic and the Greek texts rendering the reading of certain words difficult, but most of these short lacunae

¹ Cf. A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, London und Oxford mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris* II. *Eine Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Diss. (Würzburg 1985) 132, 220; F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien* (Cairo 1952) 253-74. For information on Hieroglyphic-Demotic-Greek trilingual inscriptions, I rely mainly on Farid's collection of material in the second part of his, as yet unpublished, doctoral dissertation.

² First published by N. Aimé - Giron, 'Une stèle trilingue du stratège Ptolémée fils de Panas', *ASAE* XXVI (1926) 148-57 and subsequently republished by W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler* III. *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*, CGC (Berlin 1932) 14-16 and pl. 11. The Demotic text was transcribed and translated by Farid, Diss. II 209-10. For the Greek text see further *SB* 7257; M. N. Tod, *JEA* XIII (1927) 249 n. 1, *SEG* VIII 653. and A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert* (Paris 1984) 113-116, no. 24. For the most important secondary literature on this stele cf. e.g. H. De Meulenaere, 'Les stratèges indigènes du nome tentyrite à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et au début de l'occupation romaine', *RSO* XXXIV (1959) 9, 19, 24; F. Daumas, *Dendera et le temple d'Hathor. Notice Sommaire*. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire XXIX (Cairo 1969) 5, 15; L. Moeren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Brussels 1975) 126-29, no. 0138; J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Leuven 1975) 164-65; D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.', in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978* II. ed. E. Lipiński, OLA VI (Leuven 1979) 656, 680. See further the literature cited below.

³ According to Farid's bibliography there is only one more private Hieroglyphic-Demotic-Greek trilingual stele (Berlin no. 2133), of the funerary type, but this stele has not been fully published and the texts on it do not seem to correspond to each other (cf. Farid, Diss. II 131 and S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other Sources* [London 1837-55] II pl. 91). There is one more funerary stele (California no. 85) with Greek and Demotic texts on which certain faint Hieroglyphic signs are also visible. This stele has not been fully published either (cf. Farid, *ibid.* 132 and H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Stelae and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* [Leipzig 1927] no. 85, pl. 43). Finally, for the sake of completeness mention should be made of the funerary monument CG 27541, which also bears inscriptions in Hieroglyphic, Demotic and Greek, but these inscriptions do not entirely correspond to each other (cf. Farid, *ibid.* 220 and W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler* 30601-31166 I. *Die Demotischen Inschriften*, CGC [Leipzig 1904] 69-70). This monument is not a stele (contrary to Farid, *ibid.* 220) in the strict and conventional sense of the word but may rather be classified as an inscribed funerary monument (cf. Spiegelberg's cautious and somewhat loose term: "Grabstein").

⁴ Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* XXVI (1926) 148 and Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler* III 16.

may safely be filled from other sections of the inscription or the surviving parts of the damaged words. One of the most striking features of this limestone stele is the exceptional care with which the texts were cut into the surface, which is after all not surprising in view of the high social standing of its dedicator.

The three texts all record a donation of land to Isis Thermouthis by Ptolemaios son of Panas, holder of many high secular and priestly titles. Ptolemaios and his father, Panas son of Psenobastis, are well known from a large number of other inscriptions in Greek, Demotic and Hieroglyphic on stone and on dedicatory metal objects,⁵ which enable us to date this stele to the reign of Augustus (30 March 12 BC).⁶

As far as it is possible to tell from what survives of the Hieroglyphic text this corresponds almost literally to the relevant sections of the last four lines of the Demotic text. Starting with some of Ptolemaios' priestly titles it then describes the plot by enumerating its confines. The inscription breaks off towards the end of this circumscription of the land, close to the end of the ultimate line of the Hieroglyphic section. The similarity or, at certain points, the full identity between the surviving parts of the Hieroglyphic text and the corresponding sections of the Demotic makes it fairly certain that the subject of the Hieroglyphic inscription was the same as that of the Demotic and Greek versions. Further, it may be assumed that the missing parts of the Hieroglyphic inscription were similar to the Demotic text in both structure and formulation, and that they formed roughly the first half of the once full Hieroglyphic text.

The Demotic text begins with the dating formula of which the year has been chipped off. Nevertheless, this may easily be completed from the Greek text. It continues with the name of the deity, Isis Thermouthis, together with the description of the geographical position of her temple to which the donation is made. This is followed by the benefactor's name, patronymic and a long sequence of both secular and priestly titles. Finally, a circumscription of the plot of land, very similar to that in the Hieroglyphic, closes the Demotic section.

The Greek text starts with the introductory formula 'on behalf of', ὑπέρ, followed by the name and/or the titles of the actual ruler, which is customary in Greek private dedicatory inscriptions from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.⁷ Then the deity, Isis Thermouthis, is named and the location of her temple to which the land is dedicated. Next come the name, patronymic and two of the secular titles of the benefactor, followed by the neighbours of the land-grant in a way that differs from both the Hieroglyphic and the Demotic versions. Finally, the date, Pharmouthi 4 of year 18 of (Augustus) Caesar (30 March 12 BC), ends the Greek version.

Although there are clearly many similarities of structure between these texts - apart from the position of the dating and the presence of the opening formula in the Greek, the basic structural elements follow each other in the same order in Greek, Demotic⁸ and, as far as one can tell, in Hieroglyphic too - and although the subject of the inscriptions in all three languages is the same, nevertheless, it is striking how different is the way this same subject is recorded in the Hieroglyphic and Demotic versions on the one hand and in the Greek text on the other.⁹ The differences are in fact so great that, reading the Egyptian and the Greek sections in

⁵ The Demotic material for Ptolemaios and his father, Panas and the most important secondary literature are conveniently collected by Farid, *Diss.* II 206-12, 214. For the Greek material see É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* II (Paris 1969) 99-100, no. 146 and 105-08, no. 149. For the Hieroglyphic evidence cf. G. Daressy, 'Statues de basse époque du musée de Gizèh', *Rec. Trav.* XV (1893) 159-61; Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler* I 94 and L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1-1294* III. *CGC* (Berlin 1930) 34-35. See further *PP* VIII 293 and 322.

⁶ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Denkmäler* III 16, *PP* VIII 322 and Farid, *Diss.* II 206, 209.

⁷ Cf. e. g. CG 50027; J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions. CGC* (Oxford 1905) 23-31, 39-40 and A. Reinach - R. Weill, 'Parthénios fils de Paminis "prostatès" d'Isis à Koptos', *ASAE* XII (1912) 3-10. See further P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1972) 226-27, together with the relevant footnotes.

⁸ Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* XXVI (1926) 152.

⁹ Tod, *JEA* XIII (1927) 249.

isolation, one is left with very different impressions: the Greek text presents a good and impeccably Greek official, although of native descent, whereas the Egyptian versions show a pious and tradition-observing Egyptian with a successful career in the foreign administration. Some of the differences between the Greek and Egyptian texts are easy to explain. For the discrepancy between the basic structural frameworks of these texts for instance (the position of the date and the Greek introductory formula), the very different epigraphical traditions are responsible. On the other hand, the Hellenic description of the Egyptian goddess Hathor of the Egyptian texts as Aphrodite in the Greek and, in the Demotic and Hieroglyphic texts, the abundance of ornate divine titles and adjectives clearly arise from the different religious and cultural backgrounds of the Greeks and native Egyptians. These differing features should not surprise us.

However, it is much more difficult to account for the greatest discrepancy between these three texts, namely Ptolemaios' titulature. In the Hieroglyphic version only one priestly title has been preserved in its entirety, a further one is almost complete¹⁰ and two more priestly titles are more or less recognisable and may be completed on the basis of the Demotic text. The order of these titles in the Hieroglyphic seems to be identical to that in the Demotic. The Demotic inscription has preserved the most complete titulature for Ptolemaios of all three versions. First, three of his secular titles are given (two of which are the Demotic transliterations of Greek titles: *srytkws* [στρατηγός] and *snyns* [συγγενής]¹¹), followed by six priestly titles, which occupy the space of approximately two of the seven lines of the Demotic text. The Greek inscription, in contrast, gives only two secular titles for Ptolemaios: ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Τεντυρίτου.¹² These two Greek titles take up barely the space of a full line.

What is the explanation for this striking difference between Ptolemaios' titles in the Demotic and, as far as it is possible to see, also in the Hieroglyphic versions on the one hand, and in the Greek text on the other? Why does the same person bear, with the exception of 'strategos', entirely different titles in texts in different languages on the same stone? The solution to this problem lies, I suggest, in the nature of the titles that have been omitted from the Greek version. What is obvious at first glance is that whereas in the Demotic there are six priestly titles, in addition to three secular titles, in Greek there are only two secular titles and no priestly ones at all. This can only be explained on the assumption that whoever was responsible for drawing up the Greek section of the inscription made a conscious selection as to which titles should appear in the Greek text. The complete absence of Egyptian priestly titles from the Greek version suggests that these were not considered relevant for the Greek-reading public to whom this section was addressed. Furthermore, the public targeted by the Greek section seems likely to have been a secular and literate Greek-speaking group, presumably chiefly middle-

¹⁰ It is possible to argue, following Farid, *MDAIK* XLV (1989) 161 and *MDAIK* XLVII (1991) 110-11, that the Hieroglyphic title *p3 mr pr-hd n Hwt-Hr nbt Iwnt 3st t3 nrt c3t Hr [..]t[...]* expressed by the title *p3 mr p3 pr-ht n Hwt-Hr n Iwnt 3st t3 nrt c3t Hr-bht ntr c3 nb pt š3c dt* in Demotic corresponds to ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Τεντυρίτου in the Greek text, which would lead to the conclusion that, since the Greek title is clearly secular, the Hieroglyphic and Demotic titles also signify a secular function. There is, however, no such inscription which would prove beyond doubt this equation between the Hieroglyphic and Demotic titles on the one hand and the Greek one on the other. Since the Demotic and Hieroglyphic titles appear entirely in religious contexts I take them here as priestly titles. But even if Farid's argument is accepted it would not alter my conclusions, which are primarily based on the absence of priestly titles from the Greek text (see below).

¹¹ W. Clarysse, 'Greek Loan-Words in Demotic', in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies. Leiden, 19-21 September 1984*, ed. S. P. Vleeming (Leuven 1987) 28-30.

¹² Aimé-Giron, the first publisher of the stele misunderstood the second title, interpreting it as part of the geographical circumscription of the donated land which follows (cf. *ASAE* XXVI [1926] 152-53 and Tod, *JEA* XIII [1927] 249 n.1 for the correction). This mistake was subsequently corrected in Spiegelberg's reedition of the stele (*Denkmäler* III 14-16).

and upper-class Greeks and to a lesser extent hellenised Egyptians, the majority of whom did not, or at least were not expected to, take much interest in the Egyptian priestly career of Ptolemaios.

On the other hand the preponderance, in terms of both numbers of titles and space devoted to them, of priestly titles in the Demotic and probably in the Hieroglyphic texts suggests the opposite: those whom the Egyptian sections of the stele sought to address would be interested in the priestly appointments and rank of the dedicator, at least as much as in his secular administrative and honorific titles. On the other hand, from the fact that these secular titles of Ptolemaios (*srtykws*, *snyns*, *sn n Pr-c3*) were considered significant enough to be included in the Demotic version, it appears that such titles were of some importance to both the donor himself and the public targeted by the Demotic inscription. They may have lent social prestige and authority to their holder, even in the eyes of the Egyptian-reading public, which, to judge from the dominance of priestly titles in these versions, perhaps consisted of priests and other literate Egyptians in some way connected with the temples and/or whose outlook was dominated by the influence of Egyptian religion. This is not surprising in the light of what we know of the close link between native Egyptian education and Egyptian temples¹³ and the influential role of Egyptian religion in practically every aspect of the life of native Egyptians.

The complete absence therefore of priestly titles from the Greek text suggests that the interests and priorities of the Greek-reading public were very different from those of the readers of the Egyptian sections. For Greeks, Egyptian priestly titles bore little significance. The author(s) of these texts was clearly conscious of the different expectations of these different publics. Egyptian priestly titles and positions brought less social prestige in the eyes of the majority of literate Greek speakers than they did for literate Egyptians. On the other hand, secular administrative titles, which reflected the social position of the donor were considered equally important and relevant to both Greek- and Egyptian-reading publics.

The fact that the Greek version of the inscription was drawn up according to Greek traditions and expectations whereas the Demotic section contains a mixture of Egyptian and originally Greek titles (*srtykws*, *snyns*) may further suggest that Greek epigraphical traditions and social expectations were more conservative and less open to change than those of the Egyptians. This may be due to the strength of Greek traditions of presentation or perhaps, with more likelihood, to the relatively small number among the ruling elite of hellenised Egyptians such as Ptolemaios, who bridged two cultures and who, had they been sufficiently influential both numerically and socially, might have brought about a change in tradition. The "purity" of the Greek version as opposed to the mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements in Ptolemaios' titulature in the Demotic may also suggest that greater social prestige belonged to Greek titles and Greek form of presentation and consequently that these were less prone to change and to the adoption of foreign elements. This considerable difference between the Greek text and the Demotic version shows further that hellenised Egyptians like Ptolemaios, when rising to high administrative positions, tended not only to adopt the Greek language but also to some extent, at least in their official capacity as mirrored here, to conform to the expectations of a Greek-reading public.

Finally, it is noteworthy that in the Demotic version Ptolemaios bears the title *snyns*, the Demotic equivalent of the Ptolemaic honorific court title 'kinsman', συγγενής.¹⁴ Since it is

¹³ See e.g. most recently J.D. Ray, 'Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods', in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A.K. Bowman and G.D. Woolf (Cambridge forthcoming) and W.J. Tait, 'Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society', in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J.H. Johnson. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation LI (Chicago 1992) 306-8.

¹⁴ Cf. W. Otto - H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, N. F. XVII (München

unlikely that Ptolemaios started his administrative career under the last Ptolemies¹⁵ it must be assumed that the Demotic equivalent of this title had, with the disappearance of the Ptolemaic court and the attached court hierarchy and titulature, become a fossilized and meaningless title at the beginning of the Roman period. It is not surprising that this title does not appear in the Greek version, which is restricted to Ptolemaios' most important administrative and fiscal functions.¹⁶ The greater freedom of the Demotic version suggests either limited Roman understanding of Egyptian or, less likely, deliberate tolerance of the out-of-date title. Since the Greek text of the stele is more precise and contemporary in terms of titulature it was clearly this text which presented the official version aimed at the foreign authorities of the province.

To sum up, I hope I have shown that some of the discrepancies in contents between the Demotic and the surviving fragments of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the one hand and the Greek text on the other are due to differences between the social standing, values and consequently expectations of the publics for which the inscriptions in three different languages were intended. Those who recorded this dedication in its different versions were very much aware of differences in what mattered to these different groups and what did not, what they expected to read and what counted as important and prestigious in their eyes. All this suggests a remarkable degree of awareness of different traditions of presentation among Greeks and Egyptians. These same differences also reveal that, alongside increasing upward social mobility among native Egyptians in the first century BC,¹⁷ the Greek language and Greek values continued to dominate in the higher administration and among the ruling elite at the very beginning of the Roman rule.

1938) 3-4 and Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* III. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte XXXVI (München 1952) 89.

¹⁵ See n. 6 above.

¹⁶ This title was perhaps borne by Ptolemaios as an allusion to the real title of his father, who may well have started his official career and received this honorific court title under the last Ptolemaic ruler. Cf. *PP* VIII 293.

¹⁷ See for instance *PP* VIII 266, 266a, 296 (= 0132 in Mooren, *Titulature*), IX 5421 (= 0123), 5640 (= 0124), 5688 (= 0128), 5690 (= 0129), 5711 (= 0127), 5778a; cf. De Meulenaere, *RSO* XXXIV (1959) 1-25; J. Yoyotte, 'Bakthis: Religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou', in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg 16-18 mai 1967. Travaux du centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg* (Paris 1969) 127-41 with É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* XCVIII (Paris 1969) Nos. 5-7, 35 and R. S. Bagnall, 'Greeks and Egyptians: Ethnicity, Status, and Culture', in *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, ed. R. S. Bianchi (New York, The Brooklyn Museum 1988) 25; H.-J. Thissen, 'Zur Familie des Strategen Monkores', *ZPE* XXVII (1977) 181-91; A.F. Shore, 'Votive Objects from Dendera of the Graeco-Roman Period', in *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum. Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, ed. J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen (Warminster 1979) 138-60; L. Mooren, 'Ptolemaic Families', in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology. New York, 24-31 July 1980*, ed. R.S. Bagnall, G.M. Browne, A.E. Hanson and L. Koenen. *American Studies in Papyrology* XXIII (Chico 1981) 299-301.

L'HORIZON GÉOGRAPHIQUE DE LA JEUNESSE GRECQUE D'ÉGYPTE

(III^{ème} siècle av. n.è. – VI^{ème} siècle de n.è.)

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Pour Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski

Depuis la découverte des premiers papyrus scolaires, la question se pose du statut de la géographie dans les écoles grecques d'Égypte. L'éditeur du dernier document géographique publié à ce jour, G. Geraci, concluait ainsi son analyse en 1985 : "Non risulta che lo studio della geografia fosse coltivato in modo particolare nelle scuole greche d'Egitto, anche se la mancaza di dati in questo senso può essere condizionata dalla circostanza che esso avveniva, a quanto pare, oralmente e non per iscritto";¹ un point de vue qui rejoint celui émis par B. Boyaval, il y a une vingtaine d'années : "Comme le remarquent également Guéraud et Jouguet, nous ne savons presque rien sur l'enseignement de la géographie dans les écoles antiques et surtout si elle était enseignée pour elle-même, ou si les enfants n'en apprenaient la nomenclature qu'en vue de la lecture des auteurs".²

Nous voudrions ici revenir sur cette question et tenter d'apporter une réponse sur la place effective de l'enseignement de la géographie physique, humaine et urbaine dans le système scolaire de l'Égypte ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine.³ Cette étude se fonde sur treize documents scolaires sur papyrus, ostraca et tablettes de bois.⁴ Ces sources s'échelonnent du début du III^{ème} siècle av. n.è. jusqu'à une période comprise entre le début du V^{ème} siècle de n.è. et la fin du VI^{ème} siècle.

Après avoir présenté les sources relatives au savoir géographique, nous chercherons à cerner le contenu de l'enseignement de la géographie par l'étude des champs de ce savoir, puis les finalités de la transmission de ce type de connaissances, une transmission que pratiquait, dès le V^{ème} siècle av. n.è., le sophiste Hippias d'Élis.⁵

1. – LES SOURCES DU SAVOIR GÉOGRAPHIQUE

Le tableau des treize documents constituant la base de cette étude peut appeler cinq remarques :

a) il est constitué de sources papyrologiques au sens large, puisqu'il comporte sept papyrus, quatre ostraca et deux tablettes de bois ;

¹ G. Geraci, "P. Bon. ISA 1. *recto* : Lista di fiumi con equivalenze tachigrafiche". *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, pubblicati a cura di F. Bondi, S. Pernigotti, F. Serra e A. Vivian, Pise, 1985, p. 239. Ce papyrus a été présenté pour la première fois au XIV^{ème} Congrès International de Papyrologie : G. Geraci, "Nuovi documenti dell'Egitto tolemaico e romano a Bologna", *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrologists* (Oxford, 24-31 juillet 1974), Londres, 1975, p. 113-120.

² B. Boyaval, "Tablettes du Louvre en provenance d'Égypte". *RA* I (1971), p. 63-64 (= SB XV, 11146 et 11148), qui fait référence à la publication d'O. Guéraud et P. Jouguet, *Un cahier d'écolier du III^{ème} siècle avant J.C.*, Le Caire, 1938, p. 10.

³ Sur la géographie antique cf. C. Jacob, *Géographie et ethnographie dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1991 (Bibliographie, p. 173-180).

⁴ La liste la plus récente des documents scolaires a été établie par J. Début, "Les documents scolaires", *ZPE* 63 (1985), p. 251-278 (*Début*). Nous réservons pour une autre publication l'exploitation de l'important matériel tachygraphique rassemblé par H.J.M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals. Sillabary and Commentary*, Londres, 1934.

⁵ *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (H. Diels) 86 B, 2 (*F Gr Hist.* 6F1I 156, 34). Cf. H.I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité*, 6^{ème} éd., Paris, 1965, p. 98-99.

b) la ventilation par période fait apparaître la prédominance de l'époque romaine avec trois documents d'époque ptolémaïque, huit pour l'Égypte romaine (du I^{er} au IV^{ème} siècle de n.è.) et deux pour l'Égypte byzantine (V^{ème}/VI^{ème} siècle) ;

c) les documents sont, soit des "livres du maître", c'est à dire des textes que le *grammatistês* utilisait dans ses cours, soit des "exercices scolaires" écrits par les élèves,⁶ soit enfin des exercices tachygraphiques qui appartiennent à un type d'enseignement déjà spécialisé ;⁷

d) ils couvrent différents niveaux d'étude, de l'apprentissage des premiers rudiments au deuxième niveau d'étude consacré à l'acquisition d'une culture générale, et, au-delà, à la spécialisation que représente la formation tachygraphique ;

e) à l'exception de trois ostraca,⁸ il s'agit de liste de mots. Deux sont purement géographiques,⁹ les autres s'insèrent dans des nomenclatures où les noms géographiques sont mêlés à d'autres catégories de mots (noms propres ou communs).

DOCUMENT	PACK ²	DÉBUT	ORIGINE	DATE	CATÉGORIE
PAPYRUS					
1) <i>P. Caire inv.</i> 65445 = <i>P. Guéraud-Jouguet</i>	2642	95	Fayoum ?	217-210	Livre du maître
2) <i>P. Berl. inv.</i> 13044, Col. 9, 7-12 = <i>Laterculi Alexandrini</i>	–	–	Bousiris	IIA	Livre du maître
3) <i>PUG</i> II, 53	–	74	inconnue	milieu du IP	Exercice scolaire
4) <i>P. Bon. ISA 1 recto</i>	–	–	inconnue	IIIP	Exercice tachygr.
5) <i>P. Chester Beatty</i> = <i>SB XII</i> , 10769	scolaire –	76	inconnue	Fin III ou début IVP	Livre du maître
6) <i>P. Bour.</i> 1	2643	77 et 84	Thébaïde	IVP	Cahier d'écolier
7) <i>P. Harr.</i> 49	–		Oxyrhynchos	III ou IVP	Exercice scolaire
OSTRACA					
1) <i>O. Wilck.</i> II, 1148	–	–	Thèbes	IIP	Exercice scolaire
2) J.G. MILNE, <i>JHS</i> 28 (1908), p. 129 (n ^{os} XII et XIII) et 43 (1923), p.42-43	2725	93	Karnak	Après le IIP	Exercice scolaire
3) <i>O. Mich.</i> I, 661	2688	118	Karanis	IIIP	Exercice scolaire
4) <i>O. Mich.</i> I, 662	2689	119	Karanis	II ou IVP	Exercice scolaire
TABLETTES DE BOIS					
1) <i>Louvre inv. MND</i> 552g <i>recto</i> = <i>SB XV</i> , 11146	–	–	Antinoé	V ou VIP	Exercice tachygr.
2) <i>Louvre inv. MND</i> 552a <i>recto et verso</i> = <i>SB XV</i> , 11148	–	–	Antinoé	V ou VIP	Exercice tachygr.

2. – LES CHAMPS DU SAVOIR GÉOGRAPHIQUE

Notre enquête portera sur les noms de sources, de fleuves, de rivières, d'îles, de montagnes et de villes. Dans les cas fréquents d'homonymie, nous retiendrons la localisation la plus connue : nous admettrons ainsi que le Scamandre est le fleuve homérique de Troade, et non celui de Sicile ou de Béotie, et l'Axios, le grand fleuve de Macédoine, et non celui de

⁶ Notre ambition n'est pas de classer ces documents par degré ou de définir l'âge exact de l'élève. Une telle étude dépasserait le cadre de cette recherche. Cf. J.M. Gale, *Las escuelas del antiguo Egipto a través de los papiros griegos*, Madrid, 1961, et M.H. Ibrahim, *L'éducation gréco-romaine en Égypte du I^{er} au IV^{ème} siècle de notre ère d'après les papyrus* (en grec moderne), Athènes, 1972. Cf. aussi notre thèse : B. Legras, *Néotês. Recherches sur les jeunes Grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine*, Université de Paris I (dactyl.), 1990.

⁷ Sur la question, voir la bibliographie donnée par G. Geraci, "P. Bon. ISA 1, *recto*", *op. cit.*, p. 242 (13).

⁸ *O. Wilck.* II, 1148 ; *O. Mich.* I, 661 (un nom) ; *O. Mich.* II, 662 (deux noms).

⁹ *Laterculi Alexandrini* et *P. Bon. ISA 1, recto*.

Mésie Inférieure ou de Syrie. Pour les noms de peuples, nous ne les avons retenus que quand ils sont au pluriel, le singulier étant trop ambigu et désignant, selon notre avis qui rejoint celui de W. CLARYSSE et A. WOUTERS,¹⁰ des noms de personnes.

2.1. L'ÉGYPTE PTOLÉMAÏQUE

Les deux livres du maître d'époque ptolémaïque montrent d'emblée, et l'importance du savoir du *grammatistês*, et l'actualisation de l'enseignement aux nouvelles dimensions du monde grec.

La liste de seize fleuves et rivières du *P. Caire inv. 65445*, également appelé du nom de ses éditeurs *P. Jouguet-Guéraud*,¹¹ peut-être originaire du Fayoum et datable de 217-210 av. n.è.,¹² est en effet centrée sur une nomenclature retraçant l'itinéraire de la conquête d'Alexandre.¹³ Mais elle n'oublie ni la Grèce balkanique avec l'Isménos (l. 55) en Béotie¹⁴ et l'Érymanthe (l. 56), affluent de l'Alphée en Arcadie,¹⁵ ni sans doute l'Occident avec l'Éridanos (l. 65), qui est, soit le fleuve mythique proche des limites de l'Extrême-Occident,¹⁶ soit le moderne Pô cité dans les *Laterculi Alexandrini* du II^e siècle av. n.è.¹⁷ La Macédoine est représentée par l'Haliacmôn (l. 63) ;¹⁸ la Thessalie par le Pénée (l. 60) ;¹⁹ la Thrace par l'Hèbre (l. 62) et le Strymôn, mentionné curieusement deux fois (l. 57 et 56) ;²⁰ l'Asie mineure par le Sangarios (l. 58), le Mélès (l. 63)²¹, le Rhyndakos (l. 64), le Scamandre (l. 64), le Simois (l. 65)²² et le Praktios (l. 65) ; la Mésopotamie par le Tigre (l. 59) ;²³ les confins de l'Inde par l'Indus (l. 61) et l'Arachôtos (l. 62).

Les nomenclatures des quatre listes géographiques conservées en partie ou totalement sur un papyrus de Berlin originaire de Bousiris (*Laterculi Alexandrini*, *P. Berl. inv. 13044*, Col. 9, 7-Col. 12) confirment l'étendue de l'horizon géographique de la jeunesse scolaire grecque d'Égypte au II^e siècle av. n.è.²⁴

La liste des plus grandes îles (Col. 9, l. 7-20), que nous traduisons ici en respectant le désordre géographique et alphabétique, paraît inviter l'élève à penser la Méditerranée comme

¹⁰ "A Schoolboy's exercise in the Chester Beatty Library", *AncSoc* 1 (1970), p. 220, au sujet de Γερμανός (l. 47). En dehors de ce Germanos, nous excluons du champ de notre étude le Σιλεις du même papyrus, l. 43. Les Sileis sont un peuple de l'Inde habitant le long du fleuve Silas : cf. Mégasthène conservé par Arrien, *L'Inde* VI, 2-3.

¹¹ O. Guéraud et P. Jouguet, *op. cit.*

¹² J. Début, "De l'usage des listes de mots comme fondement de la pédagogie dans l'Antiquité", *REA* 85 (1983), p. 263.

¹³ Nous n'incluons pas dans cette liste le nom cité à la ligne 61 : les trois premières lettres Καλ[...] ne permettent pas de trancher entre le Kalykadnos en Cilicie, le Kalbis en Carie et le Kallas en Eubée.

¹⁴ Nous suivons la restitution proposée par les éditeurs : Ἴσμ[ενός].

¹⁵ Nous acceptons de même la restitution : Ἐρύμ[ανθος]. Il existe un fleuve homonyme en Arachosie.

¹⁶ Escher, "Eridanos 4", *PWRE* VI, 1 (1907), Col. 446-448.

¹⁷ On ne peut totalement rejeter l'idée que ce fleuve soit celui qui coule en Attique, et que Pausanias I, 19, 5 (cf. Strabon IX, 397) associe à l'Ilissos. Cf. A. Milchhoefer, "Eridanos 6", *PWRE* VI, 1 (1907), Col. 448.

¹⁸ Le maître (ou le scribe qui a travaillé pour lui) a écrit fautivement Ἀνάκμων.

¹⁹ Il existe un autre Pénée en Élide.

²⁰ La lecture de la ligne 57 est restituée : Στρυμ[ών].

²¹ Le Mélès le plus connu coule en Ionie près de Smyrne, mais on connaît un autre Mélès en Paphlagonie.

²² Sans doute celui de Troade, et non de Sicile, de Crète ou d'Épire.

²³ On lit Πίγρυς, un fleuve inconnu. Il doit s'agir d'une faute pour Τίγρης ou Τίγρις.

²⁴ H. Diels, *Laterculi Alexandrini auf einem Papyrus ptolemäischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1904. Une cinquième liste a été perdue, celle des lacs, dont seul subsiste le titre. Nous laissons de côté celle, canonique, des Sept Merveilles du Monde. Ces listes peuvent être rapprochées des traités perdus de Callimaque *Sur les Fleuves d'Europe* et *Sur les Fleuves de la Terre habitée* (*Souda* s. v. Καλλιμάχος), que le bibliothécaire d'Alexandrie avait dû établir à l'intention de lecteurs avides de savoir ou d'anciens collègues (Callimaque a commencé sa carrière comme maître d'école dans un faubourg d'Alexandrie).

un espace unique, un espace grec de la Méditerranée occidentale à la Méditerranée orientale avec son prolongement de Propontide :

"L'Eubée, la Crète, la Sicile, la Sardaigne, Chypre, Lesbos, la Corse, les Baléares près de l'Ibérie, les Cyclades,²⁵ Rhodes, Ténédos devant l'Embouchure de la Mer²⁶ près de l'Hellespont, Proconnèse dans l'Hellespont ..."27

La liste des plus hautes montagnes (Col. 10, l. 1-29 et Col. 11, l. 1-2) ne néglige aucun des grands espaces de terre situés autour de la Méditerranée. L'auteur de la liste commence par nommer les montagnes les plus éloignées de la Grèce égéenne (Col. 10, l. 1-8), pour s'attacher ensuite à cet espace central de l'hellénisme (Col. 10, l. 9-15). Une lacune empêche de suivre le déroulement de cette liste de la ligne 16 à la ligne 29. Elle s'achève par les noms du Liban, de l'Anti-Liban et du Mont Didymos, qui peut être celui de Phrygie ou celui près de Cyzique (Col. 10, l. 29 et Col. 11, l. 1-2).

Les montagnes des terres lointaines sont le Mont Imaos "celui de l'Inde",²⁸ le Caucase,²⁹ le Taurus "qui s'étend jusqu'à la source de l'Euphrate",³⁰ les Pyrénées "en Ibérie", les Alpes de Libye,³¹ les Monts Rhipées de Celtique.³²

Les montagnes de la Grèce balkanique sont, successivement, le Mont Olympe "en Macédoine", le Mont Athos, les Monts Ossa et Pélion (en Thessalie), le Rhodope "en Thrace", le Mont Cyllène "dans le Péloponnèse" et le Taygète "à Lacédémone".

La liste des fleuves les plus grands, malheureusement mutilée sur sept lignes (Col. 11, l. 22 à 28), ne nous a conservé que des noms extra-égéens. On regrettera, évidemment, une telle lacune qui empêche une analyse complète des choix faits par son auteur. L'élève "voyageait" ainsi de l'Occident – avec le Rhône – jusqu'à l'Inde – avec le Gange – pour revenir vers l'Anatolie avec l'Eurymédon "qui coule à Aspendos". Il découvrait ainsi successivement le Rhône "en Ibérie, près de Massalia", le Tibre "(qui coule) près de Rome", l'Éridanos "(qui coule) vers l'Adriatique",³³ l'Istros "(qui coule) à travers la Thrace", le Borysthène "(qui coule) à travers la Scythie", le Tanais "(qui vient) de chez les Hyperboréens", l'Hypanis "(qui coule) chez les Cimmériens", le Phasis "(qui coule) chez les Colches", le Thermodôn "(qui coule) dans le pays des Amazones",³⁴ l'Halys "(qui coule) chez les Cappadociens", l'Euphrate, le Tigre, le Pasitigris, l'Hydaspe, l'Araxe "(qui coule) à travers la Sarmatie",

²⁵ Si l'on admet la restitution proposée par H. Diels pour les lignes 12-13.

²⁶ C'est-à-dire le Bosphore.

²⁷ L'île de Proconnèse, aujourd'hui Marmara adasi, se situe en fait dans la Propontide (Mer de Marmara).

²⁸ Il s'agit de la partie la plus orientale de la chaîne de l'Himalaya (Cf. par ex. Arrien, *L'Inde* II, 3).

²⁹ Nous verrons *infra* qu'il peut s'agir soit du Caucase pontique (notre Caucase), soit du Caucase indien (l'actuel Hindou Kouch).

³⁰ On lit Τα[ῦ]ρ[ος] ὁ διατείνων μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολῆς. H. Diels, *op. cit.*, p. 11 (note) propose d'ajouter [τοῦ Εὐφράτου].

³¹ Le terme Ἀλπιανὰ ὄρη ἐν τῇ Λιγυστικῇ (= Λιβυστικῇ) n'est pas autrement connu. La lecture d'Ἀλπιανὰ ὄρη étant sûre (Cf. planche hors texte), il est nécessaire de corriger en Ἀλπεινὰ ὄρη (Cf. Polybe II, 14 et Strabon IV, 177). Ces "Alpes de Libye" sont vraisemblablement à identifier avec les "Monts d'Éthiopie" (τὰ Αἰθιοπικὰ ὄρη) que la *Géographie* de Ptolémée IV, 3 situe comme une chaîne parallèle au Nil sur sa rive gauche. Voir la carte de l'Afrique d'après Ptolémée par A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie* II. Leipzig, 1884, Planche hors texte et commentaire p. 803).

³² C'est-à-dire les Alpes européennes.

³³ C'est-à-dire le Pô.

³⁴ C'est ainsi que nous comprenons Θερμώδ[ω]ν ὁ διὰ τῆς Ἀ[μ]α[ρ]ιόνικῆς en restituant Ἀ[μ]α[ρ]ζόνικῆς. Le Thermodôn est un fleuve de Cappadoce.

l'Akésinês,³⁵ le Kôpês,³⁶ le Gange, le Bostrênos,³⁷ l'Astaboras "(qui coule) à travers l'Éthiopie",³⁸ et enfin l'Eurymédon "qui coule à travers la Pamphylie et qui arrose Aspendos".

La liste intégralement conservée des neuf "sources les plus belles" (Col. 12, l. 5-16) ramenait en revanche l'élève au cœur du monde grec, puisque sept d'entre elles se trouvent en Grèce propre.³⁹ Les deux exceptions sont la célèbre Aréthuse de Syracuse, qui est la première nommée, et celle de Kelainai en Phrygie "d'où a jailli Marsyas", qui est la dernière citée. Ces sources sont nommées dans l'ordre suivant : Héllê en Élide ; Hékatostylos à Mégare ; Castalie à Delphes ; Dirkê à Thèbes ; Lerna et Peirênê à Corinthe ; Klepsydra dans l'Ithôme de Messénie.

La troisième source d'époque ptolémaïque est un ostracon de Thèbes du II^e siècle, *O. Wilck.* II, 1148. Écrit de la main d'un écolier (ou d'une écolière), sans aucun doute sous la dictée du maître, ce court texte de neuf lignes concerne le lieu de naissance d'Homère, dont on sait qu'il faisait l'objet de débats.⁴⁰ Il doit être issu d'une anthologie comme le suggère le terme ἄλλο placé en tête du texte. Mais il ne tranche pas la question soulevée.

2.2. L'ÉGYPTE ROMAINE ET BYZANTINE

La période romaine et byzantine nous conserve un ensemble de dix documents, cinq papyrus, trois ostraca et deux tablettes de bois. Nous les étudierons par catégorie, chronologiquement.

Le papyrus le plus ancien d'époque romaine, *PUG* II, 53, d'origine inconnue et datable du milieu du I^{er} siècle, contient cinq noms géographiques : deux noms de ville, Axos (l. 3), une cité crétoise, et Pylos (l. 62), la ville de Nestor,⁴¹ et trois fleuves, l'Indus (l. 36), le Nil (l. 52)⁴² et l'Oxus (l. 93).

Le papyrus de Bologne, *P. Bon. ISA* 1, *recto*, publié par G. GERACI, d'origine inconnue et datable du III^e siècle, contient une liste de fleuves et rivières avec leur équivalent tachygraphique.⁴³ Des soixante noms constituant cette nomenclature des Πο]ταμοὶ μέγιστοι (l. 1), seuls trente-neuf peuvent encore être lus.⁴⁴ L'Érymanthe étant cité deux fois (l. 13 et 29)⁴⁵ et trois noms étant par ailleurs inconnus,⁴⁶ nous nous trouvons en présence de trente-cinq noms localisables, couvrant l'oekoumène hellénistique et au-delà. Sa logique interne ne correspond ni à un ordre alphabétique, ni à un ordre géographique, même si on peut observer deux regroupements ou associations régionales, avec les séquences de la Colonne II, aux lignes 7-9 : Achelôos, Pénée, Euênos en Grèce centrale et aux lignes 22-26 : Simoïs, Praktios, Granique, Andiros en Troade.⁴⁷

³⁵ Un affluent de l'Indus, le Chenab.

³⁶ Le moderne Kaboul.

³⁷ Un fleuve de Phénicie.

³⁸ Le moderne Atbara.

³⁹ Ce nombre neuf doit être une réminiscence de la Fontaine aux Neuf Sources, l'Énnéakrounos, d'Athènes.

⁴⁰ Cf. par ex. H.T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of Iliad*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 19 qui penche pour Smyrne.

⁴¹ L'hypothèse qu'il s'agisse des noms communs désignant respectivement "un lieu escarpé" et "une porte" est peu vraisemblable.

⁴² Le papyrus porte le mot ΝΥΛΟΣ. L. Migliardi Zingale, l'éditrice du papyrus le transcrit sans commentaire en νυλος et J. Bingen, "L'exercice scolaire PUG II, 53", *Chron. d'Ég.* 57 (1982), p. 108, voit en lui "une invention". Nous estimons au contraire qu'il s'agit d'un Νεῖλος mal orthographié du fait du iotacisme.

⁴³ "P. Bon. ISA 1, *recto* : Lista di fiumi con equivalenze tachigrafiche", *op. cit.*, p. 232 (et Tav. I).

⁴⁴ Nous incluons dans ce nombre les restitutions proposées par l'éditeur.

⁴⁵ Si l'on accepte la restitution de la ligne 13 : Ἐρύ]μανθος.

⁴⁶ Le Tithaëttidas (Col. II, l. 15), le Kaunos (Col. II, l. 28), et le Luzeia (ou Aluzeia) (Col. II, l. 15). Kaunos et Luzeia ne sont connus que comme villes.

⁴⁷ Cf. G. Geraci, *ibid.*, p. 235. Mais nous ne retenons pas la troisième série qu'il propose : Hypanis, Tigre, Balissos ("Mésopotamie et Inde"), voyant dans l'Ἰπτανις le fleuve de Sarmatie, plutôt que l'affluent de l'Indus.

La Grèce balkanique est représentée par l'Érymanthe (Col. I, l. 13 et 29), l'Eurôtas (Col. I, l. 25),⁴⁸ l'Achelôos (Col. II, l. 7) en Étolie et en Acarnanie,⁴⁹ le Pénée (Col. II, l. 8) en Thessalie,⁵⁰ l'Euênos (Col. II, l. 9) en Étolie,⁵¹ l'Illissos (Col. II, l. 11), l'Aimôn (Col. II, l. 16) en Béotie ; la Macédoine par l'Axios (Col. I, 27) ; la Thrace par l'Hèbre (Col. I, l. 6).⁵²

L'Asie mineure est présente avec une nomenclature de douze fleuves et rivières. Aux quatre noms susnommés de Troade, on peut ajouter le Scamandre (Col. II, l. 20),⁵³ le Marsyas (Col. II, l. 19) qui désigne deux affluents du Méandre, l'un situé en Carie, l'autre en Phrygie,⁵⁴ le Parthénios (Col. I, l. 30) en Paphlagonie,⁵⁵ le Sangarios (Col. II, l. 2), l'Arpasos (Col. II, l. 10), un affluent du Méandre en Carie,⁵⁶ le Mélès (Col. II, l. 17) en Ionie,⁵⁷ l'Eurymédon (Col. II, l. 18) en Pamphylie, le Rhyndakos (Col. II, l. 19) qui coule de Phrygie vers la Propontide et enfin le Kalykadnos (Col. II, l. 30) en Cilicie.

La Mésopotamie compte trois noms : l'Euphrate (Col. I, l. 5), le Tigre (Col. II, l. 4) et le Balissos (Col. II, l. 6), un affluent de l'Euphrate.⁵⁸

Le pourtour Nord et Est du Pont-Euxin est présent grâce au Nymphios (Col. I, l. 23) en Arménie, au Borysthène (Col. I, l. 24) et à l'Hypanis (Col. II, l. 3).

Les confins indiens comportent trois noms : le Gange (Col. I, l. 9), l'Arachôtos (Col. II, l. 14) et l'Indus (Col. II, l. 27).

L'Occident est représenté par le Danoubis (Col. I, l. 3), c'est-à-dire le cours supérieur du Danube (Istros) jusqu'aux Portes de Fer, le Tibre (Col. I, l. 11),⁵⁹ le Tétos (Col. II, l. 1) en Lugdunaise⁶⁰ et l'Éridanos (Col. II, l. 21)

La géographie du P. Chester Beatty scolaire⁶¹ = SB XII, 10769 (origine inconnue, fin du III^e siècle ou début du IV^e siècle) s'inscrit dans le cadre de l'espace de la Grèce archaïque et classique avec ses trois noms d'îles – Ithaque (l. 81), Zakynthos (l. 63) et Lipari (l. 103) –, le nom du fleuve Scamandre (l. 143), le nom d'une source proche de Thèbes en Béotie, Strophîê (l. 137), et le nom d'une cité de Thessalie, Phylakê (l. 170).

Le P. Bour. 1 (Thébaïde, IV^e siècle) présente une nomenclature centrée sur le bassin de l'Égée, à l'exception, remarquable, de la mention de Naucratis en Égypte (l. 93). Pour la Grèce d'Europe, nous trouvons le nom du Ladôn (l. 37) qui est homonyme pour deux fleuves, l'un situé en Arcadie, l'autre en Béotie,⁶² et celui de l'île de Zakynthos (l. 83). Pour la Grèce d'Asie, nous avons les fleuves Xanthe (l. 39) et Scamandre (l. 114), ainsi qu'un affluent du Granique en Troade, le Rhêsos (l. 52).⁶³

⁴⁸ Plutôt que le fleuve homonyme près de Tarente.

⁴⁹ Il existe trois homonymes : en Achaïe, en Thessalie et en Phrygie.

⁵⁰ Un homonyme en Élide.

⁵¹ Un homonyme en Mésie.

⁵² Si l'on accepte la restitution Ἐβ]ρος.

⁵³ Si l'on accepte la restitution Σκ[άμανδρος. S'il s'agit bien du fleuve de Troade, il n'est pas intégré dans la séquence des lignes 22 à 26.

⁵⁴ Il peut être aussi un affluent de l'Oronte en Syrie ou un affluent syrien de l'Euphrate.

⁵⁵ Plutôt que le fleuve de Samos.

⁵⁶ Plutôt que le fleuve d'Arménie.

⁵⁷ Plutôt que le fleuve de Paphlagonie.

⁵⁸ Le scribe a écrit fautivement Βάλισσας.

⁵⁹ Si la restitution Τέβ]ρις est acceptable.

⁶⁰ Le scribe a écrit Θῆτος.

⁶¹ W. Clarysse et A. Wouters, *art. cit.*, p. 210-217.

⁶² On ne peut cependant exclure que le mot Ladôn désigne le dragon qui garde le jardin des Hespérides. Les noms liés à l'expédition des Argonautes abondent dans nos listes de mots.

⁶³ Le mot Rhêsos peut aussi désigner le roi de Thrace, fils d'Eioneus.

Le dernier de nos papyrus, P. Harr. 49 (Oxyrhynchos, III^{ème} ou IV^{ème} siècle), ne connaît que la Grèce d'Europe tant pour les fêtes mentionnées qui sont celles de τῆς Ἑλλάδος que pour les deux villes citées : Mégare (l. 2) et Corinthe (l. 2).

Les deux ostraca de Karanis sont les plus intéressants, celui venant des environs de Karnak ne permettant de lire que le nom du dieu-fleuve Xanthe.⁶⁴ L'O. Mich. I, 661, du III^{ème} siècle, porte l'inscription Βαβελῶνες, qu'il faut sans doute corriger en Βαβυλώνιοι⁶⁵ les Babyloniens. Et l'on peut lire sur l'O. Mich. I, 662, du III^{ème} ou du IV^{ème} siècle, Παλμηρηνοί, qu'il paraît légitime de corriger en Παλμυρηνοί, les Palmyréniens et Ἀλαμηνωί, c'est-à-dire Ἀλαμανοί ou Ἀλαμαννοί, les Alamans.

Les tablettes *Louvre inv. MND 552g recto*⁶⁶ = SB XV, 11416 et *Louvre inv. MND 552a recto et verso*⁶⁷ = SB XV, 11418 offrent une riche nomenclature géographique. Venant d'Antinoé et datables du V^{ème} ou du VI^{ème} siècle, elle ont été identifiées par leur éditeur B. Boyaval comme des exercices tachygraphiques.⁶⁸

La première tablette, SB XV, 11416, comporte des noms de peuples et de villes qui voisinent avec des personnages mythologiques. Cette liste ne suit aucun ordre alphabétique, mais s'efforce de regrouper certains mots par zones géographiques bien que l'on observe de nombreux déclassements. Mais les nombreuses lacunes empêchent toute conclusion définitive. Des peuples de la zone mésopotamo-palestinienne sont ainsi cités aux lignes 19-22 : les Chaldéens, les Hébreux, les Mèdes et les Juifs. L'Attique est représentée par les Athéniens mentionnés à deux reprises (l. 16 et 27) ; le monde insulaire de l'Égée par les Élymniens (l. 3), c'est-à-dire les habitants d'Élymnion en Eubée⁶⁹ et par les Méthymniens (l. 4), de Méthymna à Lesbos ; la Macédoine par Potidée (l. 29) ; l'Asie mineure par les Paphlagoniens, isolés à la ligne 2, ainsi que par les villes de Taana (l. 17) en Cappadoce et de Nicomédie (l. 18) en Bithynie ; la zone italique est présente avec les Tarentins (l. 8) et les Messapiens (l. 9) ; et enfin l'Égypte avec Péluse (l. 11).

La seconde tablette, SB XV, 11148, conserve sept noms géographiques qui sont mêlés à d'autres venus de l'épopée : un nom de peuple, les Sardiens (l. 3) ; celui du Mont Eryx (l. 8) en Sicile ; celui des îles de Proconnèse (l. 9) et de Cyzique (l. 10)⁷⁰ en Propontide ; celui des villes de Ninive (l. 13) et de Babylone en Mésopotamie⁷¹.

L'espace géographique étant désormais cerné, il est désormais possible de déterminer les finalités de l'enseignement de la géographie. Nous chercherons à montrer qu'il remplissait une triple fonction, littéraire, scientifique et idéologique.

3. – LES FINALITÉS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA GÉOGRAPHIE

De ce caractère tridimensionnel de l'enseignement de la géographie le maître ne devait pas obligatoirement retenir tous les aspects. Il pouvait en effet privilégier l'une de ces finalités, en fonction de ses objectifs pédagogiques propres, dans un cadre scolaire où il n'existe pas de

⁶⁴ J.G. Milne, *JHS* 28 (1908), p. 129 (nos XII et XIII) et *JHS* 43 (1923), p. 42-43. Le dieu Xanthe apparaît dans une liste des dieux groupés selon le camp choisi durant la guerre de Troie (*Iliade* XX).

⁶⁵ L'éditeur L. Amundsen et A.H. Pack (*Pack*² 2688) proposent parallèlement une autre correction, βαβυλῶνος, "de Babylone".

⁶⁶ B. Boyaval, *art. cit.*, p. 63-64 (et fig. 3), Tablette n° IV.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65, (et fig. 4) Tablette n° V.

⁶⁸ Il note par ailleurs, *ibid.*, p. 64 (1), que la présence de ces noms géographiques dans ces deux documents "invite à penser que les deux tablettes appartiennent au même groupe, quoiqu'elles soient de mains différentes".

⁶⁹ On lit Ἐλυμαῖοι. Nous suivons B. Boyaval, *ibid.*, p. 62, qui juge qu'Ἐλυμναῖος non attesté apparemment dans les lexiques semble être une variante d'Ἐλύμναιος (Cf. Aristophane, *Pax*, v. 1126 et *Scholie*).

⁷⁰ L'île étant reliée par deux ponts à l'Anatolie, on la considère souvent comme une presqu'île.

⁷¹ Le mot Νίνοϋς peut aussi désigner un fleuve de Carie.

"programme officiel" et en fonction de données historiques générales qui peuvent peser sur le contenu de cette transmission du savoir.

3.1. LA FINALITÉ LITTÉRAIRE

La finalité la plus recherchée de cet enseignement devait être de nature littéraire, comme le soulignait déjà H.I. Marrou.⁷² Il est en effet clair pour tout familier de la littérature grecque qu'une grande partie des termes géographiques enseignés est issue de ces grands classiques qui forment la base de la culture des Grecs d'Égypte. Et, à ce titre, les noms issus de l'épopée, qu'il s'agisse de celle d'Homère ou de la Geste des Argonautes abondent. Ce lien entre la géographie et l'épopée est de manière exemplaire mis en valeur par la tablette du Louvre, SB XV, 11418 qui ne comporte que des noms issus de la poésie homérique, de l'Iliade ou de l'Odyssée, et des noms purement géographiques.⁷³

De fait, une grande partie de nos termes s'insère dans des listes de mots qui ne sont pas exclusivement géographiques, mais dont l'objectif est une meilleure connaissance du grec, qu'il s'agisse de l'expression orale,⁷⁴ de l'expression écrite⁷⁵ ou de la lecture. Et l'on peut admettre que les quatre documents strictement géographiques (les quatre listes conservées des *Laterculi Alexandrini* ; le P. Bon. ISA 1, *recto* et les deux ostraca de Karanis) pouvaient aussi contribuer à la culture générale littéraire des jeunes élèves. C'est ainsi que la géographie se met au service de l'explication des classiques. Un jeune Grec (ou une jeune Grecque) pouvait-il (pouvait-elle) devenir un *πεπαιδευμένος* (une *πεπαιδευμένη*) si il (elle) ignorait, ou dysorthographiait, le nom d'une île comme Ithaque,⁷⁶ d'un fleuve comme le Scamandre,⁷⁷ d'un dieu-fleuve comme le Xanthe,⁷⁸ celui d'une montagne comme l'Olympe,⁷⁹ celui d'une source comme Castalie à Delphes⁸⁰ ou celui d'une ville comme Pylos ?⁸¹ Malgré le nombre restreint de sources permettant de l'étudier, essayons d'analyser l'influence de l'érudition alexandrine sur l'enseignement scolaire de la géographie.

3.2. LA FINALITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE

Nous fonderons cette analyse sur les seuls *Laterculi Alexandrini* d'époque ptolémaïque. Le choix de noms du P. Bon. ISA 1, *recto* est en effet caractérisé par un conservatisme culturel, qui ne tient pratiquement pas compte des nouvelles connaissances acquises entre le II^e siècle av. n.è. et le III^e siècle de n.è.⁸²

Nous pouvons ainsi supposer que le maître d'école du II^e siècle av. n.è., qui a écrit (ou fait rédiger par un scribe) ces listes, connaissait les travaux d'Ératosthène de Cyrène (vers 275-vers 192), le brillant successeur d'Apollonios de Rhodes à la tête de la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie. L'importance de ses recherches et ses fonctions officielles assuraient, en effet, à

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 253-254. Cf. J. Début, "De l'usage des listes de mots comme fondements de la pédagogie dans l'Antiquité", *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁷³ On sait par ailleurs que les Grecs considéraient Homère comme "le père de la géographie" et l'Odyssée comme "le plus ancien monument de la géographie du Proche-Orient" : P. Fabre, *Les Grecs et la connaissance de l'Occident, Le mythe occidental*. Thèse de l'Université de Paris I (dactyl.), 1977, vol. I, p. 332-333. La *Description de la terre habitée* de l'Alexandrin Denys d'Halicarnasse témoigne d'un autre type de liens entre érudition scientifique et littérature, ce géographe ayant adopté "la forme rythmée de la poésie épique" : C. Jacob, *La description de la terre habitée de Denys d'Halicarnasse ou la leçon de géographie*, Paris, 1990, p. 15.

⁷⁴ Cf. J. Bingen, *art. cit.*, p. 108.

⁷⁵ Les exercices tachygraphiques entrent évidemment dans cette catégorie.

⁷⁶ P. Chester Beatty scolaire = SB XII, 10769, l. 81.

⁷⁷ P. Guéraud-Jouguet, l. 64 ; P. Chester Beatty scolaire, l. 143 ; P. Bour. 1, l. 114.

⁷⁸ J.G. Milne, *JHS* 28 (1908), p. 129 (nos XII et XIII) et *JHS* 43 (1923), p. 42-43.

⁷⁹ *Laterculi Alexandrini*, Col. 10, l. 9-10.

⁸⁰ *Laterculi Alexandrini*, Col. 12, l. 10.

⁸¹ PUG II, 53, l. 62.

⁸² G. Geraci, "P. Bon ISA 1, *recto* : Lista di fiumi con equivalenze tachigrafiche", *op. cit.*, p. 240 et 240 (10).

ses conceptions géographiques une large notoriété. De fait, les noms de fleuves et de montagnes, extérieurs à l'espace grec des époques classique et archaïque, trouvent leur place sur la carte d'Ératosthène, et non plus sur celle d'Hérodote.⁸³

Mais il est impossible d'affirmer, en raison de l'imprécision de la datation des *Laterculi* (le II^e siècle av. n.è.) et du fait qu'il s'agisse probablement d'un choix de noms ne reprenant pas tel extrait d'une œuvre identifiable (qui de toute manière est à ce jour perdue), qu'Ératosthène est la seule source de notre maître d'école. Il aurait pu avoir en mains, par exemple, les œuvres de l'astronome Hipparque de Bithynie (actif de 161 à 127) qui a apporté de nombreuses critiques à l'œuvre de son prédécesseur.⁸⁴ A-t-il lui-même tout accepté des conclusions d'Ératosthène ? N'a-t-il pas, par exemple, été tenté d'entendre par le Caucase, le Caucase indien (l'Hindou Kouch) et non le Caucase pontique (le moderne Caucase), tels ces Macédoniens dénoncés précisément par Ératosthène qui font franchir à Alexandre le Caucase indien pour magnifier des exploits désormais supérieurs à ceux de Jason et d'Héraclès ?⁸⁵ A supposer qu'Ératosthène ne l'évoque pas dans un fragment aujourd'hui disparu, n'a-t-il pas pris le nom de l'Astaboras (l'Atbara) chez Agatharchidès de Cnide (vers 190-vers 105), qui travaille à Alexandrie sous Ptolémée VI Philomètor et dont l'ouvrage *Sur la mer Rouge* mentionne les Mangeurs-de-Racines qui vivent au bord de cet affluent du Nil, dans l'actuel Soudan ?⁸⁶ Toutes questions importantes pour comprendre le processus d'élaboration scientifique de nos listes, mais qui, en l'état actuel de nos connaissances, ne peuvent que rester sans réponse.

3.3. LA FINALITÉ IDÉOLOGIQUE

Le point de départ du troisième volet de notre réflexion est la question d'un éventuel élargissement de l'horizon géographique au cours de la période étudiée.

Depuis la publication du P. Guéraud-Jouguet, les commentateurs tiennent pour acquis qu'un incontestable élargissement s'est produit après "la première époque hellénistique", à la suite des vues développées par ses deux éditeurs : "Le choix des fleuves nommés ici, dont beaucoup sont situés en Thrace, en Macédoine ou en Asie, paraît conforme à ce que nous connaissons de l'horizon géographique de la première époque hellénistique, alors que le souvenir de l'expédition d'Alexandre était encore très vivant".⁸⁷ B. Boyaval pouvait ainsi affirmer que la tablette du Louvre SB XV, 11416, du V^e ou du VI^e siècle de n.è. "révèle un incontestable élargissement" de cet horizon avec la présence de la zone mésopotamo-palestinienne, de la zone italique et de l'Égypte.⁸⁸ Mais si, comme nous le pensons avec leur éditeur H. Diels, les *Laterculi Alexandrini* ont bien un caractère scolaire, cette perspective doit être reconsidérée, au moins en partie.

⁸³ Cf. H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, Leipzig, 1880 et A. Thalamas, *La géographie d'Ératosthène*, Versailles, 1921. La carte d'Ératosthène a été dressée par A. Forbiger, *op. cit.*, I, 1842, Planche IV.

⁸⁴ Cf. D.R. Dicks, *The geographical fragments of Hipparchus*, Londres, 1960 et C. Jacob, *Géographie et ethnographie*, p. 123-124.

⁸⁵ Ératosthène Fr I B, 24 (H. Berger) (= Arrien, *Anab.* V, 3, 1s.) et Strabon XI, 8, 1 ; XI, 5, 5. Ératosthène préfère conserver à l'Hindou Kouch son nom traditionnel de Parnassos/Paropanisos. Sur les implications idéologiques de ces dénominations : P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre (336-270 av. J.C.)*, I, *Les origines politiques*, Nancy, 1978, p. 152-155.

⁸⁶ Sur l'Éthiopie, voir Diodore III, 1-10 qui y affirme sa confiance en Agatharchidès. Un commentaire du texte d'Agatharchidès chez P. Pédech, *La géographie des Grecs*, Paris, 1976, p. 129. Strabon XVI, 4, 8 mentionne également l'Astaboras. Sur le nom de ce fleuve, voir J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^e siècle av. J.-C. – IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.)*, Rome, 1977, p. 313 (32).

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 10. Cf. aussi J. Début, "De l'usage des listes de mots comme fondement de la pédagogie dans l'Antiquité", *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁸⁸ *Art. cit.*, p. 63.

Les quatre listes conservées embrassent en effet un espace qui intègre pleinement les zones mésopotamo-palestinienne, italique et égyptienne de la tablette du Louvre. Les listes de montagnes et de fleuves dessinent une carte imaginaire qui engloberait sur ses marges à l'Ouest les Pyrénées, les Monts Rhipées "en Celtique" (les Alpes), le Rhône, l'Éridanos (le Pô) et le Tibre ; au Nord et à l'Est, les montagnes du Caucase,⁸⁹ du Taurus⁹⁰ et le Mont Imaos,⁹¹ les fleuves Istros (le Danube), le Borysthène (le Dniepr), le Tanaïs (le Don), l'Hypanis (le Boug ukrainien), le Phasis (le Rion en Géorgie), l'Araxe (la Volga?), l'Akésinês (le Chenab, un affluent de l'Indus), le Kôpês (le Kaboul), le Gange ; au Sud, l'Astaboras (l'Atbara) et les Alpes de Libye.⁹²

Il est cependant possible de constater deux types d'évolution dans la géographie scolaire de l'époque romaine, dont la signification historique est riche.

Un élargissement géographique se produit à l'Ouest avec l'apparition, dans le P. Bon ISA 1, *recto*, Col. II, l. 1 (III^e s.), d'un fleuve de Lugdunaise, le Têtos, qui se jette dans l'Océan britannique⁹³ et, dans l'O. Mich. I, 662 (III^e ou IV^e s.), des Alamans. Ce qui ne saurait surprendre puisque la connaissance de l'Occident progresse considérablement à l'époque romaine,⁹⁴ que la Gaule chevelue est romaine depuis César, et que les Alamans font leur première apparition dans les textes dès le début du III^e siècle, leur premier affrontement avec Rome se produisant sur le *limes* rhéto-danubien en 213, l'armée romaine étant alors commandée par l'empereur Caracalla en personne.⁹⁵

Nous voyons d'autre part apparaître des noms qui ne figurent pas dans nos sources d'époque ptolémaïque, mais qui appartiennent à l'oekoumène hellénistique. Mais, dans ce domaine, la prudence s'impose, car le corpus de documents scolaires à caractère géographique reste très limité en nombre, et ces sources sont souvent très abîmées : on pourra ainsi noter que les noms d'Alexandrie et de Rome sont absents tant à l'époque ptolémaïque qu'à l'époque romaine.⁹⁶ Ces nouveaux noms peuvent se répartir en deux grandes catégories :

L'Égypte, curieusement absente à l'époque ptolémaïque, est désormais présente avec le Nil (PUG II, 53, l. 52), Naucratis (P. Bour. 1, l. 92) et Péluse (Tablette du Louvre SB XV, 11416, l. 11).

Les documents sur papyrus privilégient le monde hellénistique. Le PUG II, 53 rassemble des noms venus de la Grèce égéenne ou liés aux campagnes d'Alexandre (l'Indus, le Nil, l'Oxus) ; le P. Bon. ISA 1, *recto* présente trente et un noms se situant dans l'oekoumène hellénistique, pour quatre se trouvant en dehors (le Danoubis, le Tibre, le Têtos et l'Éridanos) ; le P. Chester Beatty scolaire ne connaît que l'espace de la Grèce balkanique et de la Grande-Grèce ; le P. Bour. 1 n'envisage que le bassin de l'Égée, à l'exception de Naucratis.

⁸⁹ Pontique ou indien ?

⁹⁰ Pour Ératosthène, le Taurus est une dorsale qui court de l'Asie mineure jusqu'à l'extrémité orientale de la Terre, selon l'axe qui passe au centre de la Méditerranée depuis les Colonnes d'Héraclès.

⁹¹ Voir note 28.

⁹² Voir note 31.

⁹³ Le Têtos connu par Ptolémée II, 8, 2 n'a pu être identifié avec un fleuve moderne. J. Moreau, *Dictionnaire de géographie historique de la Gaule et de la France*, Paris, 1972, ne connaît que le Têt (Tetum, Roschinus), qui se jette dans la Méditerranée, dans les Pyrénées orientales.

⁹⁴ P. Pédech, *op. cit.*, p. 108 s.

⁹⁵ Dion Cass. LXXXVII, 13, 4, 6 ; 14, 2 ; Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 21, 2 ; *Hist. Aug., Carac.* 5, 4s. ; 10, 6 : ces deux dernières sources donnent respectivement à Caracalla le titre d'Alamannicus. Cf. Ihm, "Alamanni", *PWRE* I, 1 (1893), Col. 1277-1280 et K.F. Stroheker, "Die Alamannen und das spätrömische Reich", *Die Alemannen in der Frühzeit* (herausgegeben von W. Hübener), Bühl/Baden, p. 9-26.

⁹⁶ Une Alexandrie est nommée à propos du μηχανικός Abdaraxôs (PP VI, 16522) dans la liste des ingénieurs des *Laterculi Alexandrini*, Col. 8, l. 17-20. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria I*, Londres, 1972, p. 426 pense qu'il s'agit d'Alexandrie d'Égypte ; les auteurs de la *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* ne se prononcent pas.

Les ostraca et les tablettes font apparaître des noms spécifiques avec, d'une part, les Alamans et les Palmyréniens (O. Mich. I, 662), et, d'autre part, les Hébreux, les Juifs et les Chaldéens (SB XV, 11416, l. 19-20 et 22). Ces données nouvelles nous semblent devoir s'expliquer par des raisons idéologique.⁹⁷

L'apparition de l'Égypte et la place donnée au monde des cités et à l'espace hellénistique conquis par Alexandre nous paraissent marquées par la volonté d'exalter le passé glorieux d'un monde grec indépendant. Nous y verrons volontiers la fierté d'une élite grecque qui affirme son identité, son patriotisme, voire son nationalisme face au pouvoir romain.

La mention des Alamans et des Palmyréniens sur un même tesson pourrait bien être liée à la volonté du maître de citer deux peuples qui ont exprimé les armes à la main leur indocilité vis-à-vis de Rome. Aux Alamans qui font pression sur le *limes* à l'Ouest de l'Empire depuis le début du III^e siècle semble répondre symétriquement la farouche volonté d'indépendance de la riche Palmyre, qui tombe sous la domination de Rome avec la défaite de la reine Zénobie en 273. Le maître, qui paraît associer la géographie humaine et la géopolitique, offrait ainsi à ses élèves l'exemple de deux peuples qui refusaient l'hégémonie romaine.⁹⁸

Les tablettes du Louvre, du V^e ou du VI^e siècle, paraissent enfin exprimer, d'une part, la volonté d'unité d'un Empire romain, devenu byzantin, à un moment où sa partie occidentale est assaillie, puis submergée par les Barbares, en mentionnant Messapiens et Tarentins en Italie ou le Mont Eryx de Sicile, et, d'autre part, un intérêt nouveau, explicable par la christianisation de l'Empire, pour certains peuples d'Orient, les Juifs ou les Chaldéens.⁹⁹

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En conclusion, l'étude du contenu et des finalités de l'enseignement de la géographie dans les écoles grecques d'Égypte nous semble avoir permis de dégager deux résultats principaux.

Elle aura, d'abord, mis en valeur la triple dimension, littéraire, scientifique et idéologique d'une discipline, qui n'est pas régie suivant les mêmes principes "cartésiens" que l'enseignement moderne. De cette triple finalité, l'ostrakon de Thèbes du II^e siècle de n.è., O. Wilck. II, 1148 n'est-il pas le meilleur symbole, en posant la question authentiquement géographique, mais aussi hautement culturelle du lieu de naissance d'Homère, "père de la géographie" et "éducateur de la Grèce" ?

En dépit du caractère limité de nos sources, nous avons pu formuler, à titre d'hypothèse, un second résultat, à savoir que la transmission du savoir géographique entretenait d'étroites relations avec le contexte politique et idéologique. Dans l'Égypte des Ptolémées, les maîtres enseignaient la géographie de l'espace impérial d'Alexandre, celui conquis en Asie, mais aussi celui promis à la conquête en Occident selon le projet prêté à Alexandre au moment de sa mort prématurée à Babylone en juin 323.¹⁰⁰ Cet enseignement apparaît ainsi au service de la propagande des Lagides, qui se posent en seuls successeurs légitimes d'Alexandre, et qui revendiquent implicitement, du moins jusqu'à la crise du II^e siècle, la direction de l'Empire mondial d'Alexandre.¹⁰¹ L'école grecque, qui était fréquentée par la seule élite hellénophone du royaume, servait donc les desseins de la dynastie. Durant l'époque romaine, l'école grecque

⁹⁷ Sur le lien entre la géographie, la politique et l'idéologie, voir C. Nicolet, *L'inventaire du Monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1988.

⁹⁸ Sur les Grecs qui résistent à Rome, cf. H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagans Martyrs. Acta Alexandrinorum*, Oxford, 1954 et l'article récent de J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, "Le procès d'Isidoros : droit pénal et affrontements idéologiques entre Rome et Alexandrie sous l'empereur Claude" (en grec moderne, traduction des textes et résumé en français), *Praktika tês Akadêmias Athênôn* 61 (1986), p. 245-275.

⁹⁹ A. Wouters nous signale qu'il va publier prochainement dans la ZPE un papyrus de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles (*MS Brux.* IV 590) qui comporte une liste de mots parmi lesquels figurent des noms géographiques apparemment empruntés à l'Ancien et à Nouveau Testament.

¹⁰⁰ Sur le modèle héracléen suivi par Alexandre, P. Goukowsky, *op. cit.* II, *Alexandre et Dionysos*, Nancy, 1981, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 133-135.

semble bien être devenue le conservatoire des traditions grecques et l'un des lieux de diffusion des thèmes de résistance à la romanisation. Enfin, dans l'Égypte byzantine, elle présente aux jeunes élèves l'idéal d'un Empire romain qui se perpétue dans ses frontières, mais qui désormais devenu chrétien, a les yeux tournés non seulement vers Rome, mais aussi vers Jérusalem.

SCHOOL NOTES

Kathleen McNamee

The extensive annotations of P. Vindob. inv. 29817, a 6th-century copy of *Pythian* 1, have attracted no particular attention since they were published fifty years ago.¹ They are difficult to read and reconstruct, preserve only a bit of the learning found in scholia, and offer little really new information. But while the notes are derivative, incomplete, and unscholarly, they are not worthless. Two peculiarities—their odd arrangement and some unanticipated information they provide—offer insights into the book owner's literary sophistication. More significantly, they supply primary evidence about contemporary pedagogical methods.

I. The Arrangement of the Notes. Only marginalia remain, so that at a glance there is no way to determine how far from the top the actual text of the poem began. What survives—notes at the outer edge on each side of a page—might even be mistaken for annotations in the left or right margin beside pertinent passages. Paragraphi at frequent intervals contribute to the impression that the notes were about equal in length and typically brief. But if they were all roughly the same size, and if they occupied side margins, then we face an unacceptable problem on each side of the page. On the verso, only half a centimeter of space is left between the comments on *Pyth.* 1.55 [108] and 1.66 [126-27]—obviously not enough to fit the intervening text. On the recto, the notes are out of order. Those at the top treat *Pyth.* 1.50 [97], 51 [98], and 52 [100], but after them come comments on *Pyth.* 1.46 [88], 47 [91], and (twice) 48 [94]. Scribes rarely misplace a note, and then only by a line or two.² It would take a copyist of considerable incompetence to put marginalia in order as bad as this, and in fact there is no parallel for real disarray of this magnitude.

The disorder however is not real, and is easily explained if we compare this codex to others of comparable date and design. Primary among these is the Berlin papyrus of Aratus, another late text, largely disregarded until Margaret Maehler's perceptive reconstruction of its marginalia.³ The two books resemble each other literally from the top down. Both were large in format and contained extensive annotation in exceptionally wide margins (only two or three other annotated papyri rival them for breadth⁴). In both the order of the notes is superficially erratic.⁵ But both also come from the same part of a codex page: each includes part of the outer edge and part of a wide top margin.

The original editors of the Pindar were in fact clear on this point.⁶ The significance of their terse description, however, crucial as it is to any reconstruction of the notes, has not been recognized. What it means is that the topmost marginalia of the Pindar, as of the Aratus, are

¹*MPER* N.S. I 23, Pack² 1356.

²Notes are wrongly placed in P.Bodm. IV (Pack² 1298: once) and the "Antinoe Theocritus" (Pack² 1487: perhaps 4 times).

³Der "wertlose" Aratodex P.Berol. inv. 5865, *APF* 27 (1980) 19-32.

⁴In the Pindar the top margins are 5-6 cm, and the outer side margins exceed 8 cm. In the Aratus the top margin measures 10.5 to 11 cm, with 6 cm at the inner edge of the page. Other annotated late codices with broad margins are P.Oxy. XI 1371 (Ar. *Nubes*, 5th cent., top and outer margins at least 5 cm.; and P.Oxy. XX 2258 (Callimachus, 6th cent., bottom margin 7-8 cm, inner and outer margins about 7-8.5 cm.).

⁵Notes in the Aratus treat, in this order, *Phaenom.* 147, 148, 147, 146, 147-148 (1 Fr. A, vertical fibers); 167, 172, 165 (2 Fr. A, horizontal fibers); 337, 342(?), 329, 331 (11 Fr. A, horizontal fibers).

⁶H. Gerstinger, H. Oellacher: "Dreieckiger Fetzen der oberen Ecke eines Kodexblattes."

neither out of order nor excessively close together. The point at which their sequence breaks down is rather the point where the upper margin ended and the column of text began, or close to it. The notes above that position will have occupied the more capacious top margin, and will have been much longer than those that followed. Those below will have been shorter, and written in normal sequence exactly where marginalia usually appear, beside the passages they explained.⁷ For the verso, the apparent compression of notes on widely separated lines has the same explanation: the comments on *Pyth.* 1.55 [108] and 66 [126-27] both appeared in the top margin. Their apparent crowding is not a sign of scribal carelessness. Rather, it indicates that the annotator had more than usual interest in these two passages, since he expounded on them in the relatively roomy space at the top of the page. On intervening lines he had nothing to say, a point to which I shall return. The important thing is that each run of notes, whether at the top or the side of recto or verso, followed the order of the text.⁸ This is what we should expect of the work of any reasonable scribe. If his notes were truly erratic, readers would have a hard time locating them.⁹

As to the substance of the notes in the *Pythian* text: on the recto only the tag ends of lines remain, and provide no clue to either the width of the page or the original length of the notes. In content they are disappointingly uninformative. The actual subject of each one has been lost with the left-hand edge, and the surviving fragments appear to make four quick references, almost identically phrased, to Philoctetes (ὡσπερ γὰρ Φιλοκτήτης; Φιλ]οκτῆτην ἴστοροῦσι / ...ὡσπερ ὁ Φιλοκτήτης; Φιλοκτ]ήτης πόαν ἐπεθε[το). If these are the tail-end of notes extending across the top margin, their apparent redundancy is of course a figment: what appear to be repetitive phrases will actually have been separated rather widely from each other. So little connected sense can be got from them, however, that any reconstructions are highly speculative. On the verso the fragments are more amenable to supplement. They preserve remnants of substantive information, two lemmata, and real, although limited, parallels to surviving scholia.

I suggest possible reconstructions below, but accuracy depends of course on the usual variables. For this text, the significant uncertainties include: (1) the scribe's penchant for detail; as I shall discuss in a moment, he has a habit of including facts that the scholia omit, and which

⁷For the recto, notes on *Pyth.* 1.50 [97], 51 [98], and 52 [100] will have occupied the top and notes on *Pyth.* 1.46 [88], 47 [91], and 48 [94] the side margins. (Alternatively, the first four lines in the side margin may be a single note, for they correspond somewhat in wording with the single scholium on *Pyth.* 1.87 [Dr. I 17]).

⁸This kind of separation of notes by length, with similar "disorder" resulting, occurs in other late, wide-bordered codices. The marginalia of P.Oxy. XI 1371 treat, in strict order from top to bottom of the page, lines 5, 1, 2, and 10 of Aristophanes *Nubes* on the verso; and on the recto lines 52, 41, 44, and 47. The disorder however has nothing to do with scribal derangement but with available space: the notes on lines 5 and 52 are much longer than the rest, and occupied the top margin. Order is similarly "disturbed" in P.Oxy. XX 2258 (Callimachus) where portions of the side and broad lower margins remain. Long notes on mythology, astronomy, and other subjects are at the bottom of the page, glosses and short notes squeezed in at the sides. Taken strictly in order from top to bottom, the marginalia altogether are out of sequence. In one side margin they treat, in order, lines 67, 72, 73, and 75, and are followed, below, by long notes on lines 65-68, 67, and 77-78.

⁹This scribe in fact followed certain conventional procedures more closely than many annotators. In each of the marginalia that can be checked he used format typical of an ancient commentary, which we may assume was his source. Paragraphi appear below the last full line of each comment (at the outside of the page for the longer notes), and lemmata introduced notes-- probably for example in the comment on 1.48 [94] on the recto, and certainly in those on 1.55 [108] and 1.66 [126-27] of the verso. Lemmata were not essential, however: the first comment at the top of the verso begins straight off with a close paraphrase of the text, probably because the scribe thought the reference (to the first line of the column below) would be sufficiently clear.

are only tangentially related to the text. (2) His use of abbreviations; these are rare, but unpredictable. (3) The amount of writing space originally available. We can estimate the height of the codex,¹⁰ but the breadth of the original pages is much more uncertain. In the reconstructions I tried at first simply to match the sense of relevant scholia to the surviving portions of notes. The result was unexpected regularity: lines about 80 letters in length without abbreviation. Marginalia this long, spread across a top margin, imply a page at least 26 to 27 centimeters in breadth—about right for a book of this date and type.¹¹

II. The Content of the Notes. Apart from the arrangement of these notes, the unforeseen subject matter of some is instructive. By and large the comments in this papyrus are routine and unpretentious. They treat virtually the same lemmata as scholia and offer comparable paraphrases, glosses, mythological information—and once even a verbatim correspondence (*Pyth.* 1.55 [108]). Some are more condensed and some more expansive, but there is enough similarity to suggest that the two had a common, if distant, source.¹² This was no doubt Alexandrian, given Alexandrian interest in Pindar. By the time it reached the papyrus, however, it was severely debilitated. In fact the elementary quality of what remains is the single most significant difference between the marginalia and scholia.

It is therefore somewhat surprising to discover comments containing "new" material—material, that is, not found in scholia. One offers a parallel from Euripides *Phoenissae* for the use of λευκοπόλων (1.66 [126-27]). Another, apparently treating *Pythian* 1.54-55 (105-107), discusses Neoptolemus. A third refers to the herb (πόαν) applied to Philoctetes' wound (1.52c [97-100]).¹³ A possible fourth is the very broken fragment at the bottom of the verso, which may discuss Helen in relation to the lemma Ἀμύκλας (1.65 [125]). Given the emasculated and conventional nature of the marginalia that are reasonably legible in this codex, and the low informational value typical of marginalia in most ancient texts, we hardly expect notes containing substantive details unattested in scholia. They raise questions of source, and of the scribe's motivation for adding such information.

His impetus, I suggest, is from the schoolroom. The Epinicians are the only examples of Pindar's poetry to survive in late papyri, and formed part of the ancient school curriculum—for the Alexandrians placed him at the head of the canon of nine lyric poets.¹⁴ Annotated texts of

¹⁰The disorder of the notes in the Pindar offers grounds for speculation about how the text of *Pythian* 1 was divided between recto and verso. If "disorder" begins about at the level where the text itself began, then the recto must have begun with *Pyth.* 1.46 [88], or possibly the line before. Text ran at least as far as *Pyth.* 1.52 [100], which is probably the subject of the last long note in the upper margin. But it may have extended as far as 1.54 [106], since the first line treated on the verso is *Pyth.* 1.55 [108]. On the verso, the latest passage discussed (also in the top margin) is 1.66 [126-27]. This yields about 20 lines per side-- the same as the Aratus, which had 19 to 21, and close to the 22- to 23-line page length of the Callimachus. The Aristophanes stands out with 37-38 lines per page.

¹¹E.G. Turner, *A Typology of the Ancient Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) Table 1, pp. 14-22. Late, heavily annotated texts which Turner lists among codices of the largest size include the Callimachus (37bx28h) and Aristophanes (25bx33h) mentioned above (n. 4).

¹²Four passages covered by scholia evidently received no comment here (*Pyth.* 1.46 [87], 51 [98], 52 [101], 54 [105]).

¹³The herb in fact makes an appearance in the scholia on a later line, where it is referred to as βοτάνην. The peculiarity of the papyrus note is not the use of a synonym, which is common enough, but its location on the front of the codex leaf. The line treated by the scholia, *Pyth.* 1.56 [109], is preserved on the other side of the page.

¹⁴R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 205; H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York 1956) 227. The Epinicians were at least occasionally a part of the secondary school curriculum at Rome also: Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley 1977) 217.

the other Pindaric poems, especially the Paeans and Dithyrambos, are relatively abundant in the earlier Roman period, and their annotation can be extensive and learned. But they disappear after the third century. The same is true for Aristophanes. Early annotated papyri include lost plays; late ones offer only plays that were part of the school canon, and whose annotations fit the needs of students, as G. Zuntz has shown.¹⁵ In Pindar too, I think, the annotations in the late papyri reflect the frequent use of the Epinicians in the classroom and corresponding inattention to his other poetry as time wore on. School influence is visible not only in the subjects handled in the marginalia, but also in the ways in which they deviate from scholia.

A look at each of the aberrant notes will bear this out. The linguistic and comparative nature of the note quoting Euripides (*ad Pyth.* 1.66 [126-27]) suggests a learned source. Given the character of the rest of the marginalia, however, I doubt it is a scholarly relic.¹⁶ Rather, I suspect it survived because it was useful as a teaching tool: it provided a *grammatikos* with an opportunity to draw a parallel to text familiar to his students. For Euripides in general and the *Phoenissae* in particular, the source of the parallel, had huge appeal among readers in Graeco-Roman Egypt. No author except Homer was more widely read; and of all Euripides' plays none is so well represented in papyri.¹⁷ Surely the proliferation of Euripidean papyri is due partly to the prominence of drama in the curriculum of schools. Quintilian puts tragedy second only to Homer as an appropriate subject at the secondary level of education, and he considers it essential at the rhetorical stage.¹⁸ Assuredly the citation from the *Phoenissae* is in a codex produced in a Greek-, not Latin-speaking milieu, and centuries later than Quintilian: all the same, his views have relevance because of the conservatism of Greek schools and of Roman schools as well, which largely followed the Greek curriculum. Among literate speakers of Greek in Egypt of the 6th century, acquaintance with Euripides will have been widespread and will have begun in youth, at school. Any teacher who explained a more advanced author like Pindar by reference to the tragedian could probably count on a student to recognize the parallel, or at least to regret his ignorance.

The annotation mentioning Neoptolemus, next, and the related reference to the herb with which he cured Philoctetes surely also have pedagogical roots in the instruction of tragedy. In *Pythian* 1 Pindar likens Hiero's physical pain and its cure to the suffering and cure of Philoctetes. The story of how Neoptolemus acted as the agent for that cure is a familiar one, so his appearance here initially raises no question—until we reflect that he is irrelevant. He is neither invoked nor implied as healer in *Pythian* 1. He first took on that role in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, a later work. The annotation is therefore anachronistic: in a sense germane because it draws attention to a variant of the myth at hand, but superfluous in context. Like the *Phoenissae* quotation, it offers a glimpse of characteristic classroom presentation: reinforcement by the teacher of material learned in previous lessons. In the same way the reference to Helen at the bottom of the page, if real, will have summoned up stories familiar from Homeric epics, the first literature studied in any Greek school.

The notes in fact cover just the ground that a *grammatikos* would cover in the classroom, as far as we can judge from our knowledge of the ancient curriculum. Mythology, as Quintilian

¹⁵*Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (2nd ed. Berlin 1975).

¹⁶Similarly in late Aristophanes papyri there is only one questionable case of a note improving on the scholia (P.Berol. 13929 = Zuntz [above, n. 15] 5-27, at *Eq.* 574).

¹⁷W.H. Willis, "A Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 205-41. Of the 76 Euripides papyri listed by Pack, 12 are *Phoenissae* texts; the next best represented play is *Medea* with 8.

¹⁸He does not specify which plays of the three major Greek tragedians were most appropriate, but favors Euripides and Sophocles (I 8.6ff, X 1.66ff). Bonner (above, n. 14) 214.

indicates, has the place of honor. On the recto of the papyrus, where the poet compares Hiero to Philoctetes, the comments in the top margin deal at length and repeatedly with the story of the Homeric hero. At the sides there is a healthy supply of paraphrases and glosses. On the verso, when the poet brings his mythological exemplum to a decisive conclusion (οὕτω δ' Ἰέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθώτηρ πέλοι, 1.55 [108]), the annotator correspondingly discontinues commentary. He finds nothing further to remark on until Pindar himself returns, many lines later, to a mythological topic, the habitation of Laconia by the Heracleidae and the Dioscuri (1.66 [126-27]). Myth was not the only topic treated in ancient Pindaric scholarship—the scholia for the same passage also treat history, biography, and geography—but it was the only subject of interest to the annotator of this papyrus.¹⁹ There is no trace here of the scholia's citations of poets and scholars,²⁰ or their discourses on Sicilian politics and geography and the life of Hiero. Myth and grammatical points also dominate the marginalia of the Berlin Aratus and the late Aristophanes, both prominent school authors.²¹

This preoccupation with mythology is typical of classroom presentation in the classical world. Ancient sources agree that a primary responsibility of teachers was to explain the mythological background of poems.²² In fact, one of the notorious weaknesses of *grammatikoi* was to explain too much, a fact that Quintilian laments. He advises teachers to make a judicious selection of mythological information instead of amassing all possible variants. He counts it as a virtue that a teacher not know every detail of a story.²³ That he felt the need to comment on mythological polymathy is a sign that selectivity and judgment in the treatment of myth were not exactly typical of the work of *grammatikoi*. The reflections of severer critics reinforce the point: Juvenal knew the mindless zeal of some teachers for assembling mythological material:²⁴

*Sed vos saevas inponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam unguis digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.*

In an educational climate in which teachers were expected to be well versed in mythology, but in practice had to be cautioned against taking it too far, it is small wonder that references to

¹⁹ιστοροῦσι (papyrus note on *Pyth.* 1.51 [98]) is characteristic of mythological commentary: see Maehler (above, n. 3 p. 26) on the mythological exegesis of Eratosthenes *Catasterismi*.

²⁰The scholia (Dr. I 17-19) cite Arist. Γελάων πολιτεία and Συρακοσίων πολιτεία (*Pyth.* 1.89), Epich. Νάσοι (*Pyth.* 1.99), Bacchyl. fr. 7 Bl. (*Pyth.* 1.100) and Dionysius *FHG* II p. 10 (*Pyth.* 1.109). They offer (Dr. I 17-22) historical and biographical comments for *Pyth.* 1.87, 89, 99, and 127a, and a modest linguistic scholium on metaphor (*Pyth.* 1.101).

²¹The notes in the bottom margins of the late Callimachus treat other subjects as well as mythology, and are more learned. It appears to have served a different kind of reader altogether.

²²Bonner (above, n. 14) 237-39.

²³*His accedet enarratio historiarum, diligens quidem; illa non tamen usque ad supervacuum laborem occupata. . . Atqui pleni sunt huiusmodi impedimentis* [i.e., exhaustive but pedantic incorporation of variant stories], *grammaticorum commentarii, vix ipsis qui composuerunt satis noti. . . Ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire*, Quin. I 8.18; cf. Juv. 6.450.

²⁴Juv. 7.229-36. Seneca seems to criticize the standard pedagogy too, when he queries the moral usefulness of the grammarian's normal progression in expounding texts, from grammar to myth to meter: *syllabarum enarratio et verborum diligentia et fabularum memoria et versuum lex ac modificatio-- quod ex his metum demit, cupiditatem eximit, libidinem frenat?* (Ep. 88.3).

Sophocles' version of the Philoctetes story will have crept into a hypomnema on *Pythian* 1, for this was surely the best known version of the myth under discussion. If nothing else the annotator was following, here and in the *Phoenissae* note, a pedagogical method that has stood the test of centuries: explaining the unfamiliar (Pindar) by reference to the familiar (myth, and a tragedy studied previously). For if students had progressed as far as the *Pythians* they certainly could be expected to know the *Philoctetes* and *Phoenissae*.

If the notes here served the purposes of schools, who exactly was responsible for them, student or teacher? Marginal annotation from antiquity is nearly always informal in nature, and gives the impression that it came from the hands of readers. Here, as often in later books, it is neatly and methodically copied: frequent lemmata and marks of punctuation indicate that notes were reproduced carefully from a commentary. The orderliness inclines me toward seeing the book as a teacher's manual, although certainly a student or a paid scribe could have done as well at transcribing selected passages. But annotation in antiquity was almost always done by the reader himself, and the planning here suggests a teacher preparing commentary as an aid to memory during oral exegesis in the classroom.

The cumulative impression of the marginalia in the *Pythian* text is that they were directed at an unsophisticated and not fully educated readership, presumably students. Better scholarship on the Epinicians existed at the time its commentary was written. It survives in scholia, but had marginal usefulness for the reader of this papyrus. He had one modest demand of Pindar: that the poetry be intelligible. Most learning has therefore been stripped away from the papyrus notes. All that remains is an unedifying mélange of myth and paraphrase, along with perfunctory reminders of familiar works of literature. This is typical, as Zuntz has shown for late Aristophanes papyri, of commentaries used in schools.

Pylh. 1.50 [97] (τὰν Φιλοκτῆταο δίκαν):

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἐστρατεύθη ὁ Ἴέρων καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε ὡσπερ γὰρ Φιλοκτῆτης.

Cf. schol. 1.97 (Dr. II 18) τὰν Φιλοκτῆταο δίκαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν Φιλοκτῆτου τρόπον μεπερχόμενος ἐστρατεύθη καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε. φορεῖ ὦ δὲ φερόμενος ὁ Ἴέρων κατηγωνίζετο τοὺς ἐναντίους.

Pylh. 1.51 [98] (σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ μιν):

σὺν δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τῆς νόσου καὶ τις ὑπερήφανος ἔσανε αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸν Φιλ[οκτῆτην]· ἱστοροῦσι γὰρ ὅτι ὁ Ἴέρων νοσῶν διὰ λιθοῦριαν καὶ φορεῖα φερόμενος κατηγωνίζετο τοὺς ἐναντίους ὡσπερ ὁ Φιλοκτῆτης.

Cf. schol. 1.98 (Dr. II 18) σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ μιν· σὺν δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τῆς νόσου καὶ τις ὑπερήφανος ἔσανε καὶ ἐκολάκευσε τὸν Ἴέρωνα. ὃ δὲ βούλεται λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ νοσῶντα αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων ἐκολάκευσαν.

Pylh. 1.52 [100] (φαντὶ Λαμνόθεν):

οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες ἐκ Λήμνου μετεστεύλαντο τὸν ἦρωα. ὃ δὲ Φιλοκτῆτης πόαν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ οὕτως ἠγιάσθη.

Cf. schol. 1.100 (Dr. II 18-19) φαντὶ Λαμνόθεν· τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ Βακχυλίδης συμφωνεῖ ἐν τοῖς διυθυράμβοις (fr. 7 [16] Snell), ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκ Λήμνου μετεστεύλαντο τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην Ἐλένου μαντευσσάμενου. εἴμαρτο γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν Ἡρακλείων τόξων μὴ πορθηθῆναι τὴν Ἰλιον.
(Space of two lines)

Pylh. 1.46 [88] (ὄλβον).

εἰδαιμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἐ-

Pylh. 1.47 [91] (ἀμνάσειεν).

σειεν
] εἶχοι ὄντως ἄν ἀναμνη-
]ν ποιήσειεν τ[ο]ῦς []ν

Pylh. 1.48 [93] (εὐρίσκοντο):

εὐρί]σκοντες ὦν και

Perh. not three notes but one on *Pylh.* 1.46, 47, 48 [Dr. 88, 91, 93].

Cf. sch. Dr. 1.87: (εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς χρόνος)· ... αἶθε γὰρ ὁ πᾶς χρόνος αὐτῷ τὴν τε εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀγάγοι καὶ τῶν καμάτων τῶν τῆς λιθοῦρίας ἐπίλασιν ἀγάγοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσαι προσδοκῶ. καὶ τάχα ἄν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀγάγοι, ὅποιός ὁ Ἴέρων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τῇ πολεμικῇ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπομονητικῇ ψυχῇ ὑπέμεινε μάχας, ἠνίκα ἐκτῶντο τὴν Σικελικὴν τυραννίδα, ...

Pylh. 1.48 [94]:

θεῶν παλάμαις τι]μάν θεῶν βουλ

Pylh. 1. ??

] αι ἔχει τ αι
] αι ὄνομα
] ον στερ

(One line free, followed by damaged remains of three lines, then three empty line-spaces, then additional traces.)

P. Vindob. inv. 29817
VERSO

Pylh. 1.55 (108) (μοιρίδιον ἦν):
εἰμαρμένον ἦν τὸ τῆ[ν Ἰλιον ἀλώωναι τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις τόξοις.... τινες δὲ ὅτι ὁ Νεο-
πτόλεμος οὐδὲ τι βέλους ἐχρήζετο εἰς τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Ἰλίου....

Cf. sch. 1.105 (Dr. II p. 19) ὅς Πριάμοιο πόλιν· ὅστις Φιλοκτήτης τὴν Ἰλιον ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἐπὶ τέλος ἦγαγε τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοὺς πόνους· ἀνεῖλε γὰρ τὸν Πάριν· ἀσθενεῖ μὲν καὶ ἀδυνάτῳ σώματι βαδίζων, ἀλλὰ μεμοιραμένον ἦν τὸ τὴν Ἰλιον ἀλῶναι τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις τόξοις (see also above, schol. 1.100 (Dr. II 18-19)).

Pylh. 1.56 (109):
οὐ(ττω) δὲ Ἰέρωνι θ(εὸ)ς ὀρθωτ[ῆρ πέλοι· οὕτως οὖν ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθωτῆρ γένοιτο. φησὶ γὰρ ἀπολλου -
σάμενον ἀφουπνώσαι τὸν Φιλοκτήτην. ὁ δὲ Μαχάονα... ἐπίτασε ἐπὶ τὸ τραῦμα τὴν
βοτανῆν ἢν Ἀσκλήπι[τος εἴληφε παρὰ Χείρωνος, καὶ οὕτως ὑγιασθῆναι τὸν ἦρωα.

Sch. 1.109a (Dr. II p. 19) οὕτω δ' Ἰέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτῆρ πέλοι· οὕτω δέ, φησὶ, τῷ Ἰέρωνι ὀρθωτῆρ καὶ ἴατρος γένοιτο ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ. φησὶ γὰρ Διονύσιος (*FGrH* II p.10) χρημοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολουσάμενον τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ἀφουπνώσαι, τὸν δὲ Μαχάονα ἀφελόντα τοῦ ἔλκουσ τὰς διασπαρείσας σαρκᾶς καὶ ἐπικλύσαντα οἴῳ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιτάσαι βοτανῆν, ἢν Ἀσκλήπιος εἴληφε παρὰ Χείρωνος, καὶ οὕτως ὑγιασθῆναι τὸν ἦρωα.

Pylh. 1.66 (126-27):
Λευκοπῶλ(ων) Τυνδαριδ[ᾶν βαθύδοξοι γείτονες· τουτέστι οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ τὴν Λακωνικὴν οἰκήσαντες· τὰ δὲ οἰκ[ήματα τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, τουτέστι τῶν Διοσκούρων, ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀληθεία ἐν Ἄργει· οὕτως γείτονες εἰσὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ Διοσκούροι καὶ οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, διότι γειτνιά τὸ Ἄργος τῷ Λακεδαιμόνι· Εὐριπίδης ἐν Φοινίσσας (606)· θεῶ[ν τῶν Λευκοπῶλων δῶματα.

Schol. 1.127b (Dr. II p. 22) βαθύδοξοι γείτονες· ἔδει σύννοικοι εἰπεῖν. ἀλλὰ ῥητέον, ὅτι ἱστοροῦσί τινες τοὺς Διοσκούρους μεταφικημένοι εἰς Ἄργος· γειτνιά δὲ τὸ Ἄργος τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Πίνδαρος κατὰ λόγον γειτόνας φησὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Διοσκούρων.

(Space of 12 lines)

Pylh. 1.65 (125) (ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας?>:

Ἐλέν[η
τ[] ιε[
[] ρθε[

(Traces)

Cf. schol. 1.125 (Dr. II p. 22) ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας· κατέσχον τὴν Σπάρτην· ἀπὸ γὰρ μίας πόλεως τὴν πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνει Λακωνικὴν.

SOME NOTES ON DEMOTIC SCRIBAL TRAINING IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

S. P. Vleeming

As a contribution to this discussion of literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt,* I should like to review briefly what we can say about the education of demotic scribes in the Ptolemaic period, arguing chiefly from what we know about the notary scribes.

The premise from which I start is that the scribal tradition among demotic notary scribes was a continuous one from the Saite into the Roman period. The early period shows the evolution of the formulary of the demotic contracts as we know it from the Ptolemaic period. In the Fourth Cent. B.C., we find this formulary fully fledged, and the coming of the Greeks had no influence whatsoever on the forms then in existence. This is important, as in the middle of the Ptolemaic period the notaries styled themselves as temple scribes, a typical example being, 'Horos, son of Phabis, who writes in the name of the priests of Amonrasonter and the brother gods ... of the five phylae'.¹ As the same situation apparently prevailed in the early period,² we need not doubt that the same was true in the intermediate period and the early Ptolemaic period, when the notary scribes signed with only their names.

That the notary's office was to be found at the temple may also be deduced from the fact that the few legal manuals that have been preserved apparently originate from temple contexts, or perhaps from the 'House of Life' to be more precise, as J. Quaegebeur demonstrated in his article on the 'Sacred Law'.³

Another indication is the practice that a demotic contract was 'filled with witnesses in the dromos of the Temple', as we are told in the text of the Siut lawsuit so brilliantly published by Sir Herbert Thompson.⁴ The very same thing may be deduced from the few Theban texts with copies of witness lists that contain the titles of the witnesses:⁵ in these the priests of Amon constitute the vast majority,⁶ those bearing other, often administrative, titles apparently also belonged to the temple personnel.⁷ Unfortunately, the scribes who wrote witness copies in the

*This paper was read as part of a round table discussion of Literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt presided by Dr. D.J. Thompson, whom I should like to thank for the kind invitation. For reshaping the English of these pages towards current English practice, my thanks go to Dr. W.J. Tait.

¹See P.W. Pestman a. o., *Recueil de Textes Démotiques et Bilingues*, I (Leiden, 1977), p. 139; cf. K.-TH. Zauzich, *Die Ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der Demotischen Kaufverträge aus Ptolemäischer Zeit* (Äg. Abh. 19, Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 2-4.

²See E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*² (Äg. Fo. 20, Glückstadt, 1968), p. 11 (top); P.W. Pestman, *Les Papyrus Démotiques de Tsenhor* (Stud. Dem. IV, in the press in Leuven), Ch. V § 1 A. Id., *ibid.* § 1 B introduces a scribal family featuring the title 'Overseer of the Necropolis': although apparently placed outside the temple proper, the Overseer depended on the Amon temple, and possibly his office was one tolerated or stimulated on the Theban west bank.

³Sur la « Loi Sacrée dans l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine », in *Ancient Society* 11-12 (Leuven, 1980-1981), p. 236-238. Cf. E. Bresciani, in *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, Vol. 4 (Pisa, 1981), p. 210 n. 1, concerning the Tebtynis temple find.

⁴See Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut ...* (Oxford, 1934), p. 18 (n. 59), etc.

⁵P. BM Glanv. 10525 (284 B.C.), P. Ryl. 12 H (281 B.C.), P. Louvre E 3440 D ([ed. G. Legrain, in: *Revue Égyptologique* V (Paris, 1887), p. 90 and pl. 22] possibly mid or late 3rd Cent. B.C. according to the script).

⁶Nine priests and one shrine opener from P. BM Glanv. 10525, one priest and three shrine openers from P. Ryl. 12 H, five priests and eight undefined persons in P. Louvre E 3440 D (n. 5).

⁷P. BM Glanv. 10525: 1 kalasiris, 2 Theban scribes, 1 guildler (?), 1 delivery man of the treasury (reading of G. Vittmann, in *Enchoria* 15 (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 120 n. 10), 1 scribe (?) of unclear title; — P. Ryl. 12 H: 1 temple scribe, 2 guilders (?), 5 scribes, 1 artist, 1 *rmt-*iw*.f-xxxx*, 1 gooseherd, and 1 Hagrite; — P. Louvre E 3440 D (n. 5): 1 *sqryt* and 2 traders.

witness copies documents only rarely named their titles, but, when they did, these are so many additional cases.⁸

All these texts evoke a picture of the notariat being securely lodged in the Egyptian temples, the notaries themselves part of the priesthood, a picture that recalls the situation in the so-called Saite Oracle Papyrus, that splendid document attesting to a priest's entry into the god Monthu's service which is so suggestive of a very high percentage of literacy in Egyptian priestly circles in the middle of the 7th Cent. B.C.,⁹ a situation which apparently never changed much in subsequent times through the Ptolemaic period.

Before turning away from the temples, a single word about the title that would be the Egyptian equivalent of our word 'notary'. I call 'notary' the scribe who was asked to compose legally binding contracts. He was not a notary in the sense that his signature alone was proof of the correctness of the transaction, as was the case with the Greek *agoranomos*, because the Egyptians always preferred the openness inherent in filling out a document with witnesses to the privacy of dealings with a single clerk. But his office assured one that the holder was capable of formulating complex transactions in a manner susceptible of being taken up profitably in court. The Greek equivalent *monographos* suggests that there was only one such scribe in any given temple, so, if the office was probably protected by the temples where it was instituted,¹⁰ this may have acted as a check on its misuse at the same time. Hence we think that the title *sh qnb.t*, 'scribe of court room documents', comes closest to our 'notary'.¹¹ Yet, the notaries often described themselves as simple 'scribes', and possibly there was no exact title for the function.

E. Seidl has pointed out that in the two only instances where we meet notaries in the Egyptian stories of the period, once in P. Rylands 9 (\pm 510 B.C.), and once in I Setne (1st Cent. B. C.?), they are called 'school scribes'.¹² I should like to use this as the turning point in my exposé. Connecting Seidl's observation with what I have just put forward, I suppose that running a scribal school was a regular sideline for the demotic notaries. We know that the notary office showed a marked tendency towards being hereditary in both the early and the Ptolemaic period, while often also brothers succeeded each other in the tradition.¹³ Obviously, the notary received his final training with his parent,¹⁴ and I see no reason to assume differently for his primary training.

If the notary held a scribal school, then this must have had a spin-off to other, if not all other, scribal occupations. Herewith we have entered the domain of speculation, for there is little hope of finding much textual evidence for this point. In a general way, one may expect that a palaeographical study could shed light on this question, but the task seems too vast to expect clear results, if any. Personally, I think that the scribal traditions within demotic are one, and that there is no reason to postulate a difference between the scripts of the temple and the state administrations, but I ought to add that this is an impressionistic statement only, based on limited material.

⁸See e.g. Pap. BM Andrews 1, Philad. 1, 2, 3-4, 7, 10, 13, etc.

⁹This was perceptively expressed by T.G.H. James, *Pharaoh's People ...* (London, 1984), p. 138 top.

¹⁰See E. Seidl, *loc. cit.* (n. 2); Zauzich, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 2.

¹¹See Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 1 (n. 8); Pestman, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 139 n. *. — Prof. Pestman is preparing a study of the *sh.w qnb.t*, 'scribes of court room documents', that are referred to as *Nomographoi* in some Fayumic Greek texts, so I do not discuss this aspect of the title here.

¹²See his *Demotische Urkundenlehre ...* (Münch. Beitr. 27, München, 1937), p. 4; Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 4 (middle).

¹³See Pestman, *op. cit.* (n. 2), Ch. VI § 1 A-B; Pestman, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 140. For the early Ptolemaic period the materials will be assembled by Prof. Pestman before very long.

¹⁴See Pestman, *loc. cit.*, and Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 4-5.

Yet, from early Ptolemaic Thebes we have information about a family of notaries, several of whose members were at one point Scribe of Pharaoh, one of them even Scribe of the District of Thebes.¹⁵ For the last named we may safely assume that he had definitely moved from his temple milieu to Pharaoh's service. A seemingly similar case is to be found in late 2nd Cent. B.C. Pathyris.¹⁶ In Thebes, in the early Ptolemaic period, we are of course in an eminently Egyptian town. The question remains whether things were different in other places, in other periods, but we shall always have to argue from what has been safely established.

We may go one step further by observing that among a small group of demotic ostraka from early Ptolemaic Hermonthis, an apparently officiating Shrine-opener appears to have farmed the yoke tax in a particular year.¹⁷ When listing the persons who farmed the enkyklion tax at about the turn of the 3rd into 2nd Cent. B.C., one may observe attachments to notary families of the period.¹⁸ Similarly, in late 2nd Cent. B.C. Pathyris, we find a banker springing from a family of notaries.¹⁹ There is of course no reason to suppose that the world of commerce was closed to persons coming from the priestly class, but, in view of the scribal training required to succeed there, it is only to be expected that we should find evidence for that particular kind of social movement.

I have little doubt that the same holds good for the official administration, at least in the early Ptolemaic period, of which an example could be cited (n. 15). With the tax farmers we have entered the middle Ptolemaic period. It remains to be seen whether things were changed then. They were not changed within the temples, the scribal training of the notaries continuing as before, so supposedly also the Egyptian administration and commerce continued to draw from that tradition. For why end a satisfactory arrangement?

¹⁵See P.W. Pestman, in *Egitto e Storia Antica dall'Ellenismo all'Età Araba ...*, ed. L. Criscuolo – G. Geraci (Bologna, 1989), p. 153 f. (§ 23); and the hieroglyphic materials added by H. de Meulenaere in *CdÉ* 34 (1959), p. 247-249.

¹⁶See Pestman, in *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz/Rhein), p. 208 (Patseous).

¹⁷O. Wängstedt 34, where the tax farmer is a Shrine Opener of Monthu Lord of On.

¹⁸E.g. Harsiesis (Pestman, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 148) and Phabis in P. BM Reich 10226 (*ibid.*, p. 155).

¹⁹See Pestman, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 208-210.

SOME NOTES ON DEMOTIC SCRIBAL TRAINING IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

W.J. Tait

It is a commonplace to refer to the decline of Demotic in Roman-period Egypt. These notes are not offered in any attempt to reverse that judgment, although it does need considerable qualification. The clearest sign of a change after the Ptolemaic period concerns precisely the kind of 'professional' documentary scribe discussed by Dr. Vleeming in his paper elsewhere in this volume. There is no unambiguous evidence for any similar scribes in the Roman period. There is clear evidence in Greek documents, for the earlier Roman period, of notaries who apparently had responsibility for Demotic documentation and for its registration and deposition. (A petitioner in A.D. 14/15 thought it worthwhile to claim - with how much justification, it is difficult to assess - that the work of these officials had on one occasion been investigated and found wanting).¹ It is possible to guess that the bureaucracy of the earlier Roman period adopted much the same attitude towards documentation in Demotic as that which had been taken by the later Ptolemaic administration: that it would suffice if abstracts or translations permitted an adequate degree of control to be maintained. Thus, there might have been no new or greatly increased discouragement of the use of Demotic. Yet the evidence is slight. It is hard to believe that in the Roman period a mass of Demotic documents was regularly being processed, but has simply left little trace. These notes merely endeavour to look at the Demotic evidence itself.

How accurately can the eclipse of Demotic as a documentary script be assessed? One possibility is to try to count the number of surviving documents. Professor Pestman commented upon this matter (which was quite incidental to his main purposes) in his 1967 volume on Egyptian chronology as reflected in Demotic texts.² His work was concerned only with dated material. It revealed a severe slump in the number of surviving papyri and (especially) ostraca towards the end of the Ptolemaic period. The first half of the first century of the common era sees an increase in papyri, although an increase that fails to reach the level that obtained throughout most of the Ptolemaic period. The first half of the first century also produces a greater quantity of ostraca than any other comparable period under consideration. Thereafter, the number of texts is much reduced, but fairly constant. The second half of the second century is the time when our evidence is reduced to a trickle. These are raw figures, and several glosses need to be placed upon them, but, even from this information, it can be seen that there is unlikely to be any easy explanation for the decline of Demotic. Demotic, as such, cannot have been immediately banned (even accidentally) or discouraged by the incoming Roman administration.

One comment that Professor Pestman himself made on this matter is that the statistics might at any time be changed by new material, and he mentioned the ostraca from Medinet

¹SB i.5232. For the deposition of Demotic documents in general, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats, Zweiter Band: Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs* (Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums, 5ii.), München, Beck, 1978 (especially pp. 11-12, 35-8, 40-4, 51-6, 68 (n. 69), 173-4). Cf. R.H. Pierce, 'Grapheion, catalogue, and library in Roman Egypt', *Symbolae Osloenses* 43 (1968), pp. 68-83 (see pp. 75-6); W.E.H. Cockle, 'State archives in graeco-roman Egypt from 30 BC to the reign of Septimius Severus', *JEA* 70 (1984), pp. 106-22 (see pp. 112-13).

²P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. - 453 ap. J.-C.)* (Papyrologica lugduno-batava, 15.), Lugdunum Batavorum, Brill, 1967, pp. 2-4.

Madi, of the second century of our era, some of which are now published.³ Historians not infrequently complain that only a small proportion of the Demotic material that is known has been published.⁴ This is undoubtedly true, and it must also be said that not all collections have been adequately hand-listed, or even looked through. Therefore, there may be surprises waiting for us. Documents of the Roman period have been particularly neglected. There is no simple reason for this; it is not entirely due to idleness on the part of students of Demotic. One must especially mention in recent years the work of Professor Zauzich.⁵ Roman documents can be very cursively written, and hence difficult to read, but they are not the only kind of text that presents this disincentive. Broadly speaking, documents are usually studied not simply because they have survived, but because we hope they will help us to answer questions we wish to ask. Recent work in social history has brought up new questions that Roman-period Demotic documents might help to answer, and perhaps there are therefore new reasons now to take a fresh interest in them.

Of course, not all documents are dated documents. For example, Demotic accounts, both of a public and of a private nature, are often undated, or identify only month and day, or give a bare regnal-year number, with no indication of the ruler whose reign is in question. To include undated documents in the calculations would be hazardous, as in many cases their probable date depends only upon consideration of their handwriting. A substantial proportion of the apparent bulge of ostraca in the early Roman period consists of tax receipts, which by their nature must be dated, and often survive complete. If the range of types of surviving texts from each period is assessed, a less striking picture emerges. Another peculiarity of the evidence of ostraca is the fact that they come overwhelmingly from Upper Egypt.

If the distribution by date of surviving Demotic literary texts is considered, a very different pattern is found from that of documentary texts. A great bulge in the evidence seems to occur in the second century of the common era, and there was probably no catastrophic reduction in the quantity of material until after the early third century. The date of the surviving texts, with very few exceptions, can be judged only on palaeographical grounds, and therefore some caution is advisable. Even more caution, however, is suggested by the fact that the greater part of the evidence consists of two large hauls of papyri from the Faiyum, which in themselves are almost sufficient to account for our apparent bulge.

Professor Zauzich some years ago examined the range of types of Demotic documents (that is, documentary texts in the strictest sense) so far recognized from the Roman period, and concluded that it seemed to be enormously reduced from that known for the Ptolemaic period.⁶ He pointed out that contracts become limited to those concerned with sales, and that they deteriorate severely, both in respect of their language and in respect of their knowledge of proper legal forms. They do not represent a new tradition, but the old tradition in decay. After the reign of Augustus, contracts are attested only from the Faiyum. The other types of document Professor Zauzich mentioned are tax-receipts, accounts, and agreements concerning

³E. Bresciani, S. Pernigotti, and M.C. Betrò, *Ostraca demotici da Narmuti I (nn 1-33)* (Quaderni di Medinet Madi, 1.), Pisa, Giardini, 1983; cf. E. Bresciani and R. Pintaudi, 'Textes démotico-grecs et greco-démotiques des ostraca de Medinet Madi: un problème de bilinguisme', *Aspects of Demotic lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19-21 September 1984*; ed. S.P. Vleeming (Studia Demotica, 1.), Leuven, Peeters, 1987, pp. 123-6.

⁴For example, see recently A.K. Bowman, 'Literacy in the Roman empire: mass and mode', *Literacy in the Roman world*, by M. Beard [and others] (Journal of Roman Archaeology, supplementary series, 3.), Ann Arbor, 1991, pp. 119-31 (see p. 120). In the same volume, K. Hopkins ('Conquest by Book', pp. 133-58) several times makes similar comments about Demotic literary material.

⁵K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden I(-IV)', *Enchoria* 1 (1971), pp. 29-42; 2 (1972), pp. 65-84; 4 (1974), pp. 71-82; 7 (1977), pp. 153-80.

⁶K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Demotische Texte römischer Zeit', *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Aegyptiaca treverensia, 1.), Mainz an Rhein, von Zabern, 1983, pp. 77-80.

priestly duties. Other relevant material comprises graffiti and inscriptions, including grave-inscriptions, mummy-labels, and letters; few letters are not self-evidently written to and from priests. As is well known, our latest evidence for Demotic comprises a series of inscriptions at Philae, ending with a graffito of the mid-fifth century. When scholars have studied, and hence searched for, a particular kind of Demotic document, for example marriage-contracts (in the case of Professor Lüddeckens)⁷ or temple-oaths (in the case of Professor Kaplony-Heckel),⁸ the latest examples are found in the early Roman period. The conclusion seems quite clear: that, except in certain contexts, Demotic died a natural and rather slow death.

The chief context to form an exception is plainly that of temple life. In the Faiyum, at any rate, the priests maintained a high standard of training in Demotic through the second, and perhaps into the third century. This involves two matters: the Demotic script and the Demotic language. Demotic was not originally developed in order to represent a more up-to-date form of the spoken language, but as a convenient script for official and legal documents - that is, texts in language both archaic and artificial. The Demotic language - as written - did undergo developments in many details,⁹ and there is no theoretical reason why the Demotic script could not have contrived to write something much closer to what we suppose to have been the spoken language. However, this does not seem to have been a deliberate objective, either in the Ptolemaic or in the Roman period.¹⁰ It is quite clear that, by the Roman period, a pupil who learnt to write Demotic had to learn some grammar and vocabulary that was totally unfamiliar. The priests may well have been engaged in composing new texts, but they were also - and primarily - concerned to preserve old ones. They kept alive, to the best of their ability, knowledge of the Middle Egyptian stage of the language. We have good evidence for one way in which they could 'modernize' texts: by transposing them from Middle Egyptian language and Hieratic script into Demotic language and script.¹¹ However, the language of these translations will have represented only a partial step towards the current spoken language. Attention is frequently drawn to our evidence that the Roman administration demanded - or allowed the priesthood to demand - that aspiring priests demonstrate competence in Hieratic. This might suggest that a knowledge of Demotic was not regarded as sufficiently exclusive.

It is often stated, and occasionally denied, that the Demotic script must have been difficult to learn. The supposed advantages of the Greek script are that there are only twenty-four simple shapes to learn, and then, if you can pronounce a word correctly, you can spell it correctly, once you have mastered the system of spelling. In Demotic, the writings of many words belonging to the native vocabulary, including most of the very commonest, had to be learned individually. This involved only two or three hundred words at worst. Indeed, the Egyptian scripts had never required the memorizing of thousands of different signs. It would not have been difficult to modify the Demotic script into one in which every word was spelled out, consonant by consonant. Demotists sometimes remark that, through the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, there was indeed an increasing tendency to spell words out in this way. However, it is difficult to find many good examples of such changes. One or two of our latest surviving Demotic literary papyri have large vocabularies of rare or otherwise unattested

⁷E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1.), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1960.

⁸U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempelleide* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 6.), 2v. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1963.

⁹As far as the verb in Demotic is concerned, such changes in the Roman period have been well charted by J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic verbal system* (Studies in ancient oriental civilization, 38.), Chicago, The Oriental Institute, 1976, although she offers no general discussion of these matters.

¹⁰Papyrus London-Leiden (F.Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3v., London, Grevel, 1904-9) is probably the latest substantial Demotic text to have been preserved, and it perhaps reveals more hints than any other Demotic text of developments in Egyptian grammar.

¹¹P.Carlsberg I and 1a: O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts, 1: The Early Decans*, Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University Press, 1960, pp. 36-94.

words, and this material has perhaps distracted attention from the basic continuity in the writing of the commonest words.

Sadly, there is little direct evidence for Roman-period schooling in the Egyptian scripts. It is generally assumed that this took place only in temple schools, and there is no reason to suppose otherwise. However, one palaeographical comment concerning texts from the Faiyum may be offered:- the surviving Roman-period Demotic contracts are generally written in a highly cursive script which may be seen as a natural continuation of (or degradation from) the style of some later Ptolemaic documents. For Demotic literary material, on the other hand, scribes deliberately developed a bewildering array of new styles of hand. They have in common what might briefly be described as an avoidance of any cursive characteristic.¹² It is not, of course, impossible for a scribe to write sometimes more cursorily and sometimes more formally. However, it would be reasonable to expect to see some organic similarity between the two styles. In the case of the Faiyum material, it is difficult to suppose that one and the same scribe might have used one of the documentary hands and one of the literary ones. It is hard to escape the impression that the documentary scribes received a separate schooling - a schooling that went into swift decline. What is quite clear is that scribes who had been highly trained to produce correctly formulated and written legal documents simply ceased to exist. The Greek evidence from Tebtunis suggests that the priests were literate in Greek. The object of an education in Demotic (and Hieratic) must have been the maintenance of the native literate culture, both religious and secular.

Evidence for literacy in Demotic, or, rather, for any kind of use of Demotic, among persons who were not priests is problematic in the Roman period. The most revealing case is that of tax receipts on ostraca. These are found both in Greek and in Demotic. Their purpose presumably was to reassure the payer, and they will not normally have been of much importance to the collector, or have played any role in his accounting. It is perfectly plausible that they might have been written by priests. They are normally execrably scribbled, but they are not the work of inexperienced amateurs. It must be said that an elaborate education cannot have been required in order to compose them. They are, of course, entirely stereotyped. Some familiarity would have been required with the Demotic system of numerals and dating-formulae. It would also have been necessary to be able to write Egyptian names; this for the most part requires only a knowledge of the writings of gods' names, and of a few other standard elements of personal names.¹³ The payer of the tax, on the other hand, presumably will have expressed a preference for Demotic. This does not necessarily imply that he was able to read Demotic. He, too, might have had only a modest ability to read Demotic dates and numbers. He may have known that, in the case of any dispute, he could turn to someone literate in Demotic - although it seems more likely that he would have wished to know on the spot that his receipt was in order. There must remain a degree of probability that the tax receipts suggest some level of literacy outside the priesthood. The evidence, however, is essentially confined to Upper Egypt, especially Thebes. Other documentary ostraca recording mundane transactions are difficult to assess, as there is no way of being sure that priests are not involved in one way or another. It is hard to believe that they ever came to the attention of the

¹²Individual signs are not freely linked together in one movement of the pen, and signs tend to be written at a standard size, and in a standard form, with no attempt to adapt them to fit with neighbouring signs. Some brief comments on this were offered in W.J. Tait, 'Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri', *Papyrus: Structure and Usage* (British Museum, occasional paper, 60.), London, 1986, pp. 63-89 (see pp. 74-5).

¹³For Demotic lists of gods' names and personal names, perhaps used as exercises, see E. Tassier, 'Greek and Demotic school-exercises', *Life in a multi-cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond*; ed. J.H. Johnson (Studies in ancient oriental civilization, 51.), Chicago Illinois, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992, pp. 311-15 (with the basic bibliography on Demotic school-material in general).

bureaucracy. Again, the evidence is from Upper Egypt. Possibly, Demotic literacy was more widespread in areas such as Thebes, simply because there was less pressure to speak and write Greek.

Mummy-labels also can provide evidence on literacy. A very satisfactory general account of this material was given by Professor Quaegebeur some years ago,¹⁴ and a few remarks will suffice here. Although they are chiefly attested from the South of the country, they are known from most of it. They may be in Greek, in Demotic, or in both. It is quite likely that they were written by priests. However, as in the case of tax-receipts, little formal schooling will have been required in order to write them. They presumably were written with a view to being read, and not just as 'amulets', or else the bilingual examples would be hard to explain; they also sometimes include information of an obviously practical kind.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that it is not necessary to despair entirely at the uneven and disparate nature of our evidence; we can perhaps see an understandable difference between material from the Faiyum and that from the South. In the South, Demotic, in contexts where it remained in documentary use, did so because people were happier with it than with Greek. In the Faiyum, Demotic was cultivated as part of native culture, and its documentary use was allowed to wither away.

¹⁴J. Quaegebeur, 'Mummy Labels: an orientation', *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*; [ed.] E. Boswinkel et P.W. Pestman (P.L.Bat., 19.), Lugdunum Batavorum, Brill, 1978, pp. 232-59.

JEWS IN TRIKOMIA

W. Clarysse

Five years ago H. Harrauer published volume 13 of the *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, containing Ptolemaic census lists of several villages in the Themistos meris of the Arsinoite nome. Together with similar demotic lists published a few years earlier by F. de Cenival (P. Lille dém. III), these texts constitute a major new source for our knowledge of the population history of Ptolemaic Egypt. Not only do they provide exact information about the number of people in several villages of a single district, but the population is further subdivided according to sex (male and female), ethnic designations (separate listing of Hellenes, Persai etc.) and occupation (subdivisions such as phylakitai, priests, farmers, shopkeepers etc.)

A very general picture of the richness of information provided by the texts in Vienna and Paris can be obtained from the following graph. To the demotic Sorbonne texts I have added a still unpublished Greek list (P. Sorb. 212-211), which covers two of the six villages treated in the demotic P. Lille III 99. In fact we are dealing here with fragments of one bilingual register.

reference	village	population	number of Greeks	% of Greeks
CPR XIII 1 and 2	Trikomia	331	72 (males only)	21.2 x 2 = ca. 40 %
CPR XIII 2	Lagis	322	17 (males only)	5.3 x 2 = ca. 10 %
CPR XIII 2	Lusimachis	80	17 (males only)	21.2 x 2 = ca. 40 %
CPR XIII 1	Athenas Kome	153	37 (?)	24 %
P. Lille dém. III 99 V°	<i>Pr-hmr</i>	398	19	4.8 %
P. Lille dém. III 99 V°	tax district of 5 units (villages?)	10,876	1756	16 %
idem	unit 1	2,384	479	20 %
idem + P. Sorb.gr. 212	unit 2	1,689	197	11,7 %
idem + P. Sorb.gr. 211	unit 3	1,579	246	15,6 %
idem	unit 4	2,665	347	13 %
idem	unit 5	2,569	487	19 %

The whole documentation of Ptolemaic census lists is the subject of a joint study by Dorothy Thompson and myself, which is supported by a grant of the Flemish and British governments. Additional new texts will be published in this same volume by G. Poethke (a Greek-demotic text from Jena), R. Scholl (a 2nd cent. Greek text from Trier) and B. Mandilaras (a Greek text from Athens joining to the fragments in Trier).

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To-day, however, I shall concentrate on one minor point of the population history of this area, namely the presence of Jews in the village of Trikomia. On p. 44 of his volume H. Harrauer gives a short list of 28 Semitic names. He points out that most of these are found in the village of Trikomia, and he concludes : "In diesem Dorf gab es wohl eine mindestens 10

Personen umfassende Gruppe jüdischer Einwohner." The writing of the Vienna census lists is often very cursive and the surface of the papyri at the same time heavily abraded, so that a number of Harrauer's readings are highly doubtful. I have therefore reproduced here a slightly corrected list, omitting a number of names for a variety of reasons,¹ which I have no time to explain here, and adding a few others, which I recognized while checking the readings of the editio princeps. I have counted 34 individuals with clearly Semitic names. My addenda are marked with an asterisk.

no.	name	reference	village
1	* 'Ακαβίας	4.50	Trikomia
2	* 'Ακαβίας	4.155	Trikomia
3	* 'Ανανίας	4.158	Trikomia
4	'Ανάνης	4.134	Trikomia
5	'Ανάνης	4.164	Trikomia
6	'Αννᾶς	4.184	Trikomia
7	**'Αννις	4.167	Trikomia
8	Βαρρίκας	4.152	Trikomia
9	'Ηλίας	6.77	Trikomia or Lysimachis?
10	'Ιαδοῦλις	4.185	Trikomia
11	* 'Ιεῆς	5.55	Trikomia
12	'Ιεσηφίς	4.150	Trikomia
13	'Ιουδεῖτις	4.116	Trikomia
14	'Ιουδεῖτις	4.157	Trikomia
15	'Ιωάνης	4.165	Trikomia
16	'Ιωάννας	4.161	Trikomia
17	'Ιωάννης	4.169	Trikomia
18	'Ιωσηφίς	4.40 = 111	Trikomia
19	'Ιωσηφίς	4.58	Trikomia
19	'Ιωσηφίς	8.2	no place
20	Μαριαμ	4.171	Trikomia
21	Μαριαμ	10.8	Athenas kome ?
22	*Μαριάμις ²	12.44	Trikomia
23	*[Μ]άριον	4.121	Trikomia
24	Μαρῶνις]	4.175	Trikomia
25	Σαβαθαῖος	13.11	no place
26	*Σαβαθαῖος ³	4.48	Trikomia
27	Σαβατῆτις	10.7	Athenas kome ?
28	Σαβατάις	30.2	Trikomia
29	*[Σ]αβατεῖτις ⁴	4.119	Trikomia
30	*Σαλῦμις	4.115 = 122	Trikomia
31	*Σαλῦμις	4.134	Trikomia
32	Σαμβᾶς	6.77	no place

¹ The following entries have not been accepted since the reading or interpretation is considered uncertain : 'Αβους (10.30; may be an Egyptian name), 'Αρωνί (12.6; maybe an Egyptian name beginning with 'Αρ-), Αυνη (4.54; maybe γυνή?), 'Ηνοχυσίς (4.34; the link with Biblical Enoch is very doubtful); 'Ιακκοβίος (21.4), Κεμαρευς (12.8), Σαλης (6.20), Σουλωίς (15.35) and Φαληγις (10.15; could be an Egyptian name beginning with Φα-). Simon and Maron are in fact greek names, though they often correspond to the Semitic names Shime'on and Mar- (cf. infra).

² Ed. Γαριμμίς

³ Ναβαθαίος ed. princ., Σαβαθαίος legit J.Bingen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 63, 1988, p.175.

⁴ Αβατερτίς ed. princ.

33	*Σάρας ⁵	30.6	Trikomia
34	Σουσάννα	4.195	Trikomia

A glance at the above list shows that the Semitic names often appear in close proximity to each other. The most conspicuous examples are Salumis son of Ananis (4.134) and Elias son of Sambas (6.77), but there are clusters of Semitic names also in 4. 115-122 and 164-171, although here they are interwoven with Greek names :

4.	115	<u>Αθ.Ι.Ιος Σαλύμιος</u>
	116	<u>Ίουοδεΐτις</u> γυ(νή)
	117	Ἄλέξανδρος υἱός
	118	Παντάγαθος
	119	<u>[Σ]αβατεΐτις</u> μή(τηρ)
	120	[Ν]ικάνωρ Ἰάσονος
	121	<u>[Μ]άριον</u> γυ(νή)
	122	Ἄλκαῖος <u>Σαλύμιος</u>

The individuals of ll. 115 and 122 are no doubt brothers, both sons of Salumis = Solomon.

4.	149	Μάγας Φιλίππου
	150	Ἰεσηφίς Τρικήκκαίου
	151	Θεύδοτος
	152	<u>Βαρίκκας</u> γυ(νή)
	153	Πρωτᾶς Θεογένους
	154	Φιλωτέρα γυ(νή)
	155	Ἄκαβίας
	156	Ἄλέξανδρος Ἀγάθωνος
	157	<u>Ίουοδεΐτις</u> γυ(νή)
	158	Ἀνανίας Σίμωνος
	159	Θευδότη γυ(νή)
	160	Νικάνωρ Ἀγάθωνος
	161	Ἰωαννᾶς γυ(νή)
	162	Πτολεμαῖος μάγειρος
	163	Βελιστίχη
	164	Ἀνανίς
	165	Ἰωάνις
	166	Θεύδοτος Νίκωνος
	167	Ἄννις
	168	Δημήτριος Πύρου
	169	Ἰωάννας
	170	Θεύδοτος Διοκλέους
	171	<u>Μαριαμ</u> γυ(νή), (γίνεται) β (ὦν) α

It is instructive to take a closer look at the Greek names which alternate with the Semitic names within these Jewish families. Over 30 years ago Tcherikover and Fuchs pointed out the types of personal names which were especially favoured by the Hellenized Jews of Egypt

⁵ Ὠρᾶς ed. princ.

(CPJud I, pp. xvii-xix) : phonetic equivalents of Jewish names, translations of Jewish names, monotheistic names and dynastic names.

For the present occasion I shall apply the criteria of Tcherikower and Fuchs to a somewhat larger portion of the same text, listing a group of 89 persons, 52 males and 37 females (CPR XIII 4.110-201). Their names cover columns 7-11 of CPR XIII 4 and are clearly set off from other parts of the text by means of a heading in l.109 and and by the total for the whole group in ll.198-201.

col.7

	109	Μάρωνος Ἑλληνας
-	110	[Διζούλας ⁶
+	111	Ἰωσήφης
0	112	Ἰ' Ἀρετῶ γυνή ⁷
-0	113	Σπάρτακος Εὐτυχίδου
0	114	[Φιλοξένη ⁸ γυνή)
0+	115	Ἀθ.Ι.ιος Σαλύμιος
+	116	Ἰουδοεῖτις γυνή)
+	117	Ἀλέξανδρος υἱός
0	118	Παντάγαθος
+	119	[Σ]αβατεῖτις ⁹ μή(τηρ)
0 +	120	[Νηκάνωρ Ἰάσωνος ¹⁰
+	121	[Μ]άριον ¹¹ γυνή)
0+	122	Ἀλκαῖος ¹² Σαλύμιος
-0	123	[Δημήτριος Βίου
+	124	[Κ]λεοπάτρα γυνή)
+	125	[Θε]ύδαρος ¹³ Π. . . λου
-	126	[Θ]ασοῦς γραῦς
-0	127	Ἰηραίσκος Νίκωνος

col.8

0	128	Σαρνη μή(τηρ)
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⁶ [I. ρζουλας ed., [Διζούλας Clarysse, *P.Petrie*², p.232.

⁷ Ἰστων ed. The correction is based on 4.40, where the same woman is mentioned : Ἰ' Ἀρετῶ γυνή) Ἰωσήφης.

⁸ Maybe we should supplement [Θε]ροξένη. This would give us another monotheistic name.

⁹ Ἀβατερις ed.

¹⁰ Ἰάσωνος ed.

¹¹ Ἰ[σ]άριον ed. But the name Isarion is typical of the Roman period, and Marion is attested for Trikomia at the end of the third cent. B.C. in P.Tebt. III 1084 col.2 = CPJud I 40.

¹² Ἀγκαιος ed. The traces are indistinct; Ἀίκατος does not seem possible.

¹³ [Ε]ύδαρος ed.

0	129	Λίβυς
+0	130	Δέξιος Θρασυκλέου<ς>
0	131	Ἄριστονεΐκη γυ(νή)
+0	132	Θεύδαρος Νέωνος
+-	133	Θεύδαρος Διονυσίου
++	134	<u>Σαλῶμις</u> Ἀνάμιος ¹⁴
-	135	Ζηνοδώρα γυ(νή)
-	136	Δημητρία
+-	137	Μνασέας Ἄπολλω(νίου)
-	138	Θαρῶς μή(τηρ) (γίνεται) β (ῶν) α
0-	139	Σῶσος Ἡρακλείδου (γίνεται) α
-0	140	Σαραπίων Στεφάνου (γίνεται) α
0	141	Εὐτυχίς (γίνεται) α ¹⁵
++	142	<u>Σίμων</u> Σίμωνος
+	143	Ἰρήνη γυ(νή)
+	144	Θεόμνηστος ἀδελφὸς (γίνεται) γ (ῶν) β
0	145	Νικαΐα
—	146	Θαμοῦνις Παάπιος
-	147	Τασῦτις
0+	148	Τιμάνδρα <u>Σίμωνος</u>

col. 9

++	149	Μάγας Φιλίππου ¹⁶
+0	150	<u>Ἰεσηφίς</u> Τρι|κκαίου
+	151	Θεύδοτος
+	152	<u>Βαρικκάς</u> ¹⁷ γυ(νή)
0+	153	Πρωτᾶς Θεογένους
+	154	Φιλωτέρα γυ(νή)
+	155	<u>Ἄκαβίας</u> ¹⁸
+0	156	Ἄλέξανδρος Ἀγάθωνος
+	157	<u>Ἰουοδεΐτις</u> γυ(νή)
++	158	<u>Ἀνανίας</u> Σί|μωνος
+	159	Θευδότη γυ(νή)

¹⁴ The reading Ἄντανιος of the ed. princ. is clearly a misprint.

¹⁵ The group (γίνεται) α is written somewhat under the line and was taken with the next line by the editor, but from the context it is clear that we should take it with Eutuchis of l.141, not with Simon of l.142, who is included with his wife and brother in l.144.

¹⁶ Μαγῶν Νοθιππου ed.

¹⁷ Βαρρικα ed.

¹⁸ Ακωρ.ς ed. The name Akabias is found again in 4.50.

- 00 160 Νικάνωρ Ἀγάθωνος
 + 161 Ἰωαννᾶς γυ(νή)
 + 162 επ() Πτολεμαῖος μάγειρος
 - 163 Βελιστίχη
 + 164 Ἀνάνης
 + 165 Ἰωάνης
 +0 166 Θεύδοτος Νίκωνος
 + 167 Ἄννης
 -0 168 Δημήτριος Πύρου
 + 169 Ἰωάννας¹⁹
 +- 170 Θεύδοτος/ Διοκλέους

col.10

- + 171 Μαριαμ γυ(νή) (γίνεται) β (ῶν) α
 + 172 Φιλωτέρα²⁰ (γίνεται) θη(λυκόν) α
 0 173 Σωσίβιος (γίνεται) α
 -0 174 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μεγακλέους
 + 175 Μαρω[νις] γυ(νή) (γίνεται) β (ῶν) α
 + 176 Σύρος
 0+ 177 Φιλέας Θευδότου
 0 178 Σωτηρίς γυ(νή)
 0 179 Ζωπυρίων
 0 180 Νίκαια μή(τηρ)
 +0 181 Θεόξενος Ἀγήνορος
 + 182 Θεύδαρος ἀδελφός
 0 183 Νίκαια μή(τηρ)
 + 184 Ἄννης (γίνεται) θ [(ῶν) ς]
 ++ 184a Θεύδαρος Δώρου²¹
 + 185 Ἰαδοῦλις
 + 186 Στράτων
 + 187 Θέων
 + 188 Νουμήνιος
 — 189 Τήρης Ἀρτεμιδώρου
 + 190 Θεοφίλη γυ(νή)

col.11

¹⁹ Ἰωάννης ed.

²⁰ Φιλοτέρα ed.

²¹ This line was omitted in the ed. princ. I have not changed the numbering.

0	191	Κλίτος πρ(εσβύτερος)
+	192	Φιλωτέρα |
00	193	Ζαίλος Ζαίλου
0+	194	Φιλέας 'Ιω
+	195	<u>Σουσάννα</u> γυ(νή)
+	196	Πτολεμαῖος |
+	197	Πτολεμαῖς γυ(νή) |
	198	(γίνεται) σώματα | πη (ᾶν) ἄρ(σενικά) να|
	199	θη(λυκά) λζ δί(κ)αια
+	200	<u>Θεύδοτος</u> | (γίνεται) ἄρ(σενικά) νβ|
	201	θη(λυκά) λζ |

The above text reproduces Harrauer's edition with a few corrections. Semitic names are underlined, monotheistic names are printed in italics. In the margin I have marked with + Jewish and probably Jewish names (i.e. the four groups considered so by Tcherikower-Fuchs), with - the names that are unexpected among Jews (pagan names and a few Egyptian and Thracian names), with 0 Greek names that are theologically neutral and could therefore be used without problem by religious Jews.

1. Greek names that are phonetically close to an original Jewish name.

The best known example is the name Σίμων, the equivalent of Hebrew Shime'on. Not every Simon is a Jew, but if the context is Jewish the name is significant. It is here found in 4.142 (Σίμων Σίμωνος), 4.148 (Σίμων father of Timandra); elsewhere in CPR XIII we find 6.158 (Σίμων father of 'Ανανίας) and 4.49, where I read 'Ιρήνη Σίμωνος (instead of Θίμωνος²²) παιδίσκη.

A similar case is Mnaseas, which corresponds to biblical Manasse. The name is found in 4.137 (see also 4.45, where the editor wrongly reads Πνησας).

The Greek name Jason was popular with the Jews since its first syllable reminded them of the numerous Jewish names beginning with Jahweh (Jacob, Jadoulis, even Johannes, cfr. Dutch or Polish Jan). In our text we find a Nikanor son of Jason in the middle of a cluster of Semitic names in 4.120.

Solon (4.61 and 5.52; probably also in 30.14, where I read Σόλων Διονυσίου) may have been considered by the Jews a hypocoristic of the biblical Solomon, which appears elsewhere in the texts in the form Salumis.

A Semitic background is probable for the name Maron, which occurs quite often in the lists. Semitic mar- means "master, lord", occurring for instance in Mariam. But Maron is also a Hellenized form of Egyptian Marres "M3^ct-R^c", one of the names of pharaoh Amenemhat III, who was particularly worshipped in the Fayum (see the index of CPR XIII s.v. Μαρρης). It is therefore the context which has to decide on the ethnicity of those called Maron (see for instance 30.1-6, where the context is clearly Jewish). Our part of the list is headed Μάρωνος (1.109), which stands for ἐν τῇ Μάρωνος (οἰκίαι or κόμηι) as is clear from 4.39. The owner of the house block or the hamlet, where all these people lived was a certain Maron, and there is a good chance that he too was a Jew.

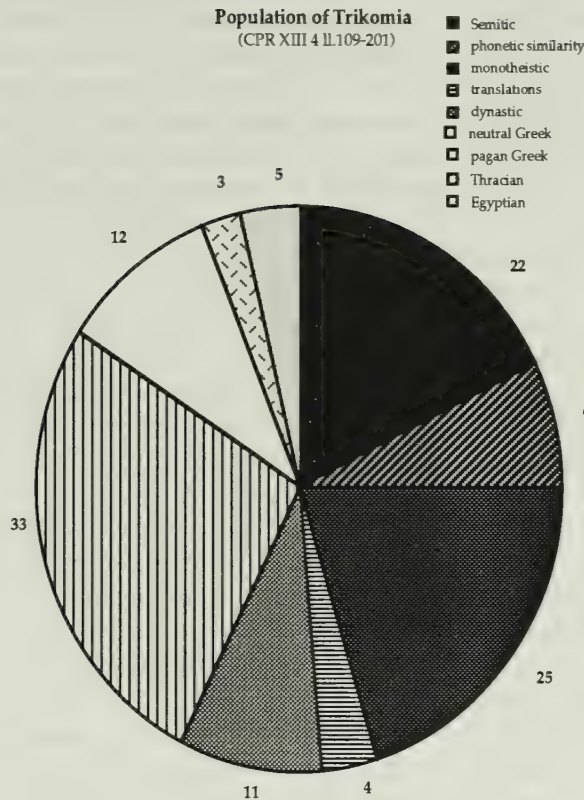
2. Some Greek names in Jewish families are simply translations of originally Jewish or Semitic names. The best known example is that of the apostle Thomas also called Didymos : the

²² Ed. Θίμωνος. For the correction, see ZPE 76 (1989), p.97 n.10.

two names mean "the twin". Thus Eirene in a Jewish context may correspond to Salome, Noumenios to Ben-Hodesh, Dikaios to Zaduq, Dexios to Benjamin and Doros or Dorion to Natan; see Irene wife of Simon in 4.143 and another Irene, slave-girl of Simon in 4.49. Since most of the Greek names mentioned above are fairly common, the argument here is often uncertain and I have not pressed it further.

3. The names Theodotos, Dositheos and Theomnestos may also be considered translations of the Jewish names Jahu-nathan, Mathat-Yahu and Zachar-Yahu respectively, but I have rather listed them in the next category : theophoric names with the element θεος. Because of their monotheism, Jews tended to avoid pagan theophoric names such as Apollodoros or Aphrodisia; instead names with the general divine element -theos are conspicuously prominent among Hellenized Jews. This is also the case in the census lists of Trikomia, where we find many such names : 13 Theodotos/Theudotos/Theudote, 4 Theophile and Theophilos, Theudotos, 3 Theodoros, 2 Dorotheos and 1 Theomnestos, often within a context of Jewish names, e.g. Theudote daughter of Ananias in 4.159, Theodotos husband of Barrikas (4. 151), another Theodotos husband of Mariam (4.170). In 4.125 we should no doubt supplement [Θε]ύδωρος instead of the editor's [Ε]ύδωρος.

4. A last group of names favoured by Jews were the dynastic names : they had the advantage of not being overtly pagan, and at the same time they allowed the bearers to show off their loyalty to the royal house. This type of name was, however, also popular with the rest of the Greek population, especially with the cleruchs. They offer by themselves no proof that a family is Jewish, but when they occur in a Jewish context, they cause no surprise and there is no reason to doubt the Jewish character of their bearers. In our texts we find six Ptolemaios, five Alexandros (one a son of Iouodeitis, another a husband of Iouodeitis), four Philotera (the name of Arsinoe's younger sister, who was divinized under Ptolemy II) and two Kleopatra (4.124; 4.320, my reading against Harrauer's Καθοπατος). The combination Μαγας son of Φίλιππος (4.149) may also be considered dynastic.



The composition of the village population is visualized in the above graph, showing 22 people with Semitic names i.e. nearly 18 % of the group. But when we include the Grecized names that are accepted as common with Hellenized Jews by Tcherikower and Fuchs, i.e. the four groups we have just surveyed, the total number of probable Jews reaches 71 i.e. 58,2 %; 33 persons had common greek names and 12 had pagan names, together 36 %. But clearly some of those were Jewish as well, as is clear from the family context in which they are mentioned : thus

- Diokles, father of Theudotos and father-in-law of Mariam (l.170) and Zenodora wife of Salumis (l.135) have theophoric names composed with Zeus. They have been listed with the pagan names above, but there is no doubt that Zeus here stands as an *interpretatio graeca* for Jahweh

- the couple Alexandros and Jouodeithis is clearly Jewish (dynastic name and Semitic names), but Alexander's father Agathon and his brother Nikanor have common Greek names

- Phileas cannot be recognised as a Jew by his name, but he is married to Sousanna and his patronym begins with Ιωάν, no doubt a form of Johannes (ll.194-195). Therefore Phileas himself was also Jewish.

- The name Artemidoros looks very pagan indeed, but the Artemidoros of l.174 is married to a woman called Maronis, and the name is attested 5 times in a Jewish context in the first volume of the Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum. Apparently this pagan name was for some reason or other accepted in Jewish circles.

One gets, in fact, the impression that most people in this group belonged to a Hellenized Jewish community, in which there was only a very tiny minority of Thracians (Dizoulas, Teres) and, surprisingly, a few women with Egyptian names. Did they perhaps belong to the domestic staff? The presence of non-Jewish Semites cannot of course be excluded.

Document CPR XIII 4 should be compared with the totals for the whole village population as given in CPR nos. 1 and 2 : 331 persons (171 male, 160 female); 72 male inhabitants are listed as Hellenes.²³ The section of the list we have just studied is headed in l.109 : Μάρωνος "Ἕλληνας. The meaning of Μάρωνος is rendered a bit more clear by 4.39, where it is repeated as ἐν τῆι Μάρωνος. Harrauer supplements into ἡ Μάρωνος (οἰκία), but this would imply a very large tenement house; therefore D. Thompson prefers (κώμη), one of the three subdivisions Tri-komia, "perhaps the area where predominantly the immigrants lived"?²⁴ The normal interpretation of the heading "Μάρωνος "Ἕλληνας" is, I think, that the whole group following it, until the next subtotal in ll.198-201 live in the house or the district of Maron and are Hellenes. Harrauer objects against this (l.109 n.) "schwerlich wird man Ἰωσηφίς (Z.111) als Hellenen akzeptieren". Since Josephis is in fact the second person after the heading, the first person being Dizoulas, a Thracian, there is a problem here. The underlying assumption is clearly : being a Jew, Josephis cannot at the same time be a Greek! But this is exactly the point : why should Hellenized Jews not belong to the category of the Hellenes, if the distinction was not one of race or religion, but depended on other criteria (e.g. the gymnasium curriculum or involvement in the army or the administration)? The ethnic Ἰουδαῖος appears regularly in private contracts alongside traditional Greek ethnics such as Ἀθηναῖος or Κυρηναῖος : one certainly gets the impression there that Jews were accepted as members of the Hellenic community, alongside e.g. Makedones and Thraikes. I think the Jews in the chora were generally considered as belonging to the Greek community, in opposition to the Egyptians. The situation was different in Alexandria, because this was a Greek city and Greek citizenship was always very much restricted in Greek city states.

I do not think there is a priori a problem in considering Josephis and his fellow Jews as Hellenes. I know of only two texts where Ἕλληνας and Ἰουδαῖοι are treated as separate categories : one is CPJud 33 (3rd cent. B.C.), where the whole non-Egyptian population is divided into Greeks and Jews; the other is an unpublished Petrie fragment, part of a census list with a καθ' ἔθνος grouping, where Ἰουδαῖοι are listed alongside Persai and Arabes. For Trikomia CPR XIII 11 lists Hellenes and Arabes, but no Jews. Arabes were probably an occupational rather than an ethnic category, and the same may, up to a certain point, be true for the Hellenes.²⁵

Our section contains the names of 89 people, 52 male and (only) 37 female, whereas in CPR 1 and 2 the number of male Greeks in the village is said to have been 72. We have counted at least 38 males of Jewish background in our section of the list alone, but there are several other smaller Jewish groups in the same text. It looks as if most of the "Hellenic" population of the village did in fact consist of Hellenized Jews.

As a conclusion of the present paper I should like to stress the very peculiar character of the village of Trikomia : at least one fifth of its population was of Jewish origin, and even the epistates of the village (the royal commissar), a certain Simon (P. Ent. 33), was clearly a Jew. We know of the existence of a village called Samareia in the Fayoum and we expect a fair number of Jews and Samaritans there (the most informative text is CPJ I 28, mentioning a number of Jewish owners of sheep and goats; there is an interesting new text in Heidelberg, to be published shortly by R. Duttonhöfer), but until now, in the words of Tcherikover-Fuks

²³ Approximately the same total is reached when the subtotals of no. 4 are added :

l.108	:	107 + 92 = 199
ll.198-201 = 215-216	:	52 + 37 = 89 "Ἕλληνας
l.236	:	10 + 8 = 18 γεωργοί
total	:	169 + 137 = 306

²⁴ letter of 7 August 1992.

²⁵ D.Thompson draws my attention to the fact that the next section in the list, starting in 4.217 is headed γεωργοί, clearly a professional category.

(CPJ I, p. 9), we did not have the means "of establishing whether these populations were large enough to form communities". In Trikomia there can be no doubt about this, and the Jewish community of this village (perhaps one of three komai that were grouped in a sunoikismos?) forms now the best known Jewish community of the Ptolemaic chora. Moreover the texts clearly show that the Jews in Trikomia were deeply Hellenized : among the people in the section we have studied only five have Egyptian names (one is the mother of Mnaseas, wife of Apollonios in ll.137-138) and all are included under the status designation of Hellenes.²⁶

²⁶ With thanks to Dorothy Thompson for useful comments both on style and substance.

THE HERACLEOPOLITE NOME: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL BORDERS

Maria Rosaria Falivene

Several documents dating from the third to the first century B.C. allow us to define a region in the northern Herakleopolites which comprised more than one toparchy, and often overlapped the Arsinoite border, but still made up a homogeneous area, both on the economic and on the demographic level, and from an administrative point of view.¹ The toparchies in question are those *περὶ Βουσίριν*, *περὶ Κόμα*, *περὶ Τιλωθίν* and *περὶ Τέκμι*: these all apparently centered, for certain administrative purposes, around Bousiris, the modern Abousir el-Melek.² At the northern entrance of the Herakleopolites, Bousiris naturally was an important station on the trade-route connecting the Memphite, Aphroditopolite, Heracleopolite and Arsinoite nomes. Ptolemais Hormos (the modern el-Lahun) was less than eight miles away to the South-West: there the Bahr Yussef bent toward Lake Moeris and the Arsinoite nome.

Tilothis (like Bousiris) has kept its ancient Egyptian name till our time: its modern name is Delâs, approximately five miles to the South-East of Abousir el-Melek. A Coptic list of the bishops of Egypt, as quoted by Amélineau,³ offers the triple equivalence Νίλου = ⲧⲗⲠ = Delâs, which also explains why the place-name Tilothis is apparently no longer attested in the Greek sources after the first century B.C. Its name was changed to Νείλου πόλις (not to be confused with the Arsinoite village by the same name),⁴ possibly under the new Roman administration. As a consequence, the surrounding area came to be called Νειλουπολίτης. But the original Egyptian name never died out entirely: it may have vanished from the official Greek documents, but was obviously kept in use by the Egyptian-speaking population, and eventually re-surfaced in the Arabic place-name Delâs. It also turns up, rather unexpectedly, in the *Suda*, under the entry Ἡρακλέων: this man was a γραμματικός, and the author of commentaries on Homer and on the Greek lyric poets of the archaic period; he was born at Tilothis (ἀπὸ κώμης Τιλώτεως, as the *Suda* says) and later took up teaching in Rome.⁵ Tilothis was a common station for commerce and travel through the Nile Valley, and the sources show that it kept this character after changing its name. The second largest centre in the Tilothis toparchy was Ταρχαίς. BGU XIV 2438, ll.55-71 (I B.C.), still records it under the main entry *περὶ Τιλώθεως* (*sic*), but BGU VIII 1780 (51/50 B.C.) mentions a ὑποστράτηγος Ταρχάεως (called Artemidoros). At this time, then, the Tilothis toparchy had apparently been divided into two subtoparchies, one of which had Tanchais as its main centre.⁶ This is but one instance of the reorganization of the internal and external borders of the Herakleopolites during the last century or so of the Ptolemaic rule: as we go on, we shall find more than one sign of this.

¹ W. Clarysse, 'Philadelphia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive', in *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis (Studia Hellenistica 24)*, 1980, pp.95-122 (esp. 97-100) has already looked at this 'transitional area' from a Memphite perspective.

² Relevant documents: P.Cairo Zen. 59753 (256 B.C.); P.Cairo Zen. 59782 b (III B.C.); PSI V 510 (254/3 B.C.); P.Lille 59 (237/6 B.C.); P.Rainer Cent. 44 (III/II B.C.); BGU XIV 2438, 57-71 (I B.C.); BGU XIV 2370, fr.1-3 (I B.C.);

³ E. Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, p. 136, cf. J. Yoyotte, *RdE* 13, 1961, p.97, fig. 5 (Kom de Lodj = T3i3trt = Tilothis).

⁴ Cf. D. Bonneau, 'Niloupolis du Fayoum', in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie*, Bruxelles 1979, IV, p.259; cfr. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 54, 1974, pp.58-61.

⁵ H. Hauben, *ZPE* 8 (1971) p.271 n.6, first called attention to this rather unusual source for Tilothis.

⁶ Cf. the *Einleitung* to the BGU VIII volume, p.5.

Ὀννής, a village regularly recurring in the documents which refer to the northern Heracleopolites as a whole, is shown by other sources to belong in the Tekmi toparchy, and to have been a station on the down-river route to Alexandria. Besides, there is evidence hinting at neighbourhood relations between the inhabitants of Onnes and those of Heracleopolis.⁷ Generally speaking, links between the Tekmi toparchy and the toparchy 'around the polis' (i.e. Heracleopolis) are frequently attested, especially on the religious level: BGU VIII 1795 (48/7 B.C.) is a petition from Semtheus, son of Horos, who was at the same time προφήτης of the temple of Herakles at Σῶβθις (in the περὶ πόλιν toparchy: cf. BGU XIV 2432, 13). Besides, the land-survey of the Tekmi toparchy in the first century B.C. (BGU XIV 2441-2450) often refers to 'the temple of Esephkomtoi at Tekmi'. Εσηφ, which Vergote translated as 'he of the ram-head', is found in SB XIV 11959 (142 A.D.) as the epithet of Ἡρακλῆς: this was the Herakles of Heracleopolis, of course, whom the Greeks identified with the local Heracleopolite god Ἄρσαφῆς: the ram-head was certainly more suited to the latter.⁸ The re-naming of the metropolis (and consequently of the nome) was based on this hellenising equivalence between Harsaphes and Herakles: we might call it a case of inter-cultural translation. In the very long run, however, the Egyptian culture had the better of it: the modern Arabic name of the town that was Heracleopolis is Ehnassieh el-Medineh, going back to the ancient Egyptian name.⁹

The Heracleopolites was enclosed, for the main part, between the Nile and the Bahr Yussef, with a tendency to overlap on the West, beyond the Bahr Yussef. One of the sources for the northern Heracleopolites (BGU XIV 2370, fr. 1-3) adds two villages, Αὐῆρις and Φνεβιεύς, which another document (BGU XIV 2438) associates with localities of the Μέση toparchy.¹⁰ In view of the close links between the northern Heracleopolites and the Arsinoites, it seems very likely that Aueris be the same as the Arsinoite village by this name, whose identification with modern Hawara is beyond doubt.¹¹ On the other hand, Φνεβιεύς may well be the same as Φνεβγεύς, attested by P.Petrie III 43 b, the well-known contract for maintenance-work on bridges and canals leading to Ἱερὰ Νῆσος, Θμοινῶτις,¹² Φνεβγεύς and Τεβέτνοι, among other villages. These four place-names are also attested for the Heracleopolites: a Θμοινῶτις in the Middle (μέση) toparchy (like Phnebieus); a Τεβέτνου in the Πέραν toparchy, a Hierā Nesos, as an important station for trade to, from and across the Heracleopolite nome.¹³ Homonymous villages were of course frequent in Egypt, but when more than one village in the same area are supposed to duplicate themselves just beyond the near-by border with another nome, as is the case here, the possibility that we are dealing with the same villages, and with a shifting of the borderline between two neighbouring districts, should at least be seriously considered. On the one hand, such a shifting of the borders could reveal a greater awareness, on the part of the Greek administrators, of the geographic and economic structure of the region. On the other hand, this re-organization of the internal and external borders seems to have occurred in the '60s of the second century B.C., and was

⁷ Documents on the northern Heracleopolites which also mention Onnes: see above, n.2: Onnes in the Tekmi toparchy: BGU XIV 2440, 41-49 (I B.C.); down-river route to Alexandria: PSI VI 587 (III B.C.); relations between the inhabitants of Onnes and Heracleopolis: SPP XX 18 (205 A.D.).

⁸ See J. Vergote, 'Note sur ΕΣΗΦ', *JJP* 11/12(1957/58), pp.93-96.

⁹ Cf. W.Helck - W.Westendorf (hrsg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band II, s.v. 'Heracleopolis Magna'.

¹⁰ The readings are somewhat uncertain: BGU XIV 2370, fr.1, 80 (Αὐῆρ(ι)εω[ς]); BGU XIV 2438, 100 (Αυ.ρεω[ς]: Αὐῆρεω[ς] ? Brashear). The references to Φνεβιεύς are found at BGU XIV 2370, fr.1, 79 (Φνεβιεί) and BGU XIV 2438, 96 (also 22).

¹¹ Cf. E.A.E. Reymond, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. I. *Embalmer's Archives from Hawara*, pp.12-14.

¹² Θμοινῶτις (at P.Petrie III 43 (2) recto III l.28) is the reading suggested by W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Studia Hellenistica* 9, Louvain-Leiden 1953, p.64 and n.4.

¹³ Cf. A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, s.vv.

obviously aimed at a better control of an often restless and troubled country: these were the years of dreadful conflict between Philometor and his brother Euergetes II.¹⁴

Three documents from the third century A.D. (SPP XX 28 and CPR I 64, both dated to 227 A.D., and SB I 4370, of the following year, 228/9 A.D.) record transactions effected 'through the state-notary of Πεενάμις in the Middle toparchy',¹⁵ but in BGU XIV 2437, 26 (I B.C.) Peenamias is assigned to the Ἄγημα κάτω (Northern Agema) toparchy: it is clear that the boundaries between the (obviously neighbouring) Middle and Northern Agema toparchies had shifted. That these two toparchies bordered upon each other is confirmed by BGU XIV 2438, where a list of villages belonging to the Middle toparchy immediately follows a sequence of villages of the Northern Agema, both at ll.10 ff. and at ll.89 ff. Another document is of interest here: P.Hels. I 6 (exactly dated to the 18th of August, 164 B.C.: possibly the worst year in the long-dragged conflict between Philometor and Euergetes II) deals with the transport of corn 'for the soldiers' rations' from the store of Ἀλιλάϊς to the fort of Hieria Nesos 'as it is usual, and because the place is badly guarded' (ll.8-9). The corn assembled at Alilais came 'from localities in the Southern Agema (ἄνω Ἄγημα)'. A few tentative conclusions may be drawn from the documents examined till now:

(a) the Agema was divided into a Southern and a Northern subtoparchy, possibly from the 60s of the second century B.C.;

(b) the Middle toparchy bordered upon the Agema: it may itself have attracted localities previously belonging to the Polemon division of the Arsinoites, such as Phnebieus (which was in fact its main centre) and Thmoiothis;

(c) Μέση may in fact stand for (Ἄγημα) μέση, much in the same way as κάτω sometimes stands for (Ἄγημα) κάτω.¹⁶

The identification of Peenamias with modern Baanamôh, as suggested by Yoyotte,¹⁷ is consistent with these conclusions. As regards Hieria Nesos, I should stress that, to the best of my knowledge, no source indicates that it belonged to the Middle nor, for that matter, to any other Herakleopolite toparchy. What the sources do show is a connection between various localities of the Herakleopolites and a Hieria Nesos which may very well be the same village as Hieria Nesos in the Polemon division of the Arsinoites - or rather, in a sort of 'no man's land' which the Herakleopolites and the Arsinoites shared in more than one way.¹⁸

In P.Hels. I 29 (dated by its Editor to 161/160 B.C.: our earliest source for the Middle toparchy) the entry Μέση follows references to Θμοίφθα (in the Peran toparchy)¹⁹ and to

¹⁴ See E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.C.)*, Tome 2. *Des avènements d'Antiochos III et de Philippe V à la fin des Lagides*, Nancy 1982, pp.360-361.

¹⁵ The exact wording is δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας μερῶν μέσης Πεενάμεως τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν.

¹⁶ BGU XIV 2370 (to be dated after 84/3 B.C.) indicates that the village of Πεενσεμθεός (l.34) was in the κάτω toparchy, while BGU XIV 2437, 32 and BGU XIV 2438, 91 (both from the I B.C.) assign the same village to the Ἄγημα κάτω: the equivalence Ἄγημα κάτω = κάτω is thus established.

¹⁷ In M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite. Toponymie et sites*, Ann Arbor 1979, p.199 n.353.

¹⁸ In 51/50 B.C., for instance, the priests of the village address a petition to the *strategos* of the Herakleopolites, lamenting that Hieria Nesos has been abandoned by most of its inhabitants (BGU VIII 1835). The ποταμοφύλακες of the Πτολεμαϊκὸς ποταμὸς are to escort Mandrobes and a rear-guard to Hieria; their colleagues from the Troites (the region around Troia, to the North of Memphis) will then take over and escort Mandrobes till the Kynopolites (BGU VIII 1784; I B.C.): the Editors suggested that the Πτολεμαϊκὸς ποταμὸς could be identified with the Bahr Yussef. In another document dating from the first century B.C. (BGU VIII 1768) a *strategos*, after reaching Hieria Nesos, descends the [...]μβατικὸς ποταμὸς till he reaches a ὄρμος whose name is unfortunately lost, where he is met by the priests (a temple of Herakles is mentioned at l.9) and by the whole Greek and Egyptian community. Earlier documents may be compared, such as P.Hib. I 80 (250 B.C.) and SB X 10540 (251/250 B.C.?), both dealing with the export of wine from Θμοινεθῶμις (in the Koites) to Hieria Nesos (perhaps no more than an intermediate station).

¹⁹ Thmoioftha in the Peran: P.Hels. I 26, 26-29 (162 B.C.); BGU XIV 2432, 15-17 (I B.C.); BGU XIV 2437 (I B.C.).

Κερκύτου (which other sources assign to the Middle toparchy)²⁰. Neighbourhood-relations between the Peran and the Agema are apparently attested by the entry *περὶ Πέραν καὶ Νισέα* in BGU XIV 2440. Νισεύς is in fact listed in a group of villages of the Agema in BGU XIV 2438, ll.10-19. The group includes Κορφοτοί, Νιλεύς and Κολασοῦχις, besides Niseus; a list of villages in the Μέση follows.

If this reconstruction of the northern and central Heracleopolites is substantially correct, Peran is more likely to mean something like 'on the other side of the Bahr Yussef', or even 'on the other side of the (Arsinoite) border', rather than 'on the other side (i.e. on the Eastern bank) of the Nile'.²¹ The peripheral location of the toparchy 'on the other side' may also account for the apparently high incidence of serious offences in this region.²² Among these, BGU VIII 1857 (I B.C.) reports the murder of the petitioner's brother, whose devastated body has been found on the way leading from Τεβέτνοι to Καινή. Both place-names are attested for the Peran toparchy, as well as (and more often) for the Polemon division of the Arsinoites, where Tebetny has been identified with modern Defednu. One might venture the hypothesis that around 160 B.C. parts of the Polemon division went to make up the Middle and (perhaps only for a short time) the Peran toparchy in the Heracleopolite district - were it not for some apparently contrary evidence. P.Hels. I 26 records payments received for tax-arrears by the *oikonomos* of the Κωίτης, the Τεχθῶ Νήσος and the Πέραν, on September the 2nd, 162 B.C. (ll.2-4).²³ Peran, Techtho and Koites also appear, in this order, in BGU VIII 1808 (ll.14-16; I B.C.); Peran and Techtho again appear in two consecutive lines in BGU XIV 2440 (ll.12 and 13). Furthermore, the same Harmachis, agent of the *oikonomos*, to whom the writer of P.Stras. 111 (215/4 B.C.) reports about a case of ἀναχώρησις τοῦ Πειονταμοῦν (presumably the same as Πεινσαμοί, in the Peran),²⁴ is in charge of the shipment of wheat from the store of Techtho to Alexandria (P.Stras. 563 and 113). Many centuries later, Πεινθαμοί is still entered immediately after Techtho in SPP X 233 (V A.D.: perhaps the most important Byzantine document for the toponymy of the Heracleopolites). Techtho Nesos already appears as an independent unit in the third century B.C., when it has its own *τοπάρχης* (cf. P.Hamb. III 202); it is also well attested as a φρούριον, 'one of the guard-posts strung along the Nile across Middle Egypt' (cf. P.Hib. 198, and P.Stras. 103 and 104, all from the third century B.C.). W. Clarysse has directed attention to the tantalizing possibility that Techtho be identified with Teudzoi, the Egyptian name for el-Hibeh, and an important fortress in the late Pharaonic period.²⁵ This is very tempting, because el-Hibeh is on the eastern bank of the Nile, which would explain both the partially independent status of Techtho, and its close connection with the Koites, on the western bank. The fact that P.L.Bat. XIII 13 (421 A.D.) locates Peensamoi, and thus the Peran, in the 13th *pagus* is another sure indication

²⁰ Κερκύτου in a list of villages belonging to the Middle toparchy: P.Köln 99 (II/III A.D.); CPR I 64, 7 (227 A.D.) also refers to this village (see above).

²¹ 'Auf der anderen, rechten Seiten des Nils': BGU VIII 1834, 10 Anm.

²² Serious offences in the Peran: P.Lille 6 (III B.C.); P.Stras. 111 (215/4 B.C.); P.Hamb. 91 (167 B.C.); BGU VIII 1834 (51/50 B.C.); BGU IV 1061 (14 B.C.).

²³ P.Hels. I 26, 2-4: *παρ' Ἡρωίδου τοῦ [].. οἰκονο(μοῦντος) τὸν Κωίτην καὶ τὴν Τεχθῶ Νήσον καὶ τὸ Πέρα.*

²⁴ Cf. W. Clarysse, *Ancient Society* 7, 1976, p.202, correcting Λειονταμοῦν of the *ed. pr.* to Πειονταμοῦν (*BL* VII p. 245) Peensamoi in the Peran: P.Hels. I 26 (162 B.C.); BGU XIV 2437 (I B.C.). An identification Peensamoi = el-Bahsamûn may perhaps be suggested.

²⁵ Cf. Clarysse, *Ancient Society* 7, 1976, p.191 n.16: however, he notes that the Egyptian *w* of *T3j.w.d3j.t* is never rendered by the Greek *χ*.

of its proximity to the Koites, which three documents from the fourth century A.D. assigned to the 11th and 12th *pagus*.²⁶

To make matters more complex, a village called Σινάρύ is attested in the Peran, but apparently by no source later than the first century B.C. A village by the same name is extremely well-attested for the Oxyrhynchites (this is the modern Shinara). Sinary would by no means be the only 'shared property' between the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites; still, other 'shared' localities - like Κόβα and Τααμοροῦ (the modern Dahmaru)²⁷ - are occasionally assigned by the papyri to the Koites, not to the Peran. Besides, a southern location of the Peran toparchy, though not irreconcilable to its neighbourhood relations with the Middle and Agema Toparchies, would require that Tebetny and Kaine 'in the Peran' be homonymous, but different villages from the two localities by the same name in the Arsinoites. A simpler solution might be available, if we assume that the Peran was never in fact a proper and durable toparchy: rather, it might have been a designation covering an area 'on the other side' of the Arsinoite or (depending on the occasion) the Oxyrhynchite border, upon which the Heracleopolite administrators could exercise their authority at certain times and occasions.

The Koites, finally, was the southernmost, the largest, and the most densely populated toparchy of the Herakleopolites: almost one hundred Heracleopolite place-names can be safely assigned to it, as opposed to about 150 toponyms for all the other Heracleopolite toparchies (for another one hundred or so the toparchy cannot be definitely established). Its main centre was Φεβίχις,²⁸ but the name Κωίτης appears to be derived from a toponym Κῶ whose existence was posited by Grenfell and Hunt²⁹ and is now confirmed by SB XVI 12762 (30 January 28 A.D.) and P.Berl.Zill. 7 (574 A.D.). A petition to the *strategos* of the Koites, submitted by a woman in the middle of the first century B.C. (SB VI 9790), points to a high degree of autonomy reached by this toparchy, in accordance with the general process of decentralization in the Herakleopolites, in the first century B.C. In the Roman period, the Koites was again firmly incorporated into the Heracleopolite district, but a division into Northern and Southern Koites seems to have taken place.³⁰ The Southern Koites clearly gravitated towards the Oxyrhynchites,³¹ and the principle of 'shifting boundaries' applies here as well as to the border between the Arsinoites and the Herakleopolites: this is the case of Koba and Taamorou, which I have already mentioned. Villages in the Northern Koites, on the other hand, centered around Phebichis, and always maintained closer links with the rest of the Herakleopolites. Thus, an inhabitant of Ταλαή has his beer-tax paid at the *logeuterion* of Phebichis (P.Hib. I 106 and 107, of 246/5 and 244/3 B.C., respectively). In turn, re-payments in kind (ὄλυρα) for holdings at Ψῦχις and Ἀσσύα are made at Talae (P.Hib. I 117; 239/8 or 214/3 B.C.). This evidence is confirmed in the first century B.C. by BGU XIV 2435,

²⁶ More precisely, P.Michael. 28 locates the Coite village of Φιλονίκου in the 12th *pagus*, while P.Gen. 10 and P.Ahm. II 147 indicate that Phebichis was in the 11th *pagus*.

²⁷ Koba in the Koites: P.Stras. 643 (III B.C.); Koba connected to Coite localities: P.Oxy. XII 1529 (III A.D.); SPP XX 17 (411 A.D.); SPP VIII 1346 (VI/VII A.D.); P.Laur. II 47 (beginning of the VII A.D.). Taamorou in Ἄνω Κωίτης: P.Rainer Cent. 86 (381 A.D.). For the (much more abundant) references to Koba and Taamorou in the Oxyrhynchites see P.Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite*, Firenze 1981, s.vv.

²⁸ Cf. BGU XIV 2435,1 and BGU XIV 2440, 16, 19, 60, 84 (both of the first century B.C.). More references in Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, s.v.

²⁹ *P.Hibeh* I, pp.8-9.

³⁰ Κάτω Κωίτης: P.Hib. II 272 (I/II A.D.); P.Vind.Bosw. 7 (225 A.D.). Ἄνω Κωίτης: P.Heid. IV 321 (162/3 A.D.); SPP XX 32 (231 A.D.); BGU III 958a (Roman period); P.Rain.Cent. 86 (381 A.D.). Cf. also P.Heid. 320 (138 A.D.); P.Lund VI 8 and 9 (III A.D.); SB 12814 (ca.343 A.D.).

³¹ SPP XX 52 (242 A.D.): the *sitologoi* of Taamorou acknowledge the receipt of corn from Philoneikou; these two villages also appear in two consecutive lines in P.Hib. II 218, 20-21 (I-II A.D.). Philoneikou also appears in connection with Koba: SPP XX 117 (411 A.D.).

where Assya and another village (Κερκεσ(ῆφις)?) are subordinated to Ταλή (variant spelling for Ταλαή), while Phebichis is entered on the first line of the column. Tale also appears in connection with Phebichis in BGU XIV 2431 (I B.C.), and was probably the second most important centre in the Northern Koites. According to Grenfell and Hunt, 'Ψύχις and Ταλαή... may well correspond to the modern Absûg and Tala, to the North-West of Feshn'.³² I think they were right, and I wonder whether Phebichis could be identified with el-Feshn.

³² P.Oxy. XII 1416, 13 adn.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ARRANGEMENT OF TAX DOCUMENTS IN THE PHILADELPHIA TAX ARCHIVE¹

Ann Ellis Hanson

A passage in Philo's *De specialibus legibus* (III 159-62) is frequently cited as evidence for difficulties tax collectors faced in raising the levies during the Julio-Claudian period. There Philo told about a collector (*eklogeus*), who led off by force from their homes the wives, children, parents, and other kinsmen of the debtors from whom he could not collect, because they were in flight on account of poverty. He then humiliated his captives in public. S.L. Wallace saw such invasion of domicile as the fate only of recalcitrant taxpayers and felt that those who discharged tax obligations at the local bank in good time were not 'hounded by the collector' in this fashion. For Wallace, paying at the bank was actually convenient for the taxpayer, who 'thus had some opportunity of making the payment when it suited him.'² When H.C. Youtie questioned Wallace's assumption, he was relying on evidence from one of the Karanis tax rolls (P.Mich. IV 225, AD 173/74). Youtie observed, 'All ... we know of Egyptian life under Roman domination makes incredible the thesis that any great number of Egyptians were in the habit of taking a stroll down to the bank to discharge their legal obligations to a foreign power.'³ John Shelton offered fuller discussion in his edition of P.Cair.Mich. 359 II (174/75), where he emphasized evidence for the fact that in Karanis between AD 173-75 tax collectors made rounds of the village, as they went door-to-door collecting *laographia* and other capitation taxes. 'Each payment was cross-referenced by a *kollema* number to another roll which must have contained a list of persons subject to these charges' (Shelton, p. 2). In the two day books (IV 225 and 359) the column references attached to the name of each payer rose in rhythmic sequence from lower numbers to higher ones, only to begin the sequence anew. 'Evidently the collectors began with the first household on their list and progressed through the village till the end was reached, and then commenced the cycle over again' (Shelton, p. 3). The major exceptions to the pattern were lower numbers at the beginning or end of a day, when, it would seem, collectors visited individual houses along the way to the area in which their efforts for the day were to concentrate. The earlier day books from Karanis, P.Mich. IV 223 (171/72) and 224 (172/73), lack column references for taxpayers' names; nonetheless, similar patterning is demonstrable by applying column references known from IV 225 and 359 to the names of individuals listed.⁴ Shelton suggested that there was a master list of persons subject to the tax, arranged topographically, lying behind the day books.⁵ The master list likewise determined the collector's route through the

¹For a description of the archive, see my Introduction to P.Congr.XV 13-14, pp. 60-62.

²S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, 286-96. References to a bank figured in Philadelphia tax documents--principally in year ledgers (cf. e.g. P.Princ. I 8, revised) and receipts to collectors (P.Princ. II 41 revised). The bank appears to be the locus of collectors' deposits.

³*AJPh* 62, 1941, 98 = *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam 1973, 754.

⁴E.g. using column references in IV 225 and 359 for the tax payers listed in IV 224, col. I: col. 15/ 15; col. 95 (payer does not appear in both texts, as elsewhere in this note where only a single col.-ref. is given); col. 98/ 104; col. 99/ 105; col. 101/ 106; col. 101; col. 101/ 107 (as in 359.223, not 359.96), col. 108; col. 104; col. 110; col. 96 (col. 26 in 359.698, cf. 359.705, scribal error confusing *kappa* and *koppa* ?); col. 103; col. 2; col. 8/ 8; col. 9/ 9; col 11/ 11, etc.

⁵Shelton, P.Cair.Mich. II, p. 2, proposed as examples of master lists the alphabetical registers of yearly payments, such as P.Princ. I 9, but I believe that documents like P.Lond. II 257-59--lists of males of taxpaying age, arranged house-by-house and given full identification (patronymic, paponymic, matronymic), as well as their age--are more likely examples. Cf. P.Mich. XI 603.6 for a document called *kat' oikian aphographē*, which, as Shelton observed in his note ad loc., could not have been identical with

village. Because the cross-references in IV 225 agreed with those in 359 only so far as col. 16 and because the highest column number in P.Mich. IV 225 was 105, as against 112 in P.Cair.Mich. 359, Shelton also argued that the master list was revised each year.

I believe that similar patterns can be discerned in the tax archive from Julio-Claudian Philadelphia. As in the day books P.Mich. IV 223 and 224 from Karanis, cross-references to a master list were not used. The argument for topographical arrangement of the names thus depends upon repetitive sequences in their ordering across documents of various types. I present the evidence here, for it is an important facet in our understanding of the process whereby capitation taxes were raised. Perhaps more important, the demonstration that tax collectors journeyed door-to-door to make collections in another Fayum village more than a 135 years earlier than the Karanis rolls, and within the first seventy years of Roman domination, affects our more general view of the Egyptian peasant--and whether he should be seen 'docilely trotting along every month to a tax collector's booth at the local bank' (Shelton, p. 3).⁶ As I shall argue here, the evidence from Julio-Claudian Philadelphia makes clear that also in this village officials from the local tax bureau collected house-by-house. The degree of overlap in sequence of payers' names in documents of varying types is striking. It is particularly so, since the papyri from the Philadelphia archive are often but small fragments, when compared to the extensive rolls from Karanis. Although the number of eligible, male taxpayers of Philadelphia was nearly 1000 in these years,⁷ only a small number documents preserve more than 100 names, so that the chance for overlap has been diminished. Further, the list of eligible taxpayers changed each year, as some departed through death or attainment of the age of exemption (62 years) and others entered the rolls when adolescents reached the age of eligibility (14 years). Further, the archive does not contain even fragmentary examples of the four major types of documents (name list, year ledger, day book, arrears list) for each and every year.

I. Name Lists

Name lists⁸ derived from census submissions, but only males between 14 and 62 years, those eligible for *laographia* and other capitation taxes, were included. Two examples are

the composite *tomos synkollesimos*, made up of individual census submissions written by many hands, but some kind of copy, since a single scribe was to produce it. Only a small fragment this kind of document survives from Philadelphia (P.Mich. inv. 821 = P.Congr.XV 13); it included a villager who had been examined for exempt status. Name lists (see NL for 38/39, below) included only those males eligible for capitation taxes.

P.Mich. 359.1935-1989 ended with records for collections from taxpayers of Karanis currently resident outside the village; their payments are recorded according to present place of residence and lack cross-references to the master list.

⁶When receipts were issued remains unclear - see, e.g. C. Gallazzi, Introduction to O.Tebt.Pad., pp. 15-17. Gallazzi argued that three receipts for *laographia* (O.Tebt.Pad. 1-3), written by the same scribe with identical text except for the names of three brothers, support the notion that the receipts were prepared by the collector, as he visited the brothers' house (p. 17). This explanation is to be preferred to the explanation given by the editors of O.Elkab 81-82, that one brother went to the tax bureau to pay for both (p. 87). The situation was, of course, identical to that in O.Tebt.Pad. 1-3. For multiple receipts for *laographia*, written on a single sheet of papyrus by the same scribe and issued to three seemingly unrelated taxpayers, probably neighbors in Philadelphia (or residents in the same domicile), see P.Mich. inv. 1434 = SB XVI 12332.

⁷The taxable male population of Philadelphia in 50/51 was 906 1/2, see my 'The keeping of records at Philadelphia,' pp. 261-77 in *Proceedings of the XVIII Congress of Papyrology*, B. Mandilaras, ed., Athens 1988. For population of other villages, see D. Rathbone, 'Villages, land and population in Graeco-Roman Egypt,' *PCPhS* 36, 1990, 103-42, and T. Gagos, 'Setting the record straight: Karanis and ancient society,' forthcoming.

⁸Perhaps examples of the documents called *laographiai kat'andra* in P.Mich. XI 603.7-8.

preserved in the Philadelphia archive: Name List for AD 38/39 and Name List for AD 46/47.⁹ Below are names from three fragments of the Name List for 38/39; orthography has been standardized to facilitate comparison, brackets are used here and throughout this paper in the conventional manner.

Name list for 38/39, Fragment A ii.6-31; before and after these lines cols. are broken.

- Polemon, s. of Po[le]mon and Thermouthis, age 24
 Onnophris, another son (of Polemon and Thermouthis), age 16
 8 Papais, s. of Ap[y]nchis and Tane[], age 52¹⁰
 Apynchis, son (of Papais) and Tanetbeouis, age 32
 Polemon, another son (of Papais and Tanetbeouis), age 29
 Polemon, another son (of Papais and Tanetbeouis), age 23
 12 Petearpsenesis, s. of Petesouchos and Sambous, age 50
 Petesouchos, son (of Petearpsenesis) and Isidora, age 18
 Petermouthis, s. of Panomgeus and Sam[b]ous, age 39
 Heras, s. of Am[m]onios and Thenatymis, age 43
 16 [Am]mon[i]os, son (of Heras) and Thakoris, age [16]
 Heras II, s. of Ammonios and Thenatymis, age 38
 Petesouchos, s. of Petosiris and Tauris, age [5]3
 Herakles, s. of Herakles and Tanekpheros, age [24]
 20 Anoubas, s. of Chairemon and Tanomgeus, age 53
 Onnophris, son (of Anoubas) and Taorsenouphis, age 21
 Anoubas, another son (of Anoubas and Taorsenouphis), age 15
 Petosiris, s. of Peto[siris] and Tauris, age 44
 24 Pe[tesou]chos, s. of [A]monneus and Sambous, age 35
 [Horion, s. of Hor]ion¹¹ and Terobastis, age 42
 [Horion, s. of Hori]on and Teouetis, age 45
 [Anoupis, s. of Sam]bas and Sambous, age 42
 28 [Aunes, s. of Harpsem]jis and Taaryotis, age 33
 [Phasis, s. of Theb]aios and Tagos, age 41
 [Dios, son of Phasis and A]unchis, age 16
 [Hektor, s. of Th]ebaios and Tagos, age []

Name List for 38/39, Fragment B ii.34-iii.87; after these lines cols. are broken.

- Papontos, s. of He[ra]klammon and Tapetesouchos, age 41
 Panetbeus, s. of Mysthas and Tasoukis, age 17
 36 Harphaesis, s. of Herieus and Thaesis, age 31
 Psamis, s. of Psamis and Thermouthis, age 26
 Harmiysis, s. of Pnepheros and Techonsis, age 44
 Apollonios, s. of Herakles and Berous, age 41¹²

⁹The Name List for 38/39 is made up of four frags.: A. P.Mich. inv. 890 + P.Princ. III 123 (revised); B. P.Harr. I 72 (revised); C. P.Mich. inv. 791; D. P.Mich. inv. 811. The Name List for 46/47 is made up of three fragments that are contiguous, portions of which were published as P.Congr.XV 14.

¹⁰The taxpayers in lines 8-11 represent a family, resident in the same, or adjacent dwellings. Cf. also lines 15-17, 20-22, 29-31.

¹¹As Shelton observed in P.Cair.Mich. II, repetition of taxpayers in fixed order '...is a great aid in restoring names, and also in determining whether slightly differing entries refer to the same or different individuals' (p. 3).

¹²Family groupings in lines 39-44, 49-50 and 53, 55-56, 58-60, 61-62, 69-71, 73-75, 79-80, 81-84; 76 is probably father of 77, but the relationship is not specified, as in the other examples.

- 40 Herakles, son (of Apollonios) and Tamystha, age 15
 Apollonios II, s. of Herakles and Berous, age 40
 Mysthas, brother, (s. of Herakles and Berous), age 32
 Herakles, another brother, (s. of Herakles and Berous), age 26
- 44 Nemesion, another brother, (s. of Herakles and Berous), age 24
 Antis, s. of Antigonos and Thermouthis, age 40
 Chairemon, s. of Horion and Thermouthis, age 40
 Harphaesis, s. of Amonneus and Sambion, age 42
- 48 Pouoris, s. of Agron and Tamonneouis, age 20
 Pouoris, s. of Hermias and Tapontos, age 51
 Hermias, son (of Pouoris) and Tnepheros, age 26
 Patmouis, s. of Pnepheros and Tambesis, age 47
- 52 Paouetis, son (of Patmouis) and Tapetosiris, age 15
 Pouoris II, s. of Hermias and Tapontos, age 38
 Pylades, s. of Herakles and Tapetesouchos, age 28
 Herakles, s. of Horos and Tapetesouchos, age 49
- 56 Herakles, son of Herakles and Thanoubis, age 17
 Panetbeus, s. of Petesouchos and Sinteus, age 51
 Panetbeus, s. of Harmais and Thermouthis, age 51
 Pnepheros, son of Panetbeus and Taorsenouphis, age 19
- 60 Harmais, another son of Panetbeus and Taorsenouphis, age 17
 Herakles, s. of Apollonios and Taareotis, age 54
 Herakles, son of Herakles and Glauke, age 15
 Haryotes, s. of Leonides and Thaesis, age 34
- 64 Melas, s. of Tryphon and Tanesneus, age 54
 Tryphon, s. of Leonides and Philoutarion, age 26
 Theon, s. of Herakles and Demetria, age 35
 Apollonios, slave of Ision, of a mother Se[], age 28
- 68 34¹³
- Herakles, s. of Ambesis and Thermouthis, age 33
 Ambesis, brother, (s. of Ambesis and Thermouthis), age 26
 Panetbeus, another brother, (s. of Ambesis and Thermouthis), age 15
- 72 Petosiris, s. of Harmiysis and Tamystha [
 Harpaesis, s. of Mysthas and Berous [
 Pasion, brother, (s. of Mysthas and Berous) [
 Apollonios, another brother, (s. of Mysthas and Berous) [
 Ioseppos, s. of Apelles and Thermouthis [
 Apelles, s. of Ioseppos and Thaesis [
 Sambas, s. of Hellen and Heraklei[a
 Harphaesis, s. of Samb[as] and Kollau[th]is [
 Petesouchos, brother, (s. of Sambas and Kollauthis) [
 Stratippos, s. of Nekpheros and Thermouthis [
 Maron, brother, (s. of Nekpheros and Thermouthis) [
 Haronnophris, brother (s. of Nekpheros and Thermouthis) [
 84 Petesouchos, another brother (s. of Nekpheros and Thermouthis) [
]

¹³The col. number in the roll; at the bottom of the next col. is 35, corrected from 33. In Frag. B another numeral is preserved at bottom of the col. (iii.74); the first cipher is *lambda*; the second, unreadable. Apparently Frag.s A and B both derive from cols. numbered in the thirties; it is unclear which frag. preceded.

Panetbeus, s. of N[] and Tapetesouchos []
 Pomsais, s. of Ap[] and Thermouthis []
 Apynchis, s. of N[ekpheros] and Taetis []

Name list for 38/39, Fragment C; only this portion of the col. is preserved.

- 12 Theon, s. of Menon and Tamysthas []
 Herakles, brother, (s. of Menon and Tamysthas) []
 Asklas, another brother, (s. of Menon and Tamysthas) []
 Apynchis, s. of Panomgeus and Bou[]
- 16 Apynchis, s. of Mysthas and Ta[]
 Kephalon, s. of Harmiysis and Tanin[outhis]
 Harmiysis, brother, (s. of Harmiysis and Taninouthis) []

II. The Name List for 38/39 and Year Ledgers

Each year a scribe called a *katandragraphos* compiled the large register for recording individual taxpayers' payments for the year. The scribe listed eligible males in the order he found them in the master list/ name list, incorporating changes since the compilation of last year's register, and he left blank space between the names for the recording of payments, to be added by other scribes in the course of the year.¹⁴ In order to discharge his obligations for capitation taxes, the peasant taxpayer of Philadelphia usually paid 44 drachmas 6 chalkoi each year.¹⁵ The year ledger for 37/38 overlaps with Fragment C in the Name List for 38/39; the year ledger for 42/43 overlaps with the Fragment A; the alphabetical year ledger, with names beginning in alpha, overlaps with Fragment B insofar as the names beginning in alpha are concerned. Whatever the purpose of the alphabetization (and there are a number of alphabetized year ledgers late in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius), the underlying principle of arrangement remained topographical.

Year ledger for 37/38 (P.Mich. inv. 904 + BL inv. 2248) viii.177-ix.204; payments made during the year have been omitted here and names follow in sequence.

- 177 Theon, s. of Menon, apolysimos¹⁶ (C 12)
 179 Herakles, s. of Menon (C 13)
 183 Asklepiades, ¹⁷ s. of Menon, in Sebennytos (C 14)
 186 Horion, s. of Asklepiades, in Nestou
 189 Apynchis, s. of Panomgeus (C 15)
 190 Herakles, s. of Horion, in Sebennytos
 191 Harbaithes, s. of Horion, also in Sebennytos
 192 Panaaus, s. of Mysthas in Nestou
 194 Apynchis, s. of Mysthas, also in Nestou (C 16)
 196 Herakles, s. of Psenatymis, in Alexandria

¹⁴At Philadelphia in the Julio-Claudian period name lists were apparently revised within the tax bureau only every fifth year (evidence preserved for revisions in years 38/39, 42/43, 46/47).

¹⁵As Shelton demonstrated (*CE* 51, 1976, 178-84) on the basis of P.Mich. inv. 876v, a *synopsis* of the village's obligations in 50/51, *laographia* was 40 dr., plus surcharges (*prosdigraphomena*) of 2 1/2 dr. (= 1/16 of the *laogr.*) and a scribal fee (*symbolikon*) of 2 1/2 ob. (= 1/6 of the *prosd.*), equaling 42 dr. 5 ob. 4 chalk. Other minor capitation taxes, such as a salt tax (*halike*), were added in to account for the total 44 dr. 6 chalk., see e.g. Gallazzi, Introduction to *O.Tebt.Pad.*, p. 11. A pig tax of 1 dr. 1 ob. was also paid with the final installment for *laographia*.

¹⁶Among preserved year ledgers, only those for years 38/39, 42/43, and 46/47 bear ages of taxpayers.

¹⁷Asklas is an acceptable alternate for Asklepiades.

197	Harmiysis, s. of Harmiysis	(C 18)
202	Kephalon, s. of Harmiysis	(C 17)

Year Ledger for 42/43 (P.Mich. inv. 619r) ii.26-iii.109; payments made during the year have been omitted here and names follow in sequence.

26	Onnophris, s of Polemon and Thermouthis, age 19 ¹⁸	(A 7)
28	Polemon, s. of Polemon and Thermouthis, age 15	
30	Papeis, s. of Apynchis and [<i>vac.</i>], age 56	(A 8)
33	Apynchis, s. of Papeis and Tanetbeouis, age 36	(A 9)
34	Polemon, s. of Papeis (and Tanetbeouis), ¹⁹ age 33	(A 10)
36	Polemon II, s. of Papeis (and Tanetbeouis), age 27	(A 11)
41	Archedemos, s. of Archedemos and Thermouthis, age 27	
43	Petearpsenesis, s. of Petesouchos and Sambous, age 54	(A 12)
46	Petesouchos, s. of Petearpsenesis and Isidora, age 22	(A 13)
49	Petermouthis, s. of Panogeus and Sambous, age 43	(A 14)
52	Heras alias Pnepheros, s. of Ammonios and Thenatymis, age 47	(A 15)
55	Ammonios, s. of Heras and Thakoris, age 20	(A 16)
58	Heras II, s. of Ammonios and Thenatymis, age 42	(A 17)
60	Petesouchos, s. of Petosiris and Tauris, age 57	(A 18)
63	Herakles, s. of Herakles and Dionysia, age 61	
66	Herakles, s. of Herakles and Tanekpheros, age 28	(A 19)
69	Anoubion, ²⁰ s. of Chairemon and Tanomgeus, age 5[7	(A 20)
72	Onnophris, s. of Anoubion and Taorsenouphis, age [25	(A 21)
75	[Anou]bas, s. of Anoubion (and Taorsenouphis), age 19	(A 22)
78	Pet[osiri]s, s. of Petosiris and Tauris, age 48	(A 23)
81	Petesouchos, s. of Amonneus and Sambous, age 39	(A 24)
85	Diogenes, s. of Petesouchos and Piesis, age 17	
87	Amonneus, son of Petesouchos (and Piesis), age 15	
90	Horion, s. of Horion and Terobastis, age 46	(A 25)
91	Horion, s. of Horion and Touetis, age 49	(A 26)
96	Anoupis, s. of Sambas and Sambous, age 46	(A 27)
99	Sambas, s. of Anoupis and Ptolemais, age 16	
100	A[une]s, s. of Harpsemis and Taryotis, age 37	(A 28)
104	Phas[i]s, s. of Thebaios and Tagos, age 45	(A 29)
107	Di[o]s, s. of Phasis and Aunchis, age 20	(A 30)
109	Thebaios, s. of Phasis (and Aunchis), age 16	

Alphabetical Year Ledger for 39/40 (P.Mich. inv. 876r) i.1-iii.65, names beginning in alpha; payments made during the year have been omitted here and names follow in sequence.

1	Harphaesis, s. of Harphaeis, weaver	
4	Harphaesis, s. of Herieus, weaver	(B 36)
8	Harmiysis II, s. of Pnepheros, weaver	(B 38)
10	Apynchis, s. of Marres, in Taskry	
11	Apynchis, s. of Apynchis, in Taskry	
13	Aunes, s. of Harphaesis, in Babylon	
14	Harmachis, s. of Peteanoupis, disabled	

¹⁸One of the rare instances in which age has not advanced by four years.

¹⁹Pap.: 'of the same mother,' and also in lines 36, 75, 87, 109.

²⁰Anoubion is an acceptable alternate for Anoubas.

15	Hatres, s. of Herakles, in Koitai	
17	Aropos, s. of Sambas, apolysimos of the estate of Antonia	
18	Apollonios, s. of Herakles, apolysimos of the estate of Barbillos	(B 39)
19	Apollonios II, s. of Herakles, apolysimos of the estate of Barbillos	(B 41)
20	Antis, s. of Antigonos, apolysimos of Jucundos (freedman of) Tiberius	(B 45)
22	Hareotes alias Harphaesis, s. of Amonneus	(B 47)
27	Harmais, s. of Panetbeus, in Bachias	(cf. B 58 and 60)
30	Harmais II, s. of Panetbeus	(cf. B 58 and 60)
33	Haryotes, s. of Leonides	(B 63)
37	Apollonios, slave of Ision	(B 67)
41	Ambes, ²¹ s. of Ambes, weaver	(B 70)
44	Harphaesis, s. of Mysthas, Arab apolysimos	(B 73)
45	Apollonios, s. of Mysthas Arab	(B 75)
49	Apelles, s. of Iosepos Arab	(B 77)
51	Harphesis, s. of Hellen Arab, apolysimos	(cf. B 78)
52	Haronnophris, s. of Nekpheros, ... apolysimos	(B 83)
53	Apynchis, s. of Nekpheros	(B 87)

III. The Name List for 38/39 and Day Books of Collections

Day books of collections recorded payments made by taxpayers on a day-to-day basis. Cycles of movements by collectors through Karanis are visible through cross-references that keyed contributors' payments to column numbers in a master list. As was noted above, there was a rising rhythm in the reference numbers (e.g. 1 to 112 in P.Cair.Mich. 359) until the collector completed his cycle through the village, then the sequence began anew. The interval between the reference number for one taxpayer and the reference number for the next taxpayer in the day book often indicates that one or more columns have intervened in the master list. As Shelton explained: 'Many persons were skipped in each round ..., and one can easily think of possible reasons--families where no one was at home, persons who were presently unable to pay, persons who had made an installment only a few days before' (p. 3). When a system of cross-referencing is lacking, as at Philadelphia, cyclic patterns in the tax collecting are difficult to discern in the day books. Even so, it is not so difficult to point to a few lines in a day book in which brothers, or fathers and sons, were discharging tax obligations at the time. But because family cohesiveness is common, even among dysfunctionals, the demonstration that members of a family made tax payments together seems less effective in the argument that tax collectors made rounds of the village to raise the levies, than are adjacent payments made by neighbors. Hence I present examples of neighbors in NL 38/39, paying on the same day, or within a few days of one another, in the day books. Presumably on these occasions there was someone at home in nearly adjacent households, ready to make a payment when the tax collector arrived. The presence of neighbors in the same portion of a day book indicates that collectors were then canvassing in their neighborhood. Below are small portions from three day books, roughly contemporary with the Name List for 38/39.

Day book for AD 33, (P.Princ. I 2 + P.Corn. 21, revised), cols.xi.254-xiii.316, 25-31 27 July-2 August 33 (but only five payments on 30 July, and no collections on 31 July or 1 August); payments have been omitted here.

254	Apollonios, s. of Mysthas	(B75)
	(I omit five names)	

²¹Ambes is an acceptable alternate for Ambesis.

261	Melas, s. of Tryphon (I omit two names)	(B64)
264	Haryotes, s. of Leonides (I omit three names)	(B 63)
268	Psamis, s. of (Psamis) (I omit two names)	(B 37)
272	Ambes, s. of Ambesis, weaver (I omit twenty-two names)	(B 70)
299	Theon, s. of Herakles	(B 66)

Day book for AD 34, Fragment A (P.Princ. I 10, revised) v.159-vi.162, 13 January 34; payments have been omitted here.

159	Melas, s. of Tryphon	(B 64)
160	Ambesis, s. of (Ambesis)	(B 70)
161	Ptolemaios, s. of Herma[iskos]	
162	Herakles, s. of Ambesis	(B 69)

Day book for two consecutive days late in the reign of Tiberius (P.Mich. inv. 835 recto + P.Princ. I 3, revised) ii.65-iii.85; payments are omitted.

65	Hermias, s. of Pouoris	(B 50)
66	Herakles, s. of Petesouchos	
67	Herakles, s. of Horos	(B 55)
68	Harphaesion, s. of Antigonos	
69	Pylades, s. of Herakles	(B 54)
70	[], s. of Pnepheros	
71	[Psammetikos], s. of Psamm[etikos] ²²	(B 37 ?)
72	[]	
73	[Antis], s. of Antigonos	(B 45)
74	[]ion, s. of Petesouchos [3 lines lost]	
78	²³ Mysthas, s. of Herakles (I omit six names)	(B 42)
85	Haryotes, s. of Leonides	(B 63)

IV. The Name List for 38/39 and Arrears Documents

Arrears documents listed those taxpayers who defaulted in some or all of their payments for one or more years. In the Philadelphia archive arrears were posted as 45 drachmas 2 obols,²⁴ or fractions thereof (e.g. 1 dr. 2 ob., 5 dr. 2 ob., 9 dr. 2 ob., etc.)--as opposed to the 44 dr. 6 chalk., or portions thereof as multiples of 4 dr., normally posted in year ledgers and day

²²Other texts in the archive suggest that Psamis is an acceptable alternate for Psammetikos.

²³The new day begins at this point, but the numeral is lost.

²⁴Gallazzi, Introduction to *O.Tebt.Pad.*, pp. 12-13, argues, on the basis of a rereading in PSI X 1133.6-8, that 45 dr. 2 ob. also represented payment for a current year. Such appears not to have been the case in the Philadelphia archive, where 45 dr. 2 ob. invariably indicated arrears. The opening rubric for P.Med. inv. 79v, a portion of which is presented below, reads: 'arrears (*ekthesis*) to Phaophi....' The sums posted are either amounts such as 1 dr. 2 ob., 5 dr. 2 ob., etc., or multiples of 4 dr. Another text from the archive, P.Mich. XII 642 (which is to be dated to 48/49, not 62/63, on prosopographical grounds), also shows payments that are multiples of 4 dr., in combination with arrears in the amounts of 1 dr. 2 ob., 5 dr. 2 ob.--and up to 45 dr. 2 ob.

An arrears amount of 45 dr. 3 ob. was posted in a contemporary document from Tebtynis (SB XVIII 13862, 57/58).

books. Again, the cohesiveness of families, now in adverse circumstances, is apparent. For example, Phasis, s. of Thebaios and Tagos, his son Dios, and Phasis' younger brother Hektor (above, NL 38/39 A.29-31) were the only peasant taxpayers of Philadelphia resident on the estate of Saturninus about AD 46 and all three had defaulted on capitation taxes for the year.²⁵ Many arrears documents, especially those dated to the later years of the reign of Claudius when collections were difficult to make, noted the current place of residence for delinquent taxpayers, for living away from Philadelphia and tax delinquency frequently coincided in the same individual.²⁶ Although the grouping of taxpayers under place of current residence facilitated the work of collectors levying outside the village, this practice may have obfuscated a taxpayer's position in previous master lists, or name lists. Thus, as above in section III, I present neighbors from the Name List for 38/39 who likewise appeared together in a roughly contemporary document of arrears.

Arrears in AD 36,²⁷ P.Med. inv. 79v (= SB XVI 12738) i.25-ii.38; amounts owing are omitted here.

25	Harphaesis, s. of Herieus, weaver	(B 36)
26	Psamis, s. of (Psamis)	(B 37)
27	Harmiysis, s. of Pnepheros	(B 38)
28	Chairemon, s. of Horion	(B 46)
29	Antis, s. of (Antis) ²⁸	(cf. B 45)
30	Esouris, s. of Sambas	
31	Patmouis, s. of Pnepheros (I omit six names)	(B 51)
38	Hermias, s. of Pouoris (I omit seventeen names)	(B 50)
56	Herakles, s. of Horos	(B 55)
57	Pylades, s. of Herakles	(B 54)
58	Harmais, s. of Panetbeus	(B 60)

Philo's story about the local tax collector, who dragged families of tax delinquents from their homes, intentionally featured a particularly heinous man. The best known collector of capitation taxes (*praktor agyrikon*) in these years at Philadelphia was Nemesion, s. of Zoilos. Nemesion was attested in office during at least seven different years over a thirteen year period; apparently he found the duties of collecting taxes in his natal village congenial.²⁹ His accounts for the tax bureau included expenses for a herald (*keryx*), for slaves (*paidia*), and for armed guards (*machairophoroi*), and several items in his official correspondence referred to his efforts to obtain the guards.³⁰ Armed men would, of course, be useful in protecting the moneys owed to Rome that Nemesion was required to forward to superiors in the Nome capital each month. Armed guards would also enable Nemesion to cut a more impressive figure, as he and his entourage progressed door-to-door in Philadelphia, raising the levies.

²⁵P.Corn. inv. I 16 + P.Princ. I 14 revised, lines 73-75.

²⁶See my 'The keeping of records at Philadelphia,' *XVIII Congr.* (above note 7), 261-77.

²⁷Reading the date in line 1 as regnal year 22 (?) of Tiberius; only the second cipher is doubtful.

²⁸Pap.: *homoios*. Apparently Antis is an alternative for Antigonos; or it may be a scribe's mistake.

²⁹See my 'Village officials at Philadelphia,' pp. 429-40 in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci, ed., *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, Bologna 1989.

³⁰See e.g. my 'P. Princeton I 13: text and context revised,' pp. 259-83 in *Miscellanea papyrologica* I, M. Capasso, G.M. Savorelli, and R. Pintaudi, ed., Florence 1990; for additional information and corrections to texts involving *machairophoroi*, see my 'Village Officials at Philadelphia' (above note 29), 429-40.

RABIRIO POSTUMO DIOIKETES D'EGITTO: PRIMA TESTIMONIANZA PAPIRACEA

Carla Balconi

P. Med. inv. n. 68.53 è un frammento di cm. 13 x 10,5. Scritto su entrambe le facce, non conserva tracce di *κολλησεις*, tuttavia pare certo che si possa parlare di *recto* per la faccia in cui la scrittura corre parallela alle fibre, e di *verso* per quella in cui la scrittura è transfibrale.

Il *recto* conserva undici righe di una colonna larga al massimo cm. 11,5, completa a destra, ma non a sinistra, dove sono andate perdute alcune lettere delle prime sette righe (in numero decrescente dall'alto verso il basso), mentre le righe 8 e 9 sono interessate da una lacuna interna e la riga 10 da due. A destra inoltre si sono conservate alcune lettere che costituiscono l'inizio di una seconda colonna, molto ravvicinata alla prima. Il margine inferiore è di cm. 2,5; in alto invece il papiro è spezzato così che non si può stabilire di quante righe fosse composta la colonna.

La scrittura è una semi-corsiva di corpo abbastanza grande, attribuibile al I^a. La prima parola del testo conservato è Πόστομος: che si tratti di C. Rabirius Postumus, nominato *dioiketes* d'Egitto da Tolomeo Aulete nel 55^a, e a noi noto soprattutto dall'orazione pronunciata in sua difesa da Cicerone nell'inverno 54/53,¹ risulta chiaro dal contenuto del frammento, che è una protesta contro di lui per aver rimosso alcuni funzionari sostituendoli con altri inadatti. Il contenuto fa pensare che il testo, e probabilmente anche la copia a noi pervenuta, siano pressoché contemporanei agli avvenimenti narrati, e quindi il papiro sia databile intorno alla metà del I^a.

Nulla di certo si può affermare sul luogo di ritrovamento del nostro frammento, pervenutoci insieme con altri provenienti in parte dall'Arsinoite, in parte da Ossirinco.

L'importanza del frammento consiste soprattutto nel fatto che si tratta della prima testimonianza documentaria riguardante un personaggio le cui vicende ci sono note soltanto attraverso l'orazione di Cicerone.

Figlio di C. Curtius, "princeps ordinis equestris, fortissimus et maximus publicanus",² e di Rabiria, sorella di C. Rabirius, dal quale fu adottato, Rabirio Postumo era diventato un uomo d'affari sulle orme del padre, benché non lo avesse mai conosciuto: "Multa gessit, multa contraxit, magnas partis habuit publicorum; credidit populis; in pluribus provinciis eius versata res est; dedit se etiam regibus; huic ipsi Alexandrino (sc. Tolomeo Aulete) grandem iam antea pecuniam dedit ...".³ Quando poi Tolomeo Aulete lasciò l'Egitto e venne a Roma, Postumo gli prestò altro denaro - suo e dei suoi amici - perché il re potesse mantenere se stesso e la sua corte in quella specie di esilio. Con parte di quel denaro il sovrano tentò di corrompere alcuni senatori per ritornare sul trono d'Egitto. Alla fine si assicurò l'intervento di Aulo Gabinio, proconsole di Siria, il quale, dietro promessa di un compenso di diecimila talenti, marciò su Alessandria con i suoi soldati senza l'autorizzazione del senato e rimise il re sul trono. Postumo, principale creditore dell'Aulete, fu da lui nominato *dioiketes* e messo

¹ Su C. Rabirio Postumo si vedano: A. Boulanger, *Cicéron Discours*, tome XVII, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1949, pp.7-18 (ivi bibliografia: p.11, nota 1); I.C. Giardina, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro C. Rabirio Postumo Oratio*, Ed. A. Mondadori, 1967, pp. 19-20 (autori antichi e bibliografia); *Pros. Ptol.* I n. 45; VI n. 16199 (ivi bibliografia); VIII n. 45.

² *Pro Rab. Post.* 3.

³ *Pro Rab. Post.* 4.

in grado di recuperare capitale ed interessi e di raccogliere i diecimila talenti promessi a Gabinio.

Il nostro papiro parla di arbitrii da lui commessi allontanando personaggi che amministravano l'Egitto con l'esperienza ereditata dai padri e sostituendoli con altri inadatti. Vi è un accenno a vendite, forse illecite. Lo scopo di questi cambiamenti risulta dall'espressione dell'ultima riga: ἐφ' ἀρπαγῆν. Il tutto concorda con l'accusa di comportamento tirannico a lui rivolta e riportata da Cicerone: "Dominatus est ... Alexandriae".⁴

Postumo probabilmente rimase in carica per circa diciotto mesi, dall'aprile 55 all'ottobre 54. Dal re fu poi fatto arrestare e incarcerare insieme con i suoi collaboratori: "... pertulit ipse custodiam, vidit in vinclis familiaris suos ...".⁵ Alcuni storici moderni avevano già supposto che l'oppressione fiscale da lui esercitata avesse provocato un'insurrezione degli Alessandrini⁶ e che il re si fosse visto costretto a farlo incarcerare per sottrarlo alla furia della folla.⁷ Altri hanno pensato ad un intrigo di corte nel quale Postumo sarebbe incappato,⁸ o alla slealtà del re che avrebbe approfittato del malcontento generale per liberarsi del suo principale creditore.⁹ Il nostro frammento sembra confermare l'esistenza di una sollevazione contro Postumo.

Dal carcere Postumo riuscì a fuggire e a raggiungere Roma, privo di mezzi, a detta di Cicerone: "... nudus atque egens ad extremum fugit e regno".¹⁰ Anche dalle merci egiziane - papiro, lino, vetro -, che egli aveva inviato a Pozzuoli, non poté trarre alcun vantaggio: "... summa non potuit parari",¹¹ tanto che, ormai senza mezzi, Postumo viveva sostenuto unicamente dalla generosità di Cesare. Ma queste affermazioni probabilmente vanno ridimensionate in quanto costituiscono un argomento per la difesa.

Nell'autunno 54^a Gabinio era stato incriminato con la triplice accusa *de maiestate, de repetundis, de ambitu*: assolto nel processo *de maiestate*, fu invece condannato in quello *de repetundis* ad una multa di diecimila talenti; non potendola o non volendola pagare, fu costretto all'esilio. Il suo accusatore aveva allora chiamato in causa Postumo: nel processo intentato a quest'ultimo sulla base della *lex Iulia de pecuniis repetundis* testimoniarono contro di lui alcuni Alessandrini, gli stessi che avevano sostenuto l'innocenza di Gabinio. Volevano forse vendicarsi della rapacità mostrata da Postumo come *dioiketes*? Il nostro papiro rivela l'animosità degli Alessandrini contro di lui.

Nel 1963 E. Bloedow suppose che la carica ricoperta da Postumo in Egitto avesse il carattere speciale di un "Wirtschaftskommissariat der Römer", mentre *dioiketes* sarebbe stato un personaggio di nome Hephastion, attestato in carica negli anni precedenti.¹² Cicerone

⁴ *Pro Rab. Post.* 39.

⁵ *Pro Rab. Post.* 39; cf. anche 22.

⁶ Cf. J. P. Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1899, pp. 230-231; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, tome deuxième, Paris 1904, pp. 168-171; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1927, pp. 355-357.

⁷ Cf. A. Boulanger, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁸ Cf. P. Guiraud, 'Histoire d'un financier romain', *Rev. de Paris*, 15 janvier 1903, raccolto in *Études économiques sur l'Antiquité*, pp. 232-233.

⁹ Cf. G. Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis. Étude sur la société romaine du temps de César*, Paris 1884, pp. 121-124.

¹⁰ *Pro Rab. Post.* 39.

¹¹ *Pro Rab. Post.* 40.

¹² E. Bloedow, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ptolemaios XII.*, Diss. Würzburg 1963, pp. 75-80; 112. Si vedano anche: H. Heinen, *Rom und Ägypten von 51 bis 47 v. Chr. Untersuchungen zur Regierungszeit der 7. Kleopatra und des 13. Ptolemäers*, Diss. Tübingen 1966, p. 39 nota 2; E. Van't Dack, in *Chr. d'Ég.* 42 (1967), p. 426.

però afferma di Postumo: “... dioecetes fuit regius”.¹³ Inoltre nel periodo tra l’aprile 55 e l’ottobre 54 non si è trovato finora attestato nessun altro *dioiketes*.¹⁴

Do a questo punto una trascrizione ed una traduzione provvisorie del papiro che verrà da me pubblicato e commentato prossimamente in *Aegyptus*:

Recto

I col.	II col.
Ἰπόστομος λαβὼν γάρ	
ἐξουσίαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθεσ-	
ταμέλους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ πατέρων	
καὶ πιάπων διαδεδεγμένους τὰς	
5 τάξις μετέστησεν. Κατέστησεν	χι
δὲ ἀλγεπιτηδείους καὶ ἀπεγνωσμέ-	δι
νους, πωλήσας τὰ πάντα τὸν χρό-	κι
νον πεφυλαγμένα, ἐγ δὲ τούτοις	βα
συντάξις τοὺς μὲν χρησίμους καὶ ὄφελι-	
10 μωτάτους τῶν διοικητῶν μετασταθῆναι	
ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν <i>vacat</i>	

“... Postumo infatti avendo preso il potere cambiò quelli che erano stati collocati fin da principio e quelli che dai padri e dai nonni avevano ricevuto ... Nominò uomini inadatti e ignoti, avendo venduto tutti i beni ... custoditi, ma in conseguenza di ciò avendo ordinato che fossero rimossi i più idonei e i più utili degli amministratori a scopo di rapina ...”

Il nostro frammento ci aiuta forse a far luce sulla natura della carica rivestita da Postumo: il fatto che egli abbia sostituito “τοὺς ... χρησίμους καὶ ὄφελιμωτάτους τῶν διοικητῶν” induce a ritenere che egli operò proprio in qualità di *dioiketes* e non di funzionario di controllo imposto dai Romani, scegliendo i *dioiketai* da lui dipendenti, uomini inadatti e sconosciuti per gli Alessandrini, fra gente che egli conosceva bene e di cui poteva

¹³ *Pro Rab. Post.* 22; cf. anche 28.

¹⁴ Cf. L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*, Brussel 1975, pp. 138-139.

fidarsi (“familiaris suos”) - per esempio, suoi schiavi o liberti - che potevano favorire i suoi scopi di rapina.

Il testo ci illumina inoltre, sia pure parzialmente, sui metodi usati da Postumo nell’esercizio della sua carica: cambiamenti di funzionari e vendite di beni dello Stato.

Per quanto riguarda la natura del testo di cui il papiro ci conserva un frammento, possiamo avanzare tre ipotesi:

1) Potrebbe trattarsi di una protesta degli Alessandrini contro il *dioiketes* romano il quale, non tenendo in alcun conto la tradizione, sostituì a funzionari validi altri inadatti alle esigenze della carica e del paese, ma senza dubbio adatti ai suoi scopi di rapina.

2) Potrebbe trattarsi del discorso di un avvocato contro il *dioiketes* imprigionato dall’Aulete, e forse sottoposto a processo per la sua condotta come *dioiketes*, o anche, in contumacia, per questo e per altri reati quali l’evasione dal carcere e la fuga dall’Egitto: chiunque volesse lasciare il paese doveva avere l’autorizzazione del re, come sappiamo da Strabone.¹⁵

3) Potrebbe essere il frammento di un libello sul tipo degli “Atti dei martiri alessandrini”, e in questo caso sarebbe la testimonianza più antica finora conosciuta di propaganda alessandrina antiromana. Questa ipotesi non esclude la precedente: l’arringa dell’avvocato poteva essere stata copiata dagli atti del processo o liberamente rielaborata. Tuttavia poteva anche essere stata completamente inventata.

Fra gli “Atti dei martiri alessandrini” si è conservato un altro discorso contro un funzionario romano di epoca più tarda:¹⁶ si tratta di C. Vibius Maximus, prefetto d’Egitto dal 30 agosto 103 al 26 marzo 107,¹⁷ processato a Roma *de repetundis* negli anni 107-109 circa. A tale proposito H. A. Musurillo osserva: “Though it is the only piece whose central character is a Roman, its preservation was undoubtedly due to the nature of the accusations and to the participation of Alexandrians in the proceedings”.¹⁸ Come il prefetto Massimo - e più di centocinquanta anni prima di lui - Postumo fu processato a Roma *de repetundis* e sappiamo da Cicerone che ci fu contro di lui la testimonianza di alcuni Alessandrini.

Anche l’aspetto esteriore sembra avvicinare questo frammento agli “Atti dei martiri alessandrini”. La scrittura delle copie degli “Atti” a noi pervenute è spesso definita “semiletteraria” o “semicorsiva” o “corsivo-letteraria” o “maiuscola con elementi corsivi”, raramente solo “corsiva” o solo “letteraria”. Nel nostro papiro si tratta di una scrittura non libraria, tuttavia più curata di una documentaria, la quale presenta pochi legamenti e, a volte, spazi bianchi tra le parole.

Infine è da osservare che un’altra caratteristica degli “Atti” è quella di essere contemporanei o di poco posteriori agli avvenimenti narrati, come è probabile nel caso del nostro papiro.

¹⁵ Strab. 2, 3, 5 (101). Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (332 B.C. - 640 A.D.)*, Warszawa 1952, pp. 642-644.

¹⁶ P. Oxy. III 471 = H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. Acta Alexandrinorum*, Oxford 1954, pp. 33-43; 150-160: *VII Acta Maximi*.

¹⁷ Cf. G. Bastianini, ‘Lista dei prefetti d’Egitto dal 30^a al 299^a’ *ZPE* 17 (1975), p. 280; ‘Aggiunte e correzioni’, *ZPE* 38 (1980), p. 80; ‘Il prefetto d’Egitto (30 a.C. - 297 d.C.): Addenda (1973-1985)’, *ANRW* II 10.1, Berlin - New York 1988, p. 507.

¹⁸ H. A. Musurillo, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

AN ARCHIVE OF PTOLEMAIC SHIPPING DOCUMENTS IN THE MACQUARIE COLLECTION

Rosalie R. E. Cook

The archive consists of seven documents relating to the transport of tax grain to Alexandria and of seed within the Arsinoite nome. The papyri, P.Macquarie inv. 403-409, come from mummy cartonnage. The identified texts of the archive are of two types, loading orders (403-405, 407, and probably 408 and 409) and a *naukleros-symbolon* (406) (see Table 1 for details of contents and dates). References in the texts to Crocodilopolis, and to the villages of Magais and Philagris in the *meris* of Themistes, point to an Arsinoite provenance. The loading orders are from Chrysippos to Diagoras and Beroties (at least in those texts where details of sender and addressee are extant) and known patterns of documents of this type indicate that Chrysippos is a nome *strategos*. One of the texts (406) makes clear that Diagoras and Beroties are *sitologoi* who may be based at Magais.

Two of the texts are almost complete (404, 407). The remainder are fragmentary. In four texts dates in an Egyptian regnal year survive, year 14. This is taken as the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (234/3 BC), although the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (209/8 BC) has not been ruled out. Dates fall within the consecutive months Phaophi, Hathyr and Choiak, during the season when the crops were being sown and there was heightened shipping activity after the subsidence of the Nile.

In his extensive survey of documents of these two types in the Rotterdam collection published in P.Erasm II, P.A. Verdult has shown that loading orders were of two kinds: those issued by a *strategos* to the *sitologos* instructing him to load tax grain onto a specified ship, and those issued by the *oikonomos* or the *basilikos grammateus* to their subordinates instructing them to supervise the loading by the *sitologos*. The *naukleros-symbolon* was a declaration by the *naukleros* acknowledging the details of the loading.

Verdult identifies twenty-one elements which occur in the group of loading orders in P.Erasm. Not all elements are included in all texts and both the sequence of the elements and their wording vary among the texts. The seven most important elements, which appear in practically all loading orders, are those numbered in Table 2 as 1, 2, 10, 15, 18, 19, 20: the greeting formula which identifies both sender and recipient; the order to load; the identification of the ship and its owner; the amount and type of grain to be loaded; the closing formula containing the date; and a subscription which briefly states the salient points of the loading order.

Verdult's treatment of published loading orders raises a number of questions which can be fruitfully examined in the light of the Macquarie archive. I should like to address some of these in the light of P.Macquarie inv. 404 and 407, the largest and most complete texts in the archive, looking first at how their formulae compare with the previously known examples and then considering the aspects in which they differ.

Of the basic elements only the subscription (elements 19, 20) is missing from the two Macquarie papyri. This subscription appears only in the Rotterdam texts in this form. There are two lines of Demotic beneath the Greek text of 407 which need to be deciphered. Both 404 and 407 are from Chrysippos to Diagoras and Beroties and concern the transport of barley to Alexandria for the brewing tax. 407 has an additional section in which the *strategos* reminds the *sitologoi* to take a sample of the cargo and in due course send to him 'these', which seemingly refers to this and other samples.

In 407 the order to load (2) is expressed with an imperative in the singular even though two *sitologoi* are addressed. In the second section of the text the scribe has used plural verbs (φροντίσατε ... δείγμα λήψεσθε). This might indicate that although the Macquarie loading orders are addressed to two *sitologoi*, only one was expected actually to be at the loading. This section as a whole, concerning the taking of samples, is paralleled in some published loading orders but the wording here is otherwise unattested.

The two texts have four further elements which are not universally standard but are paralleled in the loading orders of P.Eras. II: the requirement to have supervisors present; the capacity of the ship; the identification of the *naukleros*; the instruction to draw up a *symbolon*.

In referring to supervisors the Macquarie texts use the plural, μετὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων, whereas the Rotterdam texts have the singular. P.Strasb. 562, from 215 BC and from the Heracleopolite, is the only other loading order to contain this element and it also refers to these officials in the plural.

A statement of the capacity of the ship occurs in most, but not all loading orders. The reading of 407 suggests that the capacity was 6000 artabas whereas the cargo to be loaded is 8000 artabas. Casson points out that P.Oxy. XXIV 2415 shows that the amount loaded was frequently around 10% more than the stated capacity; but the reading here would imply a load of some 33% more than the ship's capacity.¹ As in the Rotterdam texts the ships mentioned are *kerkouroi*; the 8000 artabas to be loaded is a much larger cargo than any in the Rotterdam texts. D.J. Thompson points out that the most commonly attested capacity for the *kerkouros* was 10,000 artabas.²

In the Rotterdam texts the *naukleros* is identified with the phrase ἐφ' οὗ. In the Macquarie texts 404 uses this formula but 407 has the word ναύκληρος instead.

The instruction to issue a *symbolon*, καὶ σύμβολον ποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν, is written with abbreviations in the Rotterdam texts but in the Macquarie texts it is always written in full.

A striking omission from loading orders of the Macquarie archive are the five of elements referring to the loading point, the destination and the origin of the grain to be transported (elements 5-9). Instead, the purpose for which the grain is intended is stated: τὸν (sc. φόρον) κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ζητηράν). The appearance of this element appears to be unique to the Macquarie texts. Absent, too, is the clause referring to the guards being present during loading (17), although few documents other than the Rotterdam texts specifically state this requirement and it seems probable that the guards were there as a matter of course.

In common with P.Strasb. 562 and SB XIV 11887-9, P.Macquarie inv. 407 contains a clause requiring the *sitologoi* to send a report of the loading to the *strategos*; SB XIV 11887-9 requires that the samples be sent as well: καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς ἂν ἀπαρτισθῆι διασαφήσατε ἐκπέμπαντες καὶ τὰ δείγματα. P.Macquarie inv. 407 uses the phrasing: φροντίσατε δὲ καὶ ὅπως δείγμα λήψεσθε. κατὰ χρόνον τοῦτους ἡμῖν παραδοῖσθε ὡς εἴη ἀσφαλῶς. It follows from the evidence of these texts that the *sitologos* was expected to take a sample and send it and the *naukleros-symbolon* to the *strategos*. Probably a number of reports and samples were sent together at given intervals so that the transactions could be verified. BGU VIII 1742 clearly indicates that sealed samples were entrusted to the guards and accompanied the cargo, but the evidence of both the SB and the Macquarie texts is different. Whether in the latter case these were the samples which, along with the *strategos'* report, eventually found their way to Alexandria to be checked against the cargo, or whether they constituted a second set of samples, is unclear and needs further investigation. Since both the SB and the Macquarie texts are from the Arsinoite and the BGU text is from the Heracleopolite nome we perhaps have

¹ L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton N.J. 1971, p. 164 n.40.

² See D. J. Thompson, 'Nile Grain Transport', in P. Garnsey et al. (eds), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, London, 1983, p.73

evidence here of differences in practice in different nomes. The time difference should not be ignored. The SB texts are dated to 185 BC but the BGU texts are much later, 64/3 BC.

Because 404 and the beginning of 407 are so similar to the P.Erasm. texts, it is unlikely, although tempting to suggest, that the differences in the second section of 407 can be attributed to the date, this being one of the earliest loading orders published so far. Therefore I would propose that in fact the loading-order, even at this early stage, was written to a standard formula for the nome as can be seen in its likeness to the Rotterdam texts. The differences in P.Macquarie inv. 407 may, I think, be attributed to the *sitologoi*, Diagoras and Beroties having been newly appointed to the position or having been lax in their administration.

Overall, the Macquarie loading orders show a high degree of conformity with the Rotterdam texts, much more so than with texts closer in date. This perhaps suggests that geographical factors are more important than proximity in time.

The Macquarie *naukleros-symbolon* is incomplete, but the text which survives also shows a high degree of conformity with other *naukleros-symbola*. At the top of *naukleros-symbola* the date is usually written twice with a space between and a summary of the cargo normally appears after the first date. The first date and summary evidently correspond to a *scriptura interior*, rolled up and sealed. A binding tie passed through a hole located within the blank space,³ and a break in the Macquarie text probably coincides with such a binding hole. There is no trace in 406 that it contained a summary of the cargo at the top, but it could have been lost in the lacuna at the right of the date. As there are no traces of a second line of text at this point such a summary would have to have been very brief. The type of summary found in P.Erasm. II 42 and 45 is condensed to half a line because of the use of symbols. A summary in the Macquarie text would have to accommodate a reference to seed (σπέρμα).

406, like the loading orders of the archive, while conforming to the elements of the Rotterdam *naukleros-symbola*, again shows variations in respect of the destination/purpose of the grain: the origin of the grain is the *thesauros* at Magais, although where the loading point was located in relation to Magais is not clear. The seed is not for the *basilikon* at Alexandria but for an allotment near the village of Philagris, where the seed was to be planted as crop for the following year. Both *sitologoi*, Diagoras and Beroties, are identified as being the officials who released the seed for loading.

The type of ship in 406 is not the *kerkouros* of the loading orders, but the smaller *prosagogis*. The figure stating the capacity of the ship is unclear owing to damage to the papyrus. The more local nature of the delivery would explain the use of the smaller ship.

The owners of the ship are referred to in the intriguingly abbreviated expression (τῆς τε ὄ προσ(αγωγίδος)).⁴

The Macquarie archive of Chrysisippus introduces new information on the types of cargo, and on the roles of the officials mentioned in loading orders and *naukleros-symbola*.

Firstly, in common with the other loading orders and *naukleros-symbola*, the documents deal with tax grain, with the addition of a new cargo: the Macquarie texts appear to be the only texts of their type to refer to barley rather than wheat. Moreover the grain is linked with a specific tax - the brewing tax (ζυτηρά), whereas the wheat of the other texts is simply destined for the *basilikon* at Alexandria as part of a general consignment of tax grain. Seed (σπέρμα) of an unspecified grain (wheat?) is to be issued for planting and no doubt to provide tax grain for the harvest of the following year.

The texts shed further light on the role of the *sitologos* and his position in the structure of the administration. It is worthy of note that two groups of texts from the Arsinoite (SB XIV

³ P.A. Verdult, *P. Erasmiana II, Parts of the Archive of an Arsinoite Sitologos from the Middle of the Second Century BC*, Amsterdam 1991, p.123.

⁴ For joint owners of ships cf. οἱ Ἄραβες, P. Erasm. II 40.4-5; οἱ Μακεδόνες, P. Erasm. II 45.4-5

11887-9 and P.Macquarie inv. 407-409, but not the P.Erasm. texts), require the *sitologos* to collect the sample and forward it to the sender of the loading orders, the *strategos*. This does not appear to be the case in the texts originating from the offices of the administrators of the Heracleopolite nome. It is also evident that local deliveries of grain organised by the administration required the same documentation as cargoes bound for Alexandria and that the documentation was issued by the same officials. From 406, which concerns the allotment near Philagris, it might be conjectured that a *naukleros-symbolon* would be issued in respect of each of the individual consignments.

The archive documents the presence of a *thesauros* at Magais and at least one associated *ergasterion*. Both Magais and Philagris, were located near the village of Euhemereia in the *meris* of Themistes.⁵

Finally we should consider the prosopography of the archive:

the <i>strategos</i> :	Chrysisippos
the <i>sitologoi</i> :	Diagoras Beroties
the <i>naukleroi</i> :	Ptolemaios (404 , 407: the same person?) ...salos Alexandros
the ship owners:	Euthydikos τε δ̄ (?)
others mentioned:	Alexandros (holder of an allotment near Philagris) Taos (this and next three names at end of fragmentary 409) Horos of Magais Marres Nechos

The possibility needs to be explored of identifying the Chrysisippos who is *strategos* in this archive of year 14 with Chrysisippos the *dioiketes* and *archisomatophylax* of P.Petrie III 53.3 and P.Grenf. II 14. 6. 2, dated respectively in year 18 and year 22 in the reign of Euergetes.⁶

Table 1

TABLE OF TEXTS

Reference	Contents	Date
Archive of Chrysisippos, <i>strategos</i>		
<i>P.Macquarie</i> <i>inv. 403-409</i>	Documents relating to the transportation of tax grain to Alexandria and of seed within the nome, addressed to the <i>sitologoi</i> Diagoras and Beroties, comprising loading orders and a <i>naukleros-symbolon</i>	234/3 or 209/8 BC

⁵ Calderini, *Dizionario svv Μαγαίς, Φιλαγρίς*

⁶ *P.P.* 52

403	To Diagoras and Beroties Reference to other correspondence and to details appended; Crocodilopolis; address on back. Fragmentary	[date lost]
404	Loading order from Chrysispos to Diagoras and Beroties 1500 art. clean sifted barley for the Alexandrian brewing tax. Ptolemaios <i>naukleros</i>	Year 14, Choiak 23 = 10 Feb 233 or 3 Feb 208 BC
405	To Beroties and Diagoras Reference to other correspondence; barley for the <i>syntaxis</i> (?) of the month Pharmouthi. Fragmentary	[date lost]
406	<i>Naukleros-symbolon</i> -salos and Alexandros, 2 <i>naukleroï</i> , have loaded from the <i>ergasterion</i> of Magais seed for land in the <i>kleros</i> of Alexandros near Philagris for year 15 for 5[arouras. Reference to an official acting for Diagoras ('from Chrysispos') and Beroties.	Year 14, Choiak 12 = 30 Jan 233 or 28 Jan 208 BC
407	Loading order from Chrysispos to Diagoras and Beroties 8000 art. of clean sifted barley for the Alexandrian brewing tax. Ptolemaios is <i>naukleros</i> on the <i>kerkouros</i> of Euthydikos. Address on back.	Year 14, Phaophi 1 = 20 Nov 234 or 13 Nov 209 BC
408	Loading Order? Reference to an <i>ergasterion</i> ; phrase σύμβολον ποιήσαι	[date lost]
409	Loading Order? Farewell, date, 4 lines appended concerning persons (including Horos of Magais) and amounts. Fragmentary	year 14, Hathyr 3 = 22 Dec 234 or 15 Dec 209 BC

Table 2

Elements occurring in loading orders and *naukleros-symbola* in P.Erasm. II

Bold letters (A) refer to persons, x to year number, (...) to amounts of grain. As with the similar tables in P.Erasm. II, the Greek has been condensed and indicates the purpose of the element.

a) Loading orders

Elements marked with an asterisk are identified by Verdult as being standard elements in these texts.

1*	Greeting formula	A to B... χαίρειν
2*	Order to load	Ἐμβαλοῦ
3	Supervising official/s	μετὰ τοῦ ἐπακολουθοῦντος

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 4 | Directive (<i>chrematismos</i>) or
Directive (<i>apostolos</i>) | κατὰ τὸν ... χρηματισμόν
κατὰ τὸν ... ἀπόστολον |
| 5 | Loading point | ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Καινὴ ὄρμου |
| 6 | Harvest year of grain to be loaded | ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ (x) ἔτους |
| 7 | Origin of grain | ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Ὁξύρυγχα ἐργαστηρίου |
| 8 | Destination | ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν |
| 9 | Royal treasury | εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν |
| 10* | Type and owner of ship | εἰς (ship) τοῦ /τῆς C |
| 11 | Lessee of ship | οὐ /ῆς μισθωτῆς/μισθώτρια ὁ/ῆ D |
| 12 | Capacity of ship | ἀγωγῆς (numeral) |
| 13 | Name of naukleros | ἐφ' οὐ / ἐφ' ῆς E |
| 14 | Person providing the ship | παρεσταμένον ... τοῦ F τοῦ παρὰ
τοῦ G μισθωτοῦ |
| 15* | Type/amount of grain to be loaded | πυροῦ ἀρτάβας (...), γίνονται (...) |
| 16 | Instruction to draw up symbolon | καὶ σύμβολον ποιῆσαι ...ὡς καθήκει |
| 17 | Guard during loading | καὶ μὴ πρότερον τὴν ἐμβολὴν ποιῆσαι |
| 18* | Closing formula | Ἔρρωσο (date) |
| | <i>Subscription</i> | |
| 19* | Order to load | A. Ἐμβαλοῦ ... πυροῦ ἀρτάβας (...) |
| 20* | Usually same date as in 18 | (date) |
| 21 | Address | Back: Τῶι B |

b) Naukleros-symbola

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | Date and summary of cargo loaded | date πυροῦ ἀρτάβας (...) |
| 1a | Space | |
| 2 | Date repeated | date |
| 3 | Declaration | Ὁμολογεῖ A |
| 4 | <i>Naukleros</i> , ship, ship owner | ναύκληρος τοῦ /τῆς (ship) τοῦ /τῆς B |
| 5 | Lessee of ship | οὐ /ῆς μισθωτῆς/μισθώτρια C |
| 6 | Capacity of ship | ἀγωγῆς (numeral) |
| 7 | Loading | ἐμβεβλήσθαι |
| 8 | Loading point | ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Καινὴν ὄρμου |
| 9 | Destination | ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν |
| 10 | Royal treasury | εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν |
| 11 | Harvest year of grain loaded | ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ (x) ἔτους |
| 12 | Person providing ship | παρεσταμένον δὲ διὰ D ... μισθωτοῦ |
| 13 | <i>Sitologos</i> and location | παρὰ τοῦ E ...τὸ ... ἐργαστήριον |
| 14 | Amount loaded | πυροῦ ἀρτάβας (...), γίνονται (...) |
| 15 | Measure | μέτρῳ δοχικῶι τῶι συμβεβλημένῳ
πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν καὶ σκυτάληι δικαίαι
καὶ οὐθέν σοι ἐγκαλῶ |
| 16 | Release | |
| 17 | (Subscription for illiterate <i>naukleros</i>) | Ἔγραψεν Φ ὑπὲρ A διὰ τοῦ φάσκειν
αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα |
| 18 | ship/cargo/owner | |

UN OSTRACON INÉDIT DU DÉSERT ORIENTAL ET LA PROVENANCE DE O. AMST. 9

Hélène Cuvigny, C.N.R.S.

Plate 11

L'ostracon publié ci-après a été trouvé en janvier 91 sur le dépotoir antique qui s'étend devant la porte du fortin d'el-Zerqa : il avait été dégagé par les pluies diluviennes du 31 décembre 90 qui recréèrent des trous faits par des fouilleurs clandestins. Il a été remis au Service des Antiquités.

El-Zerqa est la mieux conservée des huit stations qui jalonnent la voie caravanière antique reliant Quseir, sur la mer Rouge, au port fluvial de Coptos.¹ Ce fortin de plan carré (60 x 60 m), à tours d'angle, bâti en schiste, environne un puits effondré.

Le document est complet. C'est une liste de 13 noms, chacun étant précédé d'un chiffre qui va, en ordre croissant, de 7 à 19 : ces 13 hommes ont été requis pour un service qu'ils effectueront à tour de rôle du 7 au 19 d'un mois non spécifié. Ce texte serait banal s'il ne faisait partie du même dossier que O. Amst. 9, liste de tours de service différemment organisés, qui réunit à peu près la même équipe. La présence dans les deux listes de Νεκρῦς et Φαρικός, dont les noms sont quasiment des hapax, ne laisse aucun doute.

W. Clarysse a montré récemment, à partir d'une enquête prosopographique, que les ostraca militaires d'Amsterdam (notamment les listes de gardes O. Amst. 8-15 et 82) appartenaient à un important dossier dispersé dans le monde entier, en grande partie publié (cf. surtout les O. Amsterdam et les O. Florida), et provenant d'un même endroit.² Mais lequel ? Lui-même a proposé, sur des critères toponymiques, la rive gauche thébaine.³ Les précédents éditeurs de ces ostraca, abusés par les déclarations contradictoires de l'antiquaire de Louxor qui les écoulait dans les années 70, leur avaient attribué comme lieu d'invention Contrapollonopolis Magna (en face d'Edfou) et Latopolis (Esna). Lorsque j'ai présenté l'ostracon d'el-Zerqa au congrès de Copenhague, je croyais résoudre définitivement cette énigme : les O. Amsterdam et les O. Florida seraient venus du dépotoir de ce site, dont la surface est d'ailleurs criblée de petits cratères.

La première campagne de fouille à el-Zerqa en janvier-février 1994⁴ a démenti cette hypothèse séduisante. Si les noms de Nekrys, Pharikos et leurs collègues ont souvent ressurgi sous nos truelles, aucun de ceux qui étaient la démonstration de W. Clarysse n'est apparu dans nos quelque 650 textes : O. Amst. 9 provient bien d'el-Zerqa, mais c'est un intrus dans la série des ostraca militaires d'Amsterdam.

¹Descriptions récentes : M. Reddé, J.-Cl. Golvin, "Quelques recherches récentes sur l'archéologie militaire romaine en Égypte", *CRAI* 1986, p. 182-185 ; Id., "Du Nil à la mer Rouge : documents anciens et nouveaux sur les routes du désert oriental d'Égypte", *Karthago* 21, 1987, p. 14-15 ; R.E. Zitterkopf, S.E. Sidebotham, "Stations and Towers on the Quseir-Nile Road", *JEA* 75, 1989, p. 175-176.

²W. Clarysse, "A Roman Army Unit near Thebes", *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Napoli, 1984, p. 1021-1026.

³W. Clarysse, "A Military Roster on a Vase in Amsterdam", *Anc.Soc.* 19, 1988 ; provenance : p. 89-92. Les toponymes qui figurent surtout dans les ostraca militaires d'Amsterdam me gênaient un peu à l'époque où je pensais que ces textes venaient d'el-Zerqa : il n'y a pas d'autres structures, dans les environs du fortin, que quelques cairns sur les crêtes et quelques cabanes vraisemblablement byzantines : où étaient le sanctuaire d'Isis, celui de Thôt et surtout le village de Palaia Kômè ?

⁴Financée par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et l'IFAO.

10,5 x 13 cm. Complet. Comme la plupart des ostraca du Mons Claudianus, il s'agit d'un fragment d'amphore égyptienne dont l'intérieur était enduit de poix. Date : IIp.⁵

	ζ̄	Ἀπολινάρις ῑ
	ἥ̄	Νεκρῶς
	θ̄	Τιθοης
	ῑ	Γερμανός
5	ιᾱ	Μάξιμος
	ιβ̄	᾽Ωρίων
	ιγ̄	᾽Αρποχρατ()
	ιδ̄	Ψενταησι(ος ?)
	ιε̄	᾽Αρης
10	ις	᾽Ερμίας
	ιζ	Βηκις
	ιη̄	Φαρικός
	ιθ̄	Ούλπικς

- Je ne me prononce pas sur le iota surmonté d'une barre horizontale, identique au chiffre de la ligne 4, qui suit le nom (il est écrit au niveau de l'interligne 1-2 en raison de l'obliquité du bord supérieur) : δεκανός, δεκανία sont ainsi parfois symbolisés, mais plus typiquement par un trait vertical élongé que surmonte un "chapeau"; d'autre part, les ostraca trouvés à el-Zerqa lors de la campagne 94 suggèrent que l'occupation du fortin était seulement militaire.
- Νεκρῶς. À lire au lieu de Νερρης en O.Amst. 9, 13. J'ai demandé en vain à plusieurs égyptologues de me débarrasser de ce nom funèbre. Michel Pezin, qui a bien voulu analyser la question, a finalement repoussé l'idée qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un de ces noms en *nht* ("puissant est") transcrits en grec Νεκθ- ou Νεχθ-, voire Νεκ- (cf. Νεκφερως, Νεκκουχος). Cette hypothèse écartée, on songe à un sobriquet grec en -ῶς (pour des références bibliographiques sur cette formation, voir O. Masson, *Onomastica Selecta* I, p. 93, n. 6). Dans les deux listes, le scribe a doté le ε de Νεκρῶς d'un ductus de *e* latin.
- Γερμανός. À lire au lieu de Πρ. μνος en O.Amst. 9, 10.
- ᾽Ωρίων. Je suis fort tentée de restituer ce nom en O.Amst. 9, 14 (éd. [ιβ̄ Ι . .] . ν). Il me paraît clair qu'il y a trois et non deux lettres du nom en lacune, et que le ν est précédé d'un ω incliné à gauche tout comme ceux de ᾽Ωρίων ici : ᾽Ωρί]ων.
- ᾽Αρποχρατ(). Le même homme s'appelle ᾽Αρποχρῶς en O.Amst. 9.
- Ψενταησι. ι final allongé vers le bas, ce qui indique peut-être que le nom est abrégé ; de fait, le scribe a écrit Ψενταησιος en O.Amst. 9.
- ᾽Αρης. ᾽Αραος lu en O.Amst. 9, 12, où je lis sur la photo le nom grec populaire en Égypte ᾽Αρειος sur lequel on se reportera, en attendant une prochaine étude d'O. Masson, à *Bull. Épigra.* 1991, 211.
- Φαρικός. Un de ces dérivés en -ικός d'époque impériale, probablement tiré du Phare. Ce nom n'apparaît pas autrement à ma connaissance que dans la scholie 398 aux *Alexipharmaka* de Nicandre : d'après Praxagoras, y trouve-t-on, le poison appelé φαρικόν tirerait son nom de son inventeur, un Crétois nommé Φαρικός.

⁵W. Clarysse, *Ancient Society* 19, p. 73.

A NEW 2ND CENTURY B.C. PROSANGELMA

Nikolaos Gonis

Oxyrhyncha

10.7 x 16.3

Second century B.C.

Plate 12, fig. 1

This papyrus belongs to the collection of the Greek Papyrological Society (Inv. no. O 189) and was recovered from cartonnage. It is complete on the top, left-hand and right-hand sides, and evenly broken on the bottom. As is often the case with papyri so preserved, the ink has been washed away at places, so that the reading sometimes remains uncertain, if not irrecoverable. The hand, running parallel with the fibres, is upright and careful, assignable to a date around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.¹ Prosopography may also indicate a similar dating (see below, 1n.). The back is blank.

It is in the form of a petition addressed to Apollonios, epistates of Oxyrhyncha, by an Egyptian, Petearpheneithes, who was physically assaulted and gravely wounded by another Egyptian, Kollouthos. This is apparently the second prosangelia submitted, since Kollouthos presented an enteuxis, conceivably against Petearpheneithes, to the chrematistae, and now raises certain claims which are to be realised through Apollonios. The papyrus breaks off at what is to all appearances the beginning of the request clause.

Kollouthos' reaction to the prosangelia blaming him was much more drastic: he appealed to an even higher authority and in the end managed to have the situation well in hand. A somewhat reverse situation is found in SB XVI 12687, an enteuxis of a woman reporting that her husband, in order to anticipate and thus obstruct her resort to the chrematistae, lodged a prosangelia against her. It was Kollouthos' enteuxis rather than the failure of his request that prompted Petearpheneithes to file the present prosangelia.

The nature of the enteuxis mentioned here is not crystal-clear. I am inclined to believe that this is a copy of the enteuxis submitted by Kollouthos; the chrematistae gave it to him along with the summons, to deliver them to his opponent on their behalf. This act is paralleled by P.Tebt. I 29, BGU VIII 1756, etc., where the plaintiff serves the summons upon the defendant under the authorisation of the court, cf. *M.Grds.* 17, P.Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, Berlin 1920, 261f., UPZ II 170 introd., p. 113, P.Yale I 46 introd., pp. 123f. Nevertheless, in that case the intervention of the epistates, which is explicitly mentioned, can find no excuse. διὰ κοῦ indicates that whatever was the order of the chrematistae, this had to be carried out through Apollonios; we should then assume that he would be the one entrusted with the summons of Petearpheneithes. It is not possible to determine whether Kollouthos had already handed the enteuxis to Apollonios or not, nor can we state if such a document reached Petearpheneithes. The latter appears aware of the contents of the enteuxis, but we do not know through which means. It is not improbable that Kollouthos carried the news to Petearpheneithes first, intending perhaps to reach a compromise (συγχώρησις, cf. UPZ II 162, or διάλυσις, cf. BGU VI 1249, UPZ II 171, P.Mert. II 59) before going to the court, or broke the news to the village on his return.

It is unlikely that Kollouthos was given an enteuxis carrying the decision (ὑπογραφή) of the chrematistae, as in P.Tebt. III 933, 934, etc. A trial would then have been held, but Petearpheneithes does not give any hint of such an event, and seems to have been ignorant of

¹Cf. PUG III 92 (166/5 B.C.) and P.Köln V 224 (144/3 B.C.). This is also suggested by the close palaeographical affinities it bears with two (unpublished) items of the same collection, dated in 159/8 B.C.

the whereabouts of his opponent μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, which would not have been the case if a trial had been held.

The role of the epistates in this procedure may be clarified in the light of P.Erasm. I 1, an enteuxis where the petitioner requests that the chrematistae, after having read the enteuxis and arranged for a trial, call the defendant before them through the epistates. διὰ is the preposition used to denote the role that this officer is called to play. Likewise in P.Erasm. I 11, Apollonios, perhaps the same as person as the epistates here (see below, *note*. ad l. 1), is ordered by the chrematistae to deliver a copy of an enteuxis to the accused persons and summon them to appear in court; this copy is taken to him by the plaintiff, who presumably is also the carrier of the letter.

Its identification as a "proselgelma" rests primarily on the mention of "another prosangelia", which was submitted at an earlier moment (l. 2). Analyses of form have not yielded characteristics that could make 2nd century prosangelmata distinct from contemporary hypomnemata, and the boundaries between them are far from certain. As can be inferred from a number of petitions similar in form and content, but styled either as hypomnemata or prosangelmata (cf. A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968), 55 and P.Köln VI 272 introd., p. 214 and nn. 6 & 7), confusion as to the nature of these documents existed even when they were written. On prosangelmata the study of M. Hombert - C. Préaux, *CE* 34 (1942), 259ff. remains fundamental. The most recent discussions of the issue, where references to the earlier literature can be found, appear in M. Parca, *CE* 60 (1985), 240ff., P.Köln V 216 introd., pp. 108ff. and P.Köln VI 272 introd., p. 214. To the list of Parca add now P.Köln V 216 (272 or 234 or 209 B.C.), SB XVIII 13160 (244 or 219 B.C.), P.Köln VI 272 (2nd half of the 3rd cent. B.C.), SB XVI 12813, P.Erasm. I 4 and perhaps PUG III 112 (all three assigned to the 1st half of the 2nd cent. B.C.).² On the form of Ptolemaic petitions in general see A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968), 53ff. and *ibid.* 56 (1976), 109ff.

The text runs as follows:

Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐπιστάτ[η]ει Ὁξυρύγχων
 παρὰ Πετσαρφενείθου τοῦ Μαρρέου. τυγχάνω
 ἐπιδεδοκῶς ἄλλην προσαγγελίαν
 τῆι κδ̄ τοῦ Μεσορῆ περὶ τοῦ εἶναι με
 5 κλινοπετῆν καὶ κινδυνεύειν με ἐκ τῶν
 πληγῶν ὑπὸ Κολλούθου. οὗτος δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν
 ὑπ'αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πεπορικῶς
 δὲ ἔντευξιν τῆι ἡ . . . παρὰ τῶν χρη-
 [ματικῶν] . . . ἢ ἀξιοῖ διὰ σοῦ τ . . .
 10 [26-30]ξιω..

5. I. κλινοπετῆ

To Apollonios, epistates of Oxyrhyncha, from Petearpheneithes, son of Marres. I happen to have submitted another prosangelia on the 24th of Mesore concerning the fact that I am confined to bed and my life is in danger as a result of the blows of Kollouthos. He went away

²The following entries in Parca's list now have new reference numbers: P.Mich. Inv. 6949 = SB XVI 12823, P.Mich. Inv. 6961 = ZPE 76, 1989, 245-8, P.Vind.Barb. 8 = SB XVI 12671, SB VIII 9677+P.Lips. b = SB X 10253, JEA 68, 1982, 272-6 = SB XVI 12468.

from that time until now, but supplied himself with an enteuxis from the chrematistae on the 8th (of Thoth ?), and requests ... through you ... I request ...

1. Ἀπολλωνίου: He is presumably identical with the addressee of the petition P.Eras. I 4 (first half of the 2nd century B.C.). The editors of P.Eras. I suggest that he may be the same person as the Apollonios mentioned in P.Eras. I 3 (mid-2nd cent., probably 166 B.C.) and the recipient of the letter of the chrematistae P.Eras. I 11 (150 B.C.); cf. P.Eras. I 11, 3n. The identification is tempting, though of course not secure.

ἐπιτάτ[η]ει: The scribe clearly made a correction here and changed the correct -ηι to the wrong -ει. This however is not surprising, as it conforms with the common practice; -ει is the most frequently attested ending of the dative singular of ἐπιτάτης in the 2nd century, see Mayser I 1, 100ff.; the correction evidences the depth of the belief that this was the correct ending.

On the role and competence of the epistates see E. Lavigne, *De epistates van het dorp in Ptolemaeisch Egypte*, *Studia Hellenistica* 3, Lovanii 1945 (on which see the review of J. Bingen, *CE* 45-6 (1948), 213ff.), E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1962, 80ff., P. Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisungen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, Diss. Köln 1967, 73ff., and H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*, *Münch. Beitr.* 44, München 1970², 172ff.

Ὀξυρύχων: On this village of the Arsinoites in the meris of Polemon see *Dizionario* III, 392 and its *Suppl.*, 215. Its exact position is disputed, see C. Wessely, *Topographie des Fayum in griechischer Zeit*, Wien 1904, 113ff., P.Tebt. II p. 392 and the map in P.Eras. II p. 7.

2. Πεταρφευείθου: This name as it stands is problematical. It does not mean anything in Egyptian, while Πεταρφευείθου would make perfect sense. Phi is however certain. One could perhaps dismiss phi as a scribal error, and replace it with psi. In any case, this name has not so far been attested in either form in any Greek papyrus, and is one of the very few personal names in Greek compounded with Neith, see J. Quaegebeur - W. Clarysse - B. Van Maele, *ZPE* 60, 1983, 223.

Μαρρέου: On the genitive of Μαρρῆς see Mayser I 2, 34 and Gignac II 74.

τυγχάνω: this verb is employed to introduce the narration of the events, and occurs at the same position in petitions until the end of the 2nd cent. AD, cf. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59651.2, P.Koeln. VI 263.1, BGU VIII 1779.3, 1833.7, 1838.7, SB XVI 12713.3, etc. In all these examples it is followed by a predicative participle, always in the perfect, which in essence carries the role of introducing the events. J. L. White (*The Form and Structure of the Official Petition*, Missoula 1972, 22) has observed that "a participial clause (...) often stands at the beginning of the background and presents the circumstances which occasioned the petition". One thus may think that this construction of the participle with τυγχάνω is a variation, made up presumably with the aim at setting out the background in a less direct -and perhaps more polite-manner.

3. ἐπιδεδωκός: ἐπιδίδωμι is used as an almost technical term for the handing in of documents to the authorities, see PUG III 108,1n. It is followed by προαγγέλμα in PSI III 169.8, P.Tebt. III 793 viii 9; 799. 17-18, P.Rein. II 97. 3, SB III 9792. 14, etc.

προαγγελίαν: προαγγέλμα is the form statistically better represented, and the one that the jurists mostly use. Nevertheless, SB I 5675 (184/3 B.C.), a document supposedly subscribed by Ptolemy V Epiphanes himself, who uses the word προαγγελία, may be indicative of the preferences or the common practice of the highest ranks of Ptolemaic bureaucracy. There is absolutely no semantic difference between the two forms, cf. M. Hombert-C. Préaux, l.c., 260.

5. κλινοπετήν: this adjective has so far been attested only in the Ptolemaic period [P.Hels. 2. 22 (195-2 B.C.), P.Tebt. III 800. 28 (153/42 B.C.), P.Tebt. III 960. 3-4 (145-116 B.C.)] and seems to have given place to the adjectives κλινήρης and κατακλινήης afterwards. This is the second Ptolemaic papyrus to present a s-stem adjective with an acc. sg. ending in -ν, see Mayser I, 2, 57. This phenomenon is not uncommon in later papyri (Gignac II, 135f.).

The wording of ll. 5-7 is formulaic. The petitioner here complains about an instance of ὕβρις, on which see A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48, 1968, 75 and *ibid.*, 56, 1976, 125.

6. ἀνεχώρησεν: the first nu is not certain, and pi should not be excluded. Kollouthos went away perhaps in order to avoid the consequences of Petearpheneithes' prosangelia. It is also possible that he went to the metropolis of the nome, viz. Krokodilopolis, where the chrematistae sat, with the intention of presenting his enteuxis in person (cf. P.Ent., p. XXXI).

7. ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν: this expression has been found in only one papyrus, SB VIII 9792. 13 (162 B.C.).

7-8. πεπορικῶς δὲ ἔντευξιν: This terminology appears here for the first time in the Roman period, but cf. P.Mich. I 57.9 (248 B.C.) and BGU VIII 1756.12 (59/8 B.C.). In the Roman period πορίζω is almost a *terminus technicus*, employed when one receives a document from an official bureau, in most cases from the *katalogeion*, cf. *WB* s.v. The association of the chrematistae with this particular office (see Wolff, l.c., 65 & 79ff.) and here with this specific verb is certainly not accidental.

8. ἔντευξιν· ἀντίγραφον ἐντεύξεως is the term commonly employed for copies of *enteuxeis*. In SB VIII 9556 ii 7 (245 B.C.), however, ἔντευξιν alone has clearly the meaning of a copy of an enteuxis given to the accused.³

τῆι ἡ . . . : After the day number only traces of two letters can be detected, but are too meagre to permit any restoration. A month name is expected here, and Θῶθ, the month immediately following Mesore, may satisfy space requirements. The flaw of this reading is that the article preceding the name of the month is absent, contrary to what happens in l. 4 and the common practice. If there is no month name written, this must be the 8th of one of the months following Mesore, i.e. Thoth at the very earliest. We may conjecture that it is the month when this prosangelma was written. In that case, since nothing else but a month name can be justified by the sense at this point, the remains might be what resulted from an erasure on the part of the scribe.

8-9. χρη[ματιτῶν]: On the competence of chrematistae in procedures, see E. Seidl, l.c., 74ff. and H.J. Wolff, l.c., 64ff. On Egyptians bringing lawsuits against Egyptians before the chrematistae, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, Warsaw 1955², 368 & n. 21 and H.J. Wolff, l.c., 87ff. Cf. also J. Modrzejewski *Le monde grec. Homages à Cl. Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, pp. 699ff. Chrematistae are mentioned in connection with enteuxeis in the following documents: P.Mich.Zen. 39 (254 B.C.), SB VIII 9556 (245 B.C.), P.Col.Zen. II 83 (245/4 B.C.), P.Hibeh II 203 (246-21). P.Petrie ed. H. Maehler (*APF* 33, 1987, pp. 231ff.), BGU X 1902 (mid-3rd century B.C.), BGU III 1004 (after 228 B.C.), P.Frankf. 7 (218 B.C.), P.Tebt. III 770, SB XVI 12687 (2nd half of the 3rd century B.C.), P.Tebt. III 933 (3rd century B.C.), P.Hels. 1 (195-2 B.C.), P.Tebt. 934 (157/6 B.C.), P.Merton II 59 (154/43 B.C.), P.Tebt. III 782 (c. 153 B.C.), 783 (mid-2nd century B.C.), P.Erasm. I 11 (150 B.C.), 1 (148/7 B.C.), BGU VI 1248-9 (148/7 B.C.), UPZ I 118 (136 or 84/3 B.C.), PSI XIII 1300 (135-4 B.C.), UPZ II 170 (127 B.C.), 171 (126 B.C.), 162 (117 B.C.), P.Fayum 11 (c. 115 B.C.), P.Tebt. I 29 (110 B.C.), P.Fayum 12 (c. 103 B.C.), P.Petrie III 25 (2nd century B.C.), BGU VIII 1825 (57/6 or 53/2 B.C.),

³As ἔντευξιν may be equivalent to ἀντίγραφον ἐντεύξεως, P.Erasm. I 11,4 could be restored as [ἔντευξιν τὴν ἐπιδοθείσαν ὑπὸ...]. This restoration may have as much claim to be plausible as that proposed by the editors, and is certainly more economical, as it does not require any abbreviations to fit into the lacuna.

1845 (mid-1st century B.C.), SB VIII 9065, P.S.A.Athen. 5, P.Oxford 1 (all three assigned to the 1st century B.C.).⁴

9.] υ: The traces should belong to a word of three letters, but they are difficult to articulate. It is highly improbable that a (lost) fourth letter may be fitted into the lacuna, as the lacuna can only with difficulty accommodate the lost eight letters of χρη[ματιτῶν] and there is no room for any other letter. The possibility that the traces may actually belong to the last letters of χρη[ματιτῶν] should be excluded on the grounds of the incompatibility of the remains with the shape of these particular letters.

ἄξιοι: The words introduced by ἄξιοι should reflect either Kollouthos' claims, as expressed in his enteuxis, or the phrasing of the summons. After τ traces survive on the papyrus, but so badly rubbed that I cannot make much of them, nor can I infer the sense from the context. After the remnants of four letters beyond τ, I can only read a sequence of letters as *εινο*, but I am not able to articulate any text.

10.]ξιω: Perhaps ἄ]ξιῶ, the verb that introduces the request in petitions. The reading though is given with much hesitation. What I read as omega looks very different from the omegas that occur elsewhere in the text.*

⁴Only documents of the Ptolemaic period are taken into consideration. I include not only enteuxeis where the petitioner requests that his case be sent to the chrematistae, but all documents where chrematistae are reported as dealing with enteuxeis.

* I have benefited from advice given by Dr. W. Clarysse, Dr. R.A. Coles and Dr. J.R. Rea, whom I wish to thank. Any defects that remain are naturally my responsibility. My thanks are also due to Prof. B.G. Mandilaras, who gave me permission to publish this papyrus.

LES OSTRACA GRECS DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE ET UNIVERSITAIRE DE STRASBOURG

Paul Heilporn.

Pl. 12,2 - 13

La collection d'ostraca grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (B.N.U.S.) compte quelque 1900 pièces, dont à peu près 1100 inédits.¹ Sa composition ressemble fort à celle d'autres collections d'ostraca acquises à la même époque; elle présente un grand échelonnement chronologique — du III^e s. av. J.-C. au VIII^e apr. J.-C. —, mais une nette prédominance de documents thébains du II^e s. apr. J.-C., en particulier des reçus de taxes. À part les pièces thébaines, on ne trouve qu'environ 75 ostraca d'Éléphantine et Syène,² 35 à peine d'Edfou; les autres sites représentés ne le sont que de manière isolée.

Pour toutes les époques, les reçus de taxes sont de loin les documents les plus nombreux, même si l'on trouve aussi une proportion intéressante de comptes de toutes sortes et de listes de noms, ainsi que quelques lettres. Particulièrement remarquable est la présence de comptes relatifs aux travaux agricoles dans un grand domaine de la Thébaïde, au II^e s. apr. J.-C.: la B.N.U.S. en possède une bonne centaine de pièces, en majorité déjà publiées.³ Il faut encore signaler la présence dans la collection de quelques ostraca littéraires ou sublittéraires: par exemple trois prières chrétiennes,⁴ ou un petit fragment qui appartient sans doute à un discours attique non conservé du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.⁵

Tout comme la plupart des papyrus de la B.N.U.S., les ostraca grecs ont été acquis sous le régime allemand. C'est plus précisément en 1898 que W. Spiegelberg propose de créer une collection papyrologique à Strasbourg. Une fois obtenu le soutien financier du gouverneur d'Alsace-Lorraine, en 1899, il part en Égypte et y acquiert un premier lot, qui s'enrichit très tôt d'apports de L. Borchardt, de H. Thiersch et de M. Meyerhof. C'est à l'helléniste R. Reitzenstein, qui avait accompagné W. Spiegelberg dans son voyage, que l'on doit, en 1901, la première publication basée sur les pièces ramenées à Strasbourg:⁶ il y précise que la collection se compose alors de près de 2000 papyrus et de plus de 600 ostraca, malheureusement sans confirmer s'il s'agit là uniquement de textes grecs;⁷ dans ce total sont

¹C'est à l'initiative de Messieurs Jean Gascou, directeur de l'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Strasbourg, et Paul-Henri Allieux, responsable du Cabinet de Numismatique et de Papyrologie de la B.N.U.S., que je dois d'avoir pu entreprendre cette étude. Qu'ils en soient ici vivement remerciés.

L'inventaire de la B.N.U.S. différencie papyrus (P.) et ostraca (O.), puis, au sein de cette distinction, textes grecs (Gr.), démotiques (D.), bilingues grec-démotique (Gd.), coptes (K.), hiératiques (H.), etc. Tous les numéros d'inventaire cités ci-dessous désignent des ostraca. Il y a à ce jour 1923 entrées dans l'inventaire des ostraca grecs, 100 dans celui des bilingues grec-démotique.

²En comptant deux groupes d'ostraca encore inédits qui peuvent être attribués à des achats faits à Éléphantine en 1910 et 1911 (Inv. Gr. 1017-1056 + 1058-1062; 1728-1749 + 1751-1754), mais où se sont sans doute glissées quelques pièces d'autres provenances (ainsi, Inv. Gr. 1036 est un reçu ptolémaïque d'Edfou).

³Inv. Gr. 841-948, avec quelques pièces isolées (= O.Stras. 662-770). Cf. O.Bodl. II 1721-1760; 2271-2293; O.Leid. 679; O.Lips. 91.

⁴Inv. Gr. 9 (= O.Stras. 809); Inv. Gr. 949 (= O.Stras. 810); Inv. Gr. 1642 (inédit).

⁵Inv. Gr. 1122 (inédit).

⁶R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten griechischen Texten der Strassburger Bibliothek*, Strasbourg, 1901, p. V-VIII. Cf. aussi P.Sarap., p. 5 et n. 2: d'après J. Schwartz, l'incorporation du premier lot dans les collections de la B.N.U.S. fut autorisée le 6 juin 1899.

⁷J. Schwartz donne des renseignements légèrement différents que ni P.-H. Allieux ni moi n'avons pu recouper: «Le dépouillement des archives de la Bibliothèque permet de dire qu'ils [les papyrus] étaient 650 environ, grecs dans leur immense majorité, et que la collection ne s'augmentera plus avant les achats du Deutsche Papyruskartell en fin de 1902.» (P.Sarap., p. 5-6).

sans doute comprises des pièces qui avaient été achetées à titre personnel par W. Spiegelberg en 1896 et 1898 et qui firent l'objet d'un don à la Bibliothèque.⁸

Par la suite, la collection continue de s'accroître: un lot important semble notamment avoir été acquis à la fin de l'année 1901, par l'intermédiaire de L. Borchardt.⁹ La B.N.U.S. bénéficie de la création du Deutsche Papyrskartell en 1902, ainsi que de la fondation, à Strasbourg même, en 1906, d'une Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft. À l'été de 1910, on peut estimer qu'une moitié environ de la collection (Inv. Gr. 1-1013) était déjà inventoriée et que plusieurs dizaines d'autres pièces avaient déjà été acquises.¹⁰ Les derniers achats signalés par le Journal d'Entrée des ostraca grecs datent de 1910 et 1911, et couvrent pratiquement les derniers numéros de l'inventaire, mis à part quelques pièces déplacées par la suite:¹¹ il n'y eut en tout cas plus d'acquisition pour cette section après 1918.

Au niveau des publications, après celle de R. Reitzenstein, qui contenait un ostracon chrétien,¹² il faut attendre 1908 pour voir U. Wilcken éditer, aux côtés de quelques papyrus, un reçu thébain du règne de Tibère.¹³ En 1912, il inclut dans sa *Chrestomathie* un document ptolémaïque dont il précise qu'il l'avait copié lors d'un séjour à Strasbourg remontant à 1904.¹⁴ En outre, en 1911, W. Spiegelberg publie un petit texte astronomique, d'après une transcription de P. Viereck.¹⁵ Et surtout, ce dernier a commencé entre-temps l'étude d'ensemble de la collection des ostraca grecs. Son principal séjour dans la capitale alsacienne se situe au cours de l'été de 1910; il a le temps d'y revenir brièvement, par deux fois, avant que n'éclate la guerre mondiale, qui va longtemps compromettre la parution de son ouvrage: celui-ci ne verra le jour qu'en 1923.¹⁶ Entre 1914 et 1923, P. Viereck n'a plus eu l'occasion de travailler *de visu* sur l'ensemble de la collection, et seules certaines des conjectures auxquelles il a songé ou qu'U. Wilcken lui a communiquées pendant cette période ont pu être vérifiées sur les originaux par Fr. Preisigke, voire par lui-même après que quelques pièces eurent été provisoirement transférées à Berlin.

Moins de dix ans après la parution de son volume, P. Viereck put apparemment se rendre à nouveau à Strasbourg, pour comparer les originaux à une abondante liste de propositions de J. G. Tait, qui travaillait alors sur les ostraca d'Oxford et qui avait probablement observé les liens qui unissent les deux collections: les corrections ainsi vérifiées parurent en deux temps, en 1931 et 1933.¹⁷ Après cela, un grand nombre de savants ont encore travaillé sur une ou

⁸Notamment les ostraca Inv. Gr. 9 (= O.Stras. 809); 36 (= O.Stras. 641); 49 (= O.Stras. 425).

⁹Cf. W. Spiegelberg, 'Ein aegyptisches Verzeichnis der Planeten und Tierkreisbilder,' *OLZ* 5/1, janvier 1902, col. 6-9, qui précise que l'acquisition remonte alors à quelques semaines seulement.

¹⁰Ceci d'après les travaux de P. Viereck, sur lesquels je reviendrai plus loin.

¹¹Inv. Gr. 1728-1749 et 1751-1754: achetés par R. Reitzenstein, à Éléphantine, en 1911; Inv. Gr. 1750: acheté par la Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, en 1910; Inv. Gr. 1764-1788: donnés par W. Spiegelberg, achetés à Luqsor, en 1911. Les ostraca Inv. Gr. 1789-1839, bien qu'acquis depuis plusieurs années, ont apparemment été inventoriés au même moment; le Journal d'Entrée les attribue erronément à l'achat de R. Reitzenstein en 1911 (cf. *infra*). Les Inv. Gr. 1891-1923 sont des pièces antérieurement rangées parmi les ostraca démotiques, la plupart acquises par L. Borchardt à Luqsor, en 1910.

¹²R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen* [n. 6], p. 112-132: "Inv. 669", aujourd'hui Inv. Gr. 9 (= O.Stras. 809).

¹³U. Wilcken, 'Aus der Straßburger Sammlung,' *APF* 4, 1908, p. 146-147, n° 6: "Inv. 203", aujourd'hui Inv. Gr. 408 (= O.Stras. 54).

¹⁴W. Chr. 308: "Inv. Nr. 234", aujourd'hui Inv. Gr. 500 (= O.Stras. 15).

¹⁵W. Spiegelberg, 'Die ägyptischen Namen und Zeichen der Tierkreisbilder in demotischer Schrift,' *ZAeS* 48, 1911, p. 151: Inv. Gr. 469 (= O.Stras. 811).

¹⁶P. Viereck, *Griechische und griechisch-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Straßburg im Elsaß*, Berlin, 1923 [= O.Stras.]. Cf. notamment p. VII-IX: P. Viereck envisageait aussi de publier un second volume, consacré à des commentaires d'ensemble, mais ce projet resta lettre morte.

¹⁷*BL* II/1, p. 26-32; II/2, p. 146-154.

plusieurs pièces pour tenter d'en résoudre les difficultés particulières,¹⁸ mais la collection n'a plus fait l'objet d'un travail d'ensemble: l'ouvrage de référence reste celui de P. Viereck.

Ce volume reprend en tout 812 ostraca, dont 54 bilingues, pour lesquels le démotique a été traduit par W. Spiegelberg. À quelques exceptions près, les pièces publiées appartiennent à la première partie de la collection: elles portent des numéros d'inventaire encore valables et échelonnés entre 1 et 1013, sur un total de 1923. Ceci correspond à un grand silence dans le Journal d'Entrée des ostraca grecs, qui fut laissé entièrement en blanc pour les n^{os} 1-1062; en outre, P. Viereck lui-même, dans sa préface, dit n'avoir trouvé aucune indication sur les circonstances d'acquisition de la plupart des pièces qu'il publie.¹⁹

Au vu de cette différence dans le Journal d'Entrée et au vu de la publication de P. Viereck, on peut donc diviser la collection en deux parties *grosso modo* égales; la première, qui va jusqu'au n^o 1013, ne comporte plus que 200 inédits, dont beaucoup en mauvais état; certains cependant, notamment parmi les textes d'époque byzantine, pourraient encore être publiés; en outre, certaines pièces étudiées par P. Viereck nécessiteraient une réédition, qui mettrait par exemple en évidence l'existence de dossiers liés à quelques contribuables: ces petits ensembles peuvent compter jusqu'à une vingtaine de pièces, mais sont assez souvent partagés entre plusieurs collections, principalement Oxford, mais aussi Leyde, Leipzig ou celle qu'a constituée Th. Reinach à Paris.²⁰ Il faut signaler pour cette première partie qu'au vu des publications isolées de R. Reitzenstein, d'U. Wilcken et de W. Spiegelberg, les numéros d'inventaire actuels, déjà utilisés par P. Viereck, ne sont apparemment pas ceux d'origine; ils ont été attribués aux ostraca entre 1904, date de la visite d'U. Wilcken, et 1911, date de l'article de W. Spiegelberg: peut-être vers 1910, à l'occasion des travaux de P. Viereck. Ils ne reflètent donc pas l'ordre d'acquisition des ostraca, ce qui est confirmé par la relative dispersion des dossiers de contribuables auxquels je viens de faire allusion.²¹ Quelques lots semblent cependant avoir subi un essai de regroupement à Strasbourg, lors des travaux d'inventaire, — plutôt que s'être maintenus lors de leur acheminement depuis l'Égypte.²²

¹⁸Cf. *BL* III, p. 265-267; IV, p. 113; V, p. 157-158; VI, p. 208-209; VII, p. 294-295; VIII, p. 530-534.

¹⁹Il donne seulement les précisions suivantes, qui pour la plupart figurent encore aujourd'hui sur les ostraca eux-mêmes: O.Stras. 312 (Inv. Gd. 20) et 321 (Inv. Gd. 26): achetés à Gebelein; O.Stras. 351 (Inv. Gd. 46), 425 (Inv. Gr. 49) et 641 (Inv. Gr. 36): achetés à Assasif, en 1898 pour les deux derniers au moins; O.Stras. 573 (Inv. Gd. 66): acheté à Assouan; O.Stras. 619 (Inv. Gd. 71): acheté à Luqсор; O.Stras. 776 (Inv. Gr. 1062): acheté à Éléphantine par la Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft.

²⁰Pour se faire une première idée des liens entre les ostraca de Strasbourg et ceux des autres collections, on peut par exemple se reporter à la liste de contribuables des I-II^e s. apr. J.-Chr. réunie dans *O.Ont.Mus.* I, p. 63-75. Les rapprochements ainsi réalisés permettent parfois de mieux préciser la date d'entrée de nos ostraca dans la collection.

²¹Ainsi, parmi les pièces déjà publiées, le dossier de Θερμοῦθις Ψεντακάλιβιος (Thèbes, II/III^e s. apr. J.-Chr.): Inv. Gr. 104, 126, 158, 181, 213, 215, 294, 323, 376, 378, 411 (= O.Stras. 148-154, 400, 432-433, 450). La dispersion des dossiers d'ostraca peut être comparée à celles des papyrus strasbourgeois appartenant aux archives de Sarapion, telle qu'elle a été analysée par J. Schwartz (*P.Sarap.*, p. 5-7): c'est à l'occasion de leur transport que ces pièces ont été mélangées à d'autres, puis dispersées dans la collection.

²²Par exemple le dossier d'Ἐπώνυχος ὄς καὶ Ἀπάθης Ἡρακλήους (Thèbes, époque d'Hadrien): Inv. Gr. 373, 506, 535, 599-600, 602, 605-610, 612-613, 685 (= O.Stras. 199, 208, 210, 213, 218, 220-226, 228, 353, 447), 1794, 1810, ou celui des versements au trésor de Κόιντος Ἀπολλήιος Ἀτέριος (Thèbes, époque d'Hadrien): Inv. Gr. 532, 538, 539, 541, 543, 544 (= O.Stras. 358, 361, 363, 366, 369-370). Certains ostraca ont conservé, noté au crayon ou à l'encre noire, leur ancien numéro d'inventaire — identifiable comme tel dans le cas d'Inv. Gr. 9 (= O.Stras. 809), anciennement Inv. 669 —, ce qui permet de déterminer si tel dossier, regroupant des pièces aujourd'hui proches les unes des autres dans l'inventaire, est resté uni au cours du transport depuis l'Égypte jusqu'à Strasbourg et des travaux d'inventaire, ou s'il a été rassemblé *a posteriori* lors du classement des pièces dans la collection. Cette seconde solution semble le plus souvent préférable, mais il reste possible que certains dossiers restés relativement unis dans l'inventaire aient été achetés dans un second temps: par exemple, les comptes relatifs aux travaux d'une grande propriété, cités ci-dessus (cf. n. 3).

À partir de l'Inv. Gr. 1063, le Journal d'Entrée, dont on peut également situer la rédaction vers 1910 ou 1911, donne principalement des renseignements d'ordre physique, comme les dimensions et la couleur, parfois aussi la date et le lieu de l'achat, surtout pour la fin de la collection,²³ mais jamais d'indications sur le contenu du document. Un groupe d'une cinquantaine de pièces (Inv. Gr. 1789-1839), bien que placé près de la fin de la collection, est très nettement lié à la première partie: il correspond probablement à une boîte qui a été amenée d'Égypte parmi les achats les plus anciens mais dont le contenu n'a pas été inventorié dès son arrivée. Sinon, la seconde moitié de la collection semble se composer surtout des pièces acquises en 1910 et 1911. Mis à part les lots provenant d'achats précis, aucun dossier de contribuable ni aucun autre ensemble ne paraît avoir été conservé groupé: comme dans la première partie de la collection, les pièces ont sans doute été mélangées lors de leur transport vers Strasbourg. Par contre, on a parfois l'impression que d'autres regroupements ont pu se faire à l'arrivée des ostraca à la B.N.U.S., par exemple selon un critère de dimensions.²⁴

La date d'acquisition, ou du moins d'inventaire, de cette partie de la collection — juste après le principal séjour de P. Viereck à Strasbourg — explique pourquoi elle n'a pas été intégrée dans son ouvrage. Il a pu cependant en découvrir l'existence lors de ses visites ultérieures, puisqu'il publie six fragments portant des numéros d'inventaire fort élevés, situés entre 1789 et 1830, fragments qu'il n'a repris que parce qu'il avait pu les joindre à des pièces qu'il comptait publier. Par leurs numéros et leur contenu, ces six pièces paraissent avoir appartenu au groupe mentionné plus haut pour avoir été inventorié avec retard. Cependant, elles n'ont pas été comptabilisées dans l'inventaire avec le reste de ce lot, mais ont été conservées avec les pièces auxquelles elles ont pu être rattachées, tandis que leurs numéros étaient réattribués.²⁵ C'est là pratiquement le seul cas où les numéros d'inventaire donnés dans l'ouvrage de P. Viereck ne correspondent plus à l'état actuel de la collection.²⁶

Je voudrais conclure cette communication par une étude préliminaire qui illustre le travail qui reste à accomplir sur les ostraca de la B.N.U.S.: elle porte sur un petit dossier composé de quatre ostraca strasbourgeois, dont deux avaient déjà été publiés par P. Viereck, de deux autres conservés respectivement à Cambridge et à Berlin, ainsi que d'une pièce publiée par J. G. Milne.²⁷ W. Clarysse a déjà signalé le lien entre O.Theb. 88, O.Stras. 105 et O.Camb. 41;²⁸ je crois pouvoir y joindre O.Stras. 118 et deux inédits strasbourgeois, ainsi peut-être que SB VI 9545, n° 32. Tous ces documents, datant pour la plupart d'entre 90 et 112 apr. J.-C., me semblent liés entre eux par la similitude des noms propres et, pour six d'entre eux, par leur provenance identique — les Memnonia; cependant, l'unité du lot ne peut être entièrement

²³Mis à part les renseignements déjà cités (cf. n. 11), le Journal d'Entrée donne le lieu et la date d'achat des seuls Inv. Gr. 1447 (acquis par L. Borchardt, à Luqsor, en 1910); Inv. Gr. 1880-1881 (donnés par A. Wiedemann, achetés respectivement à Éléphantine, le 12.I.1902, et en un lieu non précisé, le 17.II.1908). Les boîtes où sont conservés les Inv. Gr. 1017-1056 et 1058-1062 (absents du Journal d'Entrée) portent toutes la mention «W. G. 1910», indiquant un achat par la Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft. L'Inv. Gr. 1062 (= O.Stras. 776) est le seul de ce groupe à avoir été publié par P. Viereck, qui précise dans son lemme: «In Elephantine von der Wiss. Gesellsch. in Straßburg angekauft». La composition du lot semble confirmer cette provenance.

²⁴Ainsi les ostraca Inv. Gr. 1400-1456 et 1515-1580 sont dans l'ensemble des pièces de petite taille, le plus souvent des fragments. De pareils regroupements s'expliquent peut-être par des raisons d'ordre pratique.

²⁵O.Stras. 684 ("Inv. 1789") = Inv. Gr. 884 b; O.Stras. 749 ("Inv. 1807") = Inv. Gr. 921 b; O.Stras. 679 ("Inv. 1826 + 1829") = Inv. Gr. 854 b + c; O.Stras. 701 ("Inv. 1830 + 1837") = Inv. Gr. 863 b + c.

²⁶On y ajoutera O.Stras. 9 (sans numéro d'inventaire chez P. Viereck) = Inv. Gr. 1111; O.Stras. 471 ("Inv. Gr. 112") = Inv. Gr. 1453; O.Stras. 792 ("Inv. D. 1178") = Inv. Gr. 1891.

²⁷O.Theb. 88: cette pièce aurait été transférée à Toronto (BL II/1, p. 37-38), mais elle n'est pas mentionnée dans l'inventaire de cette collection, publié dans O.Ont.Mus. II, p. 104-117.

²⁸Cf. W. Clarysse, 'Theban Personal Names and the Cult of Bouchis,' *Grammatica Demotica. Festschrift für E. Lüddeckens*, Würzburg, 1984, p. 31 et n. 38. On joindra O.Stras. 108 à la liste des attestations du nom Περοσοβοῦχις établie par W. Clarysse.

assurée, non à cause de sa dispersion actuelle,²⁹ mais au vu de la date tardive d'O.Camb. 41, qui est de 136 apr. J.-C., ou de l'incertitude qui plane sur la provenance de l'ostracon berlinois; en outre, l'une ou l'autre lecture difficile jettent une ombre sur toute tentative de reconstruction des liens familiaux existant entre les différents personnages.

Le principal intérêt du dossier est la nouvelle datation qu'il assure pour O.Stras. 118 (= Inv. Gr. 40), que J. G. Tait considérait comme la dernière attestation de la λαογραφία en le datant du règne de Gordien, plus précisément de mai-octobre 243;³⁰ A.C. Johnson, cité par Sh.L. Wallace, proposait de l'attribuer au règne d'Hadrien, tandis que Sh. L. Wallace et surtout J. C. Shelton, qui appelait à une révision de l'ostracon, songeaient à Trajan.³¹ Voici le texte de l'ostracon tel que le proposait P. Viereck, qui n'avait pu y lire la titulature impériale, mais situait l'ostracon vers la fin du II^e ou le début du III^e s. apr. J.-C.: (Pl. 12,2)

1 Δι(έγραψεν) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Πετοσορβο(ὑχις) Τῖθ[ο]ῦ[ῆ]τος(ς) ὑπ(ἐρ) λαο(γραφίας)
 . νο()

ς ὅς ἡ. L. ς .[. .]. . . .[.].[. .]. . τοῦ κυρίου

Παχῶ(ν) ἦ. 'Ομο(ίως) ἰθ̄ς δ. 'Ομο(ίως) 'Επ(εῖφ) ε̄ς δ.

'Ομο(ίως) ζς Ἰθ̄ς γ̄ς δ. 'Ομο(ίως) ἀνδ(ριάντος) ες ὅς ς.

5 'Ομο(ίως) Φαῶφι κδ̄ χω(μάτων) ὅς δ . . .

Sur l'original, le nom de l'empereur est pratiquement effacé: on en distingue avec beaucoup de peine la première lettre, qui pourrait être prise pour un gamma, mais qui ressemble plutôt à un tau; la finale du mot est, elle, relativement reconnaissable: T[ρα]ι[αν]οῡ semble parfaitement convenir aux traces subsistantes, tandis que la suite peut être lue Κ[ἀ]ῖς[αρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου. L'attribution de la pièce au règne de Trajan se recommande par le formulaire typique des reçus bancaires de cette époque;³² elle peut être confirmée de deux manières: par le parallèle qu'offrent les autres textes du dossier, mais surtout par la mention à la l. 4 de l'ostracon d'une taxe (ὑπέρ) ἀνδ(ριάντος) ες ὅς, pour laquelle la somme de 3 oboles est payée: à une semaine d'écart seulement (le 23.VIII.103), la même taxe réapparaît, avec le même montant, dans O.Stras. 108,³³ ostracon rédigé de la même main et où la lecture du nom de Trajan est parfaitement assurée.³⁴ Notre reçu peut donc être daté des 3 mai, 14 mai, 29 juin, 1^{er} septembre et 22 octobre 103.

²⁹Outre la répartition entre quatre collections, on notera que les numéros d'inventaire des pièces strasbourgeoises semblent indiquer qu'elles ont été achetées à des moments différents.

³⁰BL II/1, p. 28; il fut suivi notamment par H.I. Bell, 'The Constitutio Antoniniana and the Egyptian Poll-Tax,' *JRS* 37 (1947), p. 17-23. Aujourd'hui encore, il n'y a, à ma connaissance, qu'une seule référence à la λαογραφία qui soit postérieure à 243: P.Oxy. XLIII, 3114 (267 apr. J.-C.).

³¹Sh. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938, p. 130; p. 413, n. 86; p. 427, n. 105; A.C. Johnson *apud* Sh.L. Wallace, p. 427, n. 105; P.Brook. (= Pap. Flor. XXII), p. 73.

³²Sur la formule des reçus bancaires du I^{er} s. à Thèbes, cf. *W.O.* I, p. 93-95, formulaires 6a-b; Cl. Préaux, 'L'emploi des temps de διαγράψω dans les reçus de banque thébains du I^{er} siècle après J.-C.,' *CE* 30 (1955), p. 375-382; R. Bogaert, 'Banques et banquiers à Thèbes à l'époque romaine,' *ZPE* 57, 1984, p. 244-245. R. Bogaert, qui accepte la date proposée par J. G. Tait pour notre ostracon, l'attribue dès lors aux πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν (cf. *BL* VIII, p. 533), ce qui n'est plus nécessaire si le reçu est de 103 apr. J.-C. Sur la banque des Memnonia, cf. aussi K.A. Worp, 'Studies on Greek Ostraca from the Theban Region,' *ZPE* 76, 1989, p. 52-55; R. Bogaert, 'La banque des Memnonia. Une mise au point,' *ZPE* 86, 1991, p. 259-263.

³³À la l. 1 d'O.Stras. 108 (Inv. Gr. 2), il faut bien lire Δι(--), avec une barre supérieure marquant l'abréviation, pour Δι(α)γράφεν ou Δι(έ)γραφεν), comme l'avait fait P. Viereck, en dépit de la note de R. Bogaert, 'Banques et banquiers' [n. 32], p. 245, n. 28 (cf. *BL* VIII, p. 532).

³⁴Sur cette taxe spécialement levée pour couvrir les frais d'érection des statues impériales, cf. Sh.L. Wallace, *Taxation* [n. 31], p. 159-162; P.Brook., p. 72-73.

À la l. 1, le nom du district pour lequel le reçu est émis a posé quelques difficultés: en effet, si les deux dernières lettres sont clairement nu et omicron, le premier groupe subit une forte *Verschleifung*:³⁵ seule est identifiable l'amorce du mu, qui peut facilement être confondue avec un alpha, d'où la lecture 'A(γορῶν) Νό(του) envisagée par Fr. Bilabel.³⁶ Cependant, l'onomastique et le formulaire indiquent la Rive Gauche de la région thébaine comme provenance, le parallèle des autres textes relatifs à notre famille plaidant en faveur de la lecture Μεμνο(νίων), pour laquelle optaient déjà P. Viereck et J. G. Tait.³⁷

Toujours à la l. 1, la lecture Αὐρήλ(ιος), qui est la première à venir à l'esprit, est à la base des datations basses proposées par P. Viereck puis par J. G. Tait. Toutefois, elle est pratiquement impossible dès le moment où le reçu est attribué au règne de Trajan. On peut plutôt reconnaître ici 'Ατρῆς, un nom relativement bien attesté dans les ostraca des Memnonia.³⁸ Si ce personnage nous était inconnu jusqu'à présent, le nom de son père, relativement rare, permet peut-être de le rattacher à la famille pour laquelle W. Clarysse a déjà identifié trois ostraca. Le nom de son grand-père nous en donnerait pratiquement la confirmation, mais sa lecture est incertaine.³⁹ S'il s'agit bien d'un Tithoès, la probabilité est grande que ce soit celui qui, fils d'un premier Petosorboukhis, apparaît dès 90 apr. J.-C.⁴⁰ et fait six paiements successifs en 103.⁴¹ De son fils Petosorboukhis, nous n'avons conservé qu'un seul paiement, en 136, étonnamment tard donc par rapport au reste du dossier.⁴² Sur le même ostracon de 136, apparaît un Tithoès dont le patronyme est perdu, mais qui a quelque chance d'être un petit-fils homonyme du premier Tithoès. Enfin, on trouvera ci-dessous le texte de deux nouveaux ostraca de Strasbourg, datés tous deux de l'an 11 de Trajan (107/108): l'un (Inv. Gr. 1882) est un nouveau témoignage de l'activité de Tithoès, tandis que l'autre (Inv. Gr. 1777) nous fait découvrir l'existence d'Hôros, un deuxième fils du même Tithoès — Hôros, qui peut avoir agi au nom de son père dès 90, si l'on songe que l'intermédiaire d'*O.Theb.* 88 porte un nom identique.⁴³ En outre, un Ἔσρος Τιθωῆτος était déjà connu à Thèbes en 112: il

³⁵L'abréviation apparaît sous une forme semblable dans O.Stras. 105 (= Inv. Gr. 42), O.Stras. 107 (= Inv. Gr. 54).

³⁶Cf. *BL* II/1, p. 27-28 (cf. aussi *BL* III, p. 266). Sur ce quartier, voir maintenant B. Palme, 'Zu den Unterabteilungen des Quartiers 'Αγοραί in Theben,' *Tyche* 4, 1989, p. 125-129.

³⁷Sur l'onomastique, cf. en particulier W. Clarysse, 'Theban Personal Names' [n. 28], p. 25-39. Sur les éléments de formulaire propres à la Rive Gauche: emploi d'ὁμοίως et de la tournure αἱ καθαραί, précision du nom du grand-père du contribuable, cf. en dernier lieu K.A. Worp, 'Studies on Greek Ostraca' [n. 32], p. 46. À la fin de la l. 5 d'O.Stras. 118, il me semble possible de lire ζ δ γ ς : l'omission de l'expression αἱ καθαραί, uniquement dans le cas d'un paiement de 4 drachmes valant 3 drachmes 4 1/2 oboles nettes, semble sûre pour les ostraca rédigés en 103 aux Memnonia (cf. O.Bodl. II 518; O.Stras. Inv. Gr. 1769), probablement tous émis par la même personne.

³⁸Cf. par exemple O.Cair.GPW 105 (88 apr. J.-C.); O.Theb. 36 (113); O.Petr. 147 (116); O.Camb. 77 (119); O.Ont.Mus. II 108 (119); O.Stras. 454 (211); O.Theb. 111 (215).

³⁹Il me semble possible de lire, non T ιθο[ῆ]το(ς) comme P. Viereck, mais [T]ιθοῆ(τος), voire T ιθοῆ(τος); un doute doit subsister, vu la faiblesse des tracés.

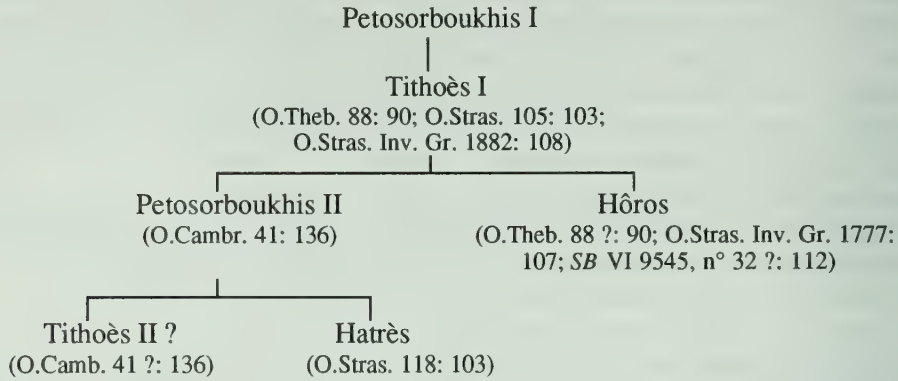
⁴⁰O.Theb. 88 (cf. *BL* II/1, p. 37-38): paiement de 4 oboles pour la τμ(ῆ) οἴ(νου), par l'intermédiaire d'Hôros, le 7.XI.90.

⁴¹O.Stras. 105 (cf. *BL* II/1, p. 27; VIII, p. 532): cinq versements pour la λαογραφία (pour une somme totale de 24 drachmes) entre le 4.III.103 et le 22.X.103; le nom de l'impôt et la somme payée le 23.XI.103 sont illisibles.

⁴²O.Camb. 41: paiements de 2 drachmes 3 oboles et d'1 obole pour deux impôts indéterminés, d'1 1/2 obole pour l'ἐγκύκλιον, le tout au nom de Petosorboukhis fils de Tithoès, en date du 12.XII.136; les deux dernières lignes, très incomplètes, semblent mentionner un paiement fait le 13.XII.136 au nom d'un Tithoès, que j'identifierais plutôt, vu la date, à un fils de Petosorboukhis qu'à son père.

⁴³Cf. ci-dessus, n. 40. Le nom est cependant trop fréquent pour que l'on puisse considérer cette identification comme sûre.

pourrait s'agir du même homme.⁴⁴ Je propose donc d'établir l'arbre généalogique de cette famille comme suit:



1. O.Stras. Inv. Gr. 1882:

Inédit. Date d'achat inconnue. Anciennement Inv. D. 1017: probablement acquis par L. Borchardt, à Luxor, en 1910. Porte la mention: «Theben». Dim.: 8 1/2 x 8 cm. Complet. Memnonia, 19 octobre 107. (Pl. 13,1)

1 Πετόσιρις πράκτωρ

ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονίων) Τιθοῆς

Πετοσορβούχ(ιος) χω(ματικοῦ) Με(μνονίων) ι ς

ς δ αἰ κ(αθαραὶ) ς γ ς. L ια

5 Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος

τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶ(φι) κ̄α . . . ῑ ῑ

L. 1: Πετόσιρις est connu comme πράκτωρ ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονίων) de janvier/février 107 (plutôt que 108: O.Ont.Mus. II 100, cf. O.Ont.Mus. I 17-18⁴⁵) à novembre 111 au moins (O.Cair.GPW 57), mis à part deux reçus de 112 et de 114 qu'il émet comme γενόμενος πράκτωρ: cf. O.Cair.GPW, p. 128. Notre texte est en fait son reçu le plus ancien qui puisse être daté avec précision. Il présente, comme O.Stras. Inv. Gr. 1777, quelques particularités qui sont fréquentes sur les reçus émis par Pétoisiris seul, notamment le mot πράκτωρ écrit en entier⁴⁶ ou l'absence de ὑπ(έρ) devant le nom de la taxe.⁴⁷

L. 2: sur le χωματικόν, impôt pour l'entretien des digues, voir O.Wilb., p. 43-44; Wallace, *Taxation* [n. 31], p. 140-143; O.Cair.GPW, p. 90-91. 4 drachmes, valant 3 drachmes 4 1/2 oboles nettes, correspondent à un premier paiement très fréquent pour cet impôt, dont le montant total s'élevait normalement à 6 drachmes 4 oboles nettes.

L. 4: la somme qui suit l'expression αἰ κ(αθαραὶ) est la charge de base, dégagée de la surtaxe (προσδιαγραφόμενα) équivalente à un 1/16 de la valeur du montant réellement payé:

⁴⁴SB VI 9545, n° 32 : paiement de 4 drachmes pour le καινὸς ποταμὸς Βαβυλῶνος, le 2.IX.112, à un receveur qui ne précise ni sa fonction, ni le district. En outre, l'absence du nom du grand-père est un élément gênant.

⁴⁵Cf. K.A. Worp, 'Studies on Greek Ostraka,' [n. 32], p. 59, pour l'attribution d'O.Ont.Mus. I 17 à Pétoisiris.

⁴⁶Cf. les ostraca cités dans la liste des O.Cair.GPW, p. 128. En O.Ont.Mus. I 17 (29.III.108), à la l. 1, lire πράκτω]ρ. O.Ont.Mus. II 114 (107/108?) a seulement Πετοσίρις πράκ(τωρ) [ἀργ(υρικῶν)]: s'il s'agit bien de notre receveur, il faut sans doute lire πράκ[τωρ ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονίων)].

⁴⁷Exceptions : O.Ont.Mus. I 18; II 114, mais la préposition est chaque fois douteuse; O.Stras. 275-276, soit à partir de 109.

cf. A. Gara, *Prosdigraphomena e circolazione monetaria*, Milan, 1976, p. 47-48 et n. 84; P.Cair.Mich. 359, part 2 (= Pap.Texte Abh. XVIII), p. 28; K.A. Worp, 'How did Egyptian Scribes Calculate Net Drachmae in West Bank Tax receipts?', *ZPE* 76, 1989, p. 63-68.

L. 6: Peut-être $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ ἕως $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\gamma}$ (comme dans O.Camb. 33, également émis par Pétosiris, en 111), ou $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ ἐκ $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\gamma}$; sinon, on peut aussi envisager une signature, E.. σ(εσ)η(μείωμα) ou simplement Σεση(μείωμα), mais les reçus émis au nom de Pétosiris ne portent normalement aucune signature.

2. O.Stras. Inv. Gr. 1777:

Inédit. Don de W. Spiegelberg. Acheté sur la Rive Gauche thébaine, en 1911. Dim. 13 x 10 cm. Brisé à droite. Memnonia, entre le 26 avril et le 25 mai 108. (Pl. 13,2)

1 Πετόσιρις πράκτωρ ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονίων)
 ὦρος Τιθοῆς Πετοσορβούχιος [---]
 δραχ(μάς) εἴκοσι (γίνεται) ς κ. L ια T[ραιανοῦ]
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παχῶ[ν Ὡ(·) ---].

5 μαγδ(ωλοφυλάκων) α Ϛ.

(m. 2) Ὁμοίως [---]
 ἐνκ(υκλίου) ια Ϛ Ϛ [---??]

L. 1: Με[μνο(νίων) ou Με(μνονίων) sont possibles; malgré l'étendue de la lacune aux lignes suivantes, la seconde solution me paraît préférable, car elle est la plus courante dans les reçus de Πετόσιρις: la fin de la ligne pouvait être laissée blanche.

L. 2: un paiement de 20 drachmes en une fois est fort rare dans les reçus thébains,⁴⁸ mais il ne permet pas d'identifier avec certitude l'impôt dont le nom est perdu dans la lacune de la l. 2: peut-être est-ce la λαογραφία, dont on sait qu'elle s'élevait à l'époque à un total de 24 drachmes aux Memnonia⁴⁹ et que, à la différence du χωματικόν par exemple, elle n'est normalement pas accompagnée de la conversion en drachmes nettes de suppléments.⁵⁰ Après le nom de l'impôt, sont perdus l'année de registre (sans doute l'an 11: ια Ϛ) et probablement le nom du district (Μεμνονίων ?).

L. 4: Dans la lacune, il y avait place au moins pour l'indication du jour, peut-être aussi pour l'indication du deuxième paiement qui se termine à la l. 5, soit: Ὁμοίως (mois?), jour.

L. 5: sur la taxe pour l'entretien des postes dans les tours de garde (μάγδωλα), taxe qui, pour la région thébaine, est limitée à la Rive Gauche, cf. O.Wilb., p. 57; Wallace, *Taxation* [n. 31], p. 149-150 et p. 423-424, n. 55-62; BGU IX, p. 7: le nom complet de la taxe est sans doute (ὄψωνίου) μαγδωλοφυλάκ(ων). Cf. notamment O.Ont.Mus. II 101, l. 3 (Memnonia, 29.III.107: d'après la photographie, il faut lire μαγδ(ωλοφυλάκων) ς α Ϛ).

L. 6: la seconde main, qui apparaît avec ce nouveau paiement, est surtout caractérisée par un calame plus fin; il s'agit peut-être du même scribe.

La lecture Ὁμοίως me semble assurée sur base de la photographie d'O.Ont.Mus. I 17, l. 4, 6 et 8, même si le mu a peut-être ici un jambage superflu. Le mot est écrit en entier, comme souvent sur les reçus de Pétosiris.

⁴⁸Cf. cependant O.Ont.Mus. I 23 (Hermonthis?, 132: nom de la taxe perdu): O.Bodl. II 501 (Notos. 85 : λαογραφία); 889 (Charax, 127: γεωμετρία).

⁴⁹Sh.L. Wallace, *Taxation* [n. 30], p. 130 et p. 412, n. 84; R. Bogaert, 'Banques et banquiers.' [n. 32], p. 283.

⁵⁰Cf. L.C. West—A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. Amsterdam, 1967. p. 29; K.A. Worp, 'Studies on Greek Ostraka' [n. 32], p. 60.

L. 7: sur l'ἐνκόκλιον, taxe sur la vente de propriété, peut-être payée de manière forfaitaire aux Memnonia — vu la faiblesse des montants versés —, cf. Wallace, *Taxation* [n. 31], p. 227-231; O.Cair.GPW, p. 50.

NEUE TEXTE ZUM IBISKULT AUS DEM 2. JH. V. CHR.

Heikki Koskenniemi

Plates 14-15

Unter den Turkuer Papyri finden sich einige, noch unveröffentlichte, die unsere Kenntnis von Ibispflegern vermehren. Fünf davon werden den Kongreßteilnehmern vorgestellt.

P.Turku 2 und 3, die, ohne direkte Verbindung jedoch, zusammengehören, sind eine Bittschrift an Epimeleten. Darin beschwerten sich die Ibispfleger aus Theadelphia in der Themistomeris wegen des Unrechts, das ihnen bei der Besteuerung des Ernteertrages, den sie aus ihrem Ackerland erwirtschaftet hatten, widerfuhr.

Die übrigen, P.Turku 31, 65 und 79, alle aus derselben Zeit, sind fragmentierte Papyri, deren Inhalt meist nur in wenigen Einzelheiten einsichtig ist. Sie belegen aber ebenfalls, in jeweils unterschiedlichen Kontext, den Ibiskult.

P.Turku 2 + 3*

Diese zwei Bruchstücke betreffen offenbar ein und dieselbe Angelegenheit, vielleicht sogar ein und dasselbe Dokument. Von ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit zeugen nicht nur die Qualität des Papyrus und die Schreiberhände, sondern auch der Name des Gottes (Ἐρμῆς) (2, 8 und 3, 16), die gleichen Priester (ἰβιοβοσκοί 2, 4; 3, 10) und eine weitere Person (Σαραπίων 2, 8; 3, 11), die in das Geschehen involviert ist. Zu erwähnen ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die gleiche Anzahl von drei Artaben in 2, 9 und 3, 16. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß in P.Turku 2 der Beginn und in P.Turku 3 der Schluß einer religionsgeschichtlich, administrativ und philologisch interessanten Eingabe vor uns liegt. Sicher ist, daß an keiner Stelle ein direkter Anschluß zwischen den beiden Papyri besteht. Sie ergeben also keine gemeinsame Kolumne. Das wird auch durch das Material bestätigt, denn es gibt auf P.Turku 2 eine Klebung, die auf P.Turku 3 fehlt. Die Textlücke zwischen den beiden Teilen läßt sich durch Ergänzungen nicht schließen und in ihrem ungefähren Ausmaß auch nicht annähernd nur bestimmen. Dies führt zu dem Schluß, daß zwei Kolumnen eines Dokumentes vorliegen. In beiden Kolumnen sind die Zeilenenden so gut wie vollständig. Ihr Beginn jedoch ist verloren. Die erhaltene Zeilenlänge ist unterschiedlich (in P. 2 ca. 165 mm, in P. 3 aber 185 mm). Weil man aber in einem Aktenstück mit gleich breiten Kolumnen rechnen darf, ergibt sich die Feststellung, daß in P. 2 links etwa ± 7 Buchstaben mehr als in P. 3 fehlen. Es gibt keine einzige Zeile, in der sich auf Grund einer gesicherten Ergänzung das Ausmaß des Textverlustes bestimmen ließe. Darüber hinaus bleibt offen, wieviele Zeilen zwischen P. 2 unten und P. 3 oben verlorengegangen sind. Infolge der doch ziemlich langen Lücken bleibt für die Sache Wichtiges dunkel.

Die Eingabe an den ἐπιμελητής, dessen Name unbekannt bleibt, ergeht von zwei Priestern des Gottes Haresis und von Ibis- und Falkenpflegern. Die letztgenannten beklagen, daß sie zu Unrecht Einnahmen verloren haben, die für die Pflege der genannten heiligen Tiere bestimmt waren (2, 10; 3, 16f.). Der Ort ist sicher ein Dorf in der Θεμιστοῦ μερίς. Dort hatten die Tempelleute einen Anteil an Königsland (2, 9), den sie für ihren Bedarf kultivierten.

* Die Lesung und Interpretation der vorliegenden P.Turku 2 und 3 ist durch die Mitarbeit mehrerer Kollegen entstanden, von denen ich hier besonders dankbar den vorzüglichen Kenner der ptolemäischen Papyri Prof. Willy Clarysse nenne.

Der Name ist aber nur unvollständig am Anfang der Z. 5 zu lesen. Das ganze Dorf unterstand einem Aglaos ἐν δωρεᾷ¹ (2, 8. 11). Verwaltet wurde es von einem Sarapion (2, 8. 13; 3 11).

Von alters her hatten Priester Einnahmen aus dem von ihnen bewirtschafteten Tempelland erhalten, wofür sie nach einem fixen Steuersatz von 3 Artaben je Aruren an Abgaben zu leisten hatten. Von Sarapion wurde aber die Steuer beträchtlich höher angesetzt, womit der Streit begonnen zu haben scheint.

Unsere Eingabe ist nicht das erste Dokument in der Streitfrage gewesen. Schon im Monat Mecheir desselben Jahres, d. h. einen Monat davor, wurde eine andere Beschwerde eingereicht (2, 5f.) und zwar mit der Nachprüfung der von Sarapion gewaltsam auferlegten Steuern. Diese Eingabe war ihrerseits in zwei anderen Schreiben, die vorangingen, dem Epimeleten Herakleides (2, 16) und dem Dioiketen (2, 17) übergeben worden. Trotzdem war die Streitfrage noch nicht gelöst, im Gegenteil, denn in P.Turku 3 wird von konkreten Gewalttätigkeiten Sarapions sogar gegen das Tempelgebäude berichtet (3, 5f.). Eine offizielle Besichtigung (ἐπίσκεψις) betreffs die materiellen Schäden, vermutlich auch wegen der sonstigen Gewalttaten, hatte stattgefunden. Das wird jetzt insgesamt dem Epimeleten zur Prüfung und Entscheidung vorgetragen mit einem Gelübde, daß die Tempelleute nach einer für sie günstigen Entscheidung dem König und seinen Kindern (die Königin wird nicht erwähnt) eine Ehreninschrift (στηλαί) errichten würden.

P.Turku 2

Theadelphia

171 x 177 mm

146 v. Chr.

Pl. 14

Das gelbbraune Blatt, schon von Anfang an mittelmäßiger Qualität, hat durch die Verarbeitung zu Mumienkartonage und dann bei der Auflösung derselben Schaden erlitten. Es besteht jetzt aus zwei, ursprünglich in vertikaler Richtung auseinandergetrennter Teile, die bei der Konservierung wieder vereint wurden. Die genaue Zusammengehörigkeit sichert der Textverlauf in mehreren Zeilen. Die Reste des Präskriptes sowie auch des amtlichen Vermerkes oben machen deutlich, daß der Anfang der Urkunde vor uns liegt. Rechts ist der Text vollständig. Links scheint beträchtlich viel zu fehlen, wieviel, läßt sich an keiner Passage ermitteln. Die letzten fünf Zeilen, nach denen der Papyrus dann abbricht, sind schon stärker defekt.

- 1 (1. H.)] ὑπ[ομνημάτων π]αρακειμένων
 αὐτῶν
- 2] .ων τεθειεθ (ἔτους) λε Φα(μενῶθ)
 κβ̄
- 3 (2. H.)] καὶ ἐπιμ[(ελητήι)]
- 4 [παρὰ Ἴναροῦτος] καὶ Θοτομοῦτος τοῦ Φαμενέμου ἱερέων Ἀρήσιος καὶ
 ἰβιοβοσκῶν καὶ ἱερα-
- 5 [κοβοσκῶν ἀπὸ ...]ταλίδος τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος. οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὄν τρόπον
 ἐπιδόντων

¹ Zu der ἐν δωρεᾷ γῆ siehe Wilcken, *Grundz.* S. 284: „...die ἐν δωρεᾷ γῆ ... umfaßte ganze Dörfer.“ Bei der Schenkung des Landes wurde also kein Unterschied zwischen dem von Tempelleuten kultivierten Land und dem übrigen gemacht.

- 6 [ἡμῶν τῆι . . . τοῦ Με]χειρ ὑπόμνημα δι' οὗ ἐξηριθμούμεθα τὰ βίαια τελούμενα
εἰς τε ἡμᾶς
- 7 [καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὃ ἡμῖν μέ]λει ἀδικήματα πλείονα παρὰ τὴν σὴν καὶ τοῦ
διοικητοῦ εἰς τὸ θεῖον
- 8 [. . . καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγισ]τον Ἑρμῆ προαί[ρ]εσιν ὑπὸ Σαραπ[ίω]νος τοῦ παρ'
'Αγλαοῦ χάριν ὦν
- 9 [. . . ἔχομεν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν] κόμην βασι[ιλικῆ]ς γῆς ἀρουρ[(ῶν) . . .] ἐκφορίου
τῆς ἀρούρ(ας) (ἀρταβῶν) γ. ὦν τὰ
- 10 [γενήματα ἐλάβομεν] . εἰς τρ[οφ]ὴν καὶ ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην προστασίαν τῶν
ἱερῶν
- 11 [ζώων ἀ]φ' οὗ χρόνου ἔχει ὁ Ἄγλαος ἐν δωρεᾷ τὴν κόμην μέχρι τοῦ λ
(ἔτους) —
- 12] ἐκ πλήρους τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐκ τῆ[ς προ]κειμένης ἐπιβολῆς. τοῦ δὲ
- 13 [Σαραπίωνος παραγενο]μένου εἰς τὴν κόμην ἐν τῶ[ι] λ (ἔτει) καὶ
συνανάγκασεν ἡμᾶς
- 14 [παρὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν] τῆς μισθώσεως μετρησαὶ ἀρτάβας ἄλλας οβ (ἡμίσειαν)
ὥστ' εἶναι τῆς (ἀρούρας) (ἀρτάβας)
- 15 ἀλλ[λὰ] καὶ ἐν τῶι λβ (ἔτει) ὡσαύτως οβ/ πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας)
πρὸς καιρὸν
- 16 Ἡ]ρακλείδει τῶι γενομένῳ ἐπι[ιμελητ]ῆι ἠνεγκαμέν[ο]υ θ. [. .
] . . .
- 17 ἐν τῶι λβ (ἔτει) δόντων ἡμῶν [Διοσκουρίδ]ει τῶι δι[οικητῆ]ι
- 18 ὑπόμνημα]. περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀδικ[ημάτων]ν τέ και [
- 19 γ]ράψαντος τῶι τ[ο]πογραμμ[ατεῖ καὶ κω]μογραμματο[εἰ] . .
. . .] . . . μένου
- 20] .γενέσθαι ἀλ[. . .] ἀρα[.]. . . . ὠνος ε .[

2. Vor]ων eine Lücke von ca. 4–5 Buchstaben, davor ein *vacat*.

Statt Φα(μενώθ) wäre auch Φα(ῶφι) möglich; siehe aber die Anm. zu Z. 5.

3. Die Eingabe ist sicher an den Epimeleten adressiert, trotz der Lücke im Papyrus kommt man zu diesem Resultat. Möglicherweise steht es abgekürzt geschrieben. Allerdings kann ich keine Kennzeichnung einer Abreviatur sehen. Die davor stehenden Buchstaben καὶ sind nicht notwendigerweise als καὶ zu verstehen. Dies würde entweder einen anderen Beamten implizieren, was selten ist, oder einen Ehrentitel des Epimeleten. Beide Alternativen wird man aber verwerfen, weil der links zur Verfügung stehende Raum kaum für mehr als für einen Namen ausreicht. Der Name steht aber in der Regel im Präskript von Eingaben an die Behörde (s. A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 53f.). Man ist versucht, einen Namen auf -κας zu finden. Peremans, Van 't Dack verzeichnen in der *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (I Nr. 930–961) keinen Epimeleten eines so endenden Namens. Damit ist aber die Möglichkeit offen, daß der Name auch Σιτάλκας lauten konnte; diesen weisen V. Velkov, A. Fol (*Les Thraces en Égypte Greco-romaine, Studia Thracica* 4, Sofia 1977) in Nr. 269 und 270 nach.

An Behörden gerichtete Eingaben hießen formell ὑπομνήματα. So auch Z. 6. Man könnte daher das Präskript sich so vorstellen: ὑπόμνημα Σιτάλ]και ἐπιμελ(ητῆι). Hypomnemata an Epimeleten sind nicht allzu häufig bezeugt. Di Bitonto (a. a. O. 61) registriert sieben.

4. Die Eingabe wird von mehreren Personen gemacht, an erster Stelle stehen zwei Priester des Gottes Haresis. Der Name des einen steht in der Lücke, dürfte aber aus 3, 10 als Inaros zu ergänzen sein. Mit dem Namen ist auch dessen Vatersname verloren gegangen. *exempli gratia* könnte man [παρὰ Ἰναροῦτος τοῦ Ὁρου] ergänzen. Für den Vatersnamen scheint nur ein kurzer Name Platz zu haben. Der zweite Beschwerdeführer ist Thotomous, Sohn des Phamenemos. Neben ihnen kommen Ibispfleger und Falkenhüter ohne Angabe der Namen (s. unten 3, 10: ἀδελφοὶ ἰβιοβοσκοί) kollektiv als Betreiber der Beschwerde vor.

Ἄρησιος (Gen.), wenn richtig gelesen, ist ein in dieser Form bisher noch nicht attestierter Göttername. Er erhält seine Stütze und Erklärung vielleicht durch P.Oslo inv. 1669, 3 (= SB VI 9628 [II^a]). W. Clarysse und J. Quaegebeur machen durch ihre Interpretation (SO 57 (1982) 77–85 mit Neuausgabe des Textes) wahrscheinlich, daß das Wort hier ein Synonym für Ἐρησιεῖον vorliegt und von Ἐρεσιῆς / Ἀρεσιῆς abzuleiten ist. Diese seien griechische Transkriptionen für den Namen Horus. Dann bedeutet Ἀρησιεῖον eine Kultstätte des Ἀρησιῆς = Horus (und den Falken = Inkarnationen). Wir haben in P.Lond. 1164 g aus beträchtlich späterer Zeit (212P) Priester des Horus unter folgenden Bezeichnungen: Χαϊρήμων ἱερεὺς Ἀρησιήους (Z. 7), Φιλαντίνοος Ὁρου ἱερεὺς τοῦ προκειμένου Ἀρησιεῖου (sic), Φιλντινος (= Φιλαντίνοος?) Ὁρου ἱερεὺς Ἀρησιήου (Z. 16ff.). Nach den unterschiedlichen Schreibungen des Genitivs ist nicht eindeutig, ob Horus damals und dort (in Antinoopolis) Ἀρεσιῆς oder Ἀρησιεῖος hieß². Mit einigem Vorbehalt können wir in unserem Fall eine Nominativform Ἀρησις annehmen. A. Traversa stellt in SO 36 (1960) 50f. zusammen, welche -τάφοι und -βοσκοί (zu verschiedenen heiligen Tieren) aus den Papyri bekannt wurden.

Die ἰβιοβοσκοί so wie auch die ἱερακοβοσκοί gehörten der niederen Priesterschaft an. Über diese siehe W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* I 111. Es gab auch ἰβιοτάφοι (ebd. 109). In dem vorliegenden P.Turku 2 ist in Z. 10 von der ταφή ... τῶν ἱερῶν [ζώτων] die Rede. In diesen Texten wird jedenfalls nicht von ἰβιοτάφοι gesprochen.

Nach Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte im Fajum* (1974) 39f., war der Ibiskult im Fajum sehr verbreitet, ebenso der Falkenkult. Ibisse wurden besonders in dem dem Hermes-Thot angeschlossenen Kult gehalten, wovon wir in unserem Dokument ein neues Zeugnis haben (2, 8; 3, 16). Obwohl die heiligen Falken dem Horus zugehörten, kommen hier die Falkenpfleger zusammen mit den Wärtern der heiligen Tiere des Thot vor. Da die beiden Götter als σύνναοι θεοί verehrt wurden, ist dieses Nebeneinander leicht einsichtig.

Die Belege aus den Papyri sind zuletzt in CPR XIII S. 100f. zusammengestellt. Es sind 21 Stellen, die nicht über das 2. Jh. v. Chr. hinausgehen. Für unseren Text ist von Belang, daß in fünf Stellen Leute des Ibiskultes als Betreiber von landwirtschaftlichen Gütern bezeugt sind. Vgl. weiters A. Traversa, 'Ibiotaphoi, ibioboskoi, e un cartonnage inedito della collezione osloense', SO 36 (1960) 39–64, und W. Clarysse, J. Quaegebeur, 'Ibion, Isieion and Tharesieion in Two Oslo Papyri', SO 57 (1982) 69–85.

5.]ταλίδος: Die teils unsichere Lesung ermöglicht es nicht, den Dorfnamen zu erkennen. In Calderini - Daris, *Dizionario* II 257 findet man keinen Dorfnamen auf -αλις in der Themistu

² Bei Ronchi, *Lexikon theonymon* haben wir s. v. Ἀρησις den oben zitierten P.Lond. 1164g erwähnt, s. v. Ὁρος aber kein Hinweis auf Ἀρησις; s. v. Ἐρησιεῖον (?) sind Ἐρεσιῆς und Ἀρησιῆς als „forma di Horus“ registriert. In P.Lond. 1164 kann Ἀρησιήου eher ein Genitiv von Ἀρησιῶν = „Tempel des Haresies“ sein.

meris. Es gibt zwar auch die Lesealternative]αχιδος was über]μαχιδος zu Λυσι]μαχίδος führen würde. Zu diesem Dorf s. CPR XIII S. 24f.

οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ist eine sowohl aus der Literatur (Belege überall) als auch aus den Papyri (z. B. P.Petrie III 53 n. 4 [III^a]: Πετῶς, ὃν οὐδὲ σὺ ἄγνοεῖς; P.Tebt. 12, 19f. [II^a]: ἐπὶ οὐ καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ἐν ἧ ἐσμέν ἀσχολί(αι)) geläufige Redewendung. Mit ihr wird hier die Darlegung der Beschwerde eingeleitet. Statt des üblichen ἀδικούμεθα κτλ. wird hier auf ein früheres Dokument hingewiesen, das zweifellos dem Empfänger bekannt ist und wohl auch vorliegt. Dort war das noch immer nicht aus der Welt geschaffte Unrecht dargelegt. Von dem Gen. abs. ἐπιδόντων [ἡμῶν] mit dem Objekt ὑπόμνημα hängt eine bis Z. 12 ἐπιβολῆς reichende Satzkonstruktion ab. Die aktuelle rechtswidrige Situation, die den unmittelbaren Anlaß zur neuerlichen Beschwerde gab, wird in einem, von δι' οὗ eingeleiteten Relativsatz beschrieben. Die frühere Beschwerde wurde im Mechir (Z. 6) eingereicht; die Tagesangabe ist nicht erhalten. Wenn nun die Auflösung in Z. 2 zu Φα(μενώθ), dem amtlichen Eingangsvermerk, richtig ist, besagt das, daß der erste Schritt, auf den nun zurückverwiesen wird, nur einen Monat zurückliegt.

6. ἐξηριθμούμεθα. ἐξαριθμέω ist ein Terminus für die offizielle Aufzählung verschiedener Gegenstände (s. z. B. P.Petrie II 4, 2. 11. 21 [III^a] vom erhobenen Pachtzins [τὰ τελούμενα]). Wenn es in unserem Papyrus nun τὰ βία τελούμενα heißt, geht es nicht bloß um Gewalttätigkeit. Ἡ βία ist ein juristischer Begriff und bezeichnet hier eine rechtswidrige Handlung (vgl. W. Dahmann, Ἡ βία im Recht der Papyri, Diss. Köln 1968).

6–7. εἰς τε ἡμᾶς setzt ein zweites Kolon voraus. Wenn nun τὸ θεῖον und der Gott Hermes (Z. 7ff.) genannt sind, kann als das zweite Kolon εἰς τὸ ἱερόν in der Lücke zumindest sachlich richtig sein. εἰ (davor vielleicht λ) könnten zu einem Ortsnamen gehören; dagegen ist einzuwenden, daß eher mit dem selben Ort wie in Z. 5 zu rechnen ist, oder unterscheidet sich dieser Ort, in dem vielleicht die Priester ihren Wohnsitz hatten?

7. ἐν . .]λει: Es gibt zwar ein Dorf Ταλί (Ταλεί) mit guter Dokumentation in ptolemäischer Zeit (z. B. SB VI 9408 II 39 [IIP]; 9409 III 32 [IIP]; 9472 = P.Flor. 164v., 2, 15 [IIIP], alle aus Theadelphia; s. a. E. Nestola, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 155–212 und Calderini - Daris, *Dizionario* s. v.), da es aber in der Polemonos meris liegt, kommt es hier nicht in Frage. Vielleicht ist hier weder mit einem Ortsnamen noch mit ἐν πό]λει zu rechnen. Daher habe ich im Text anderes vorgeschlagen.

τοῦ διοικητοῦ: Nur an dieser Stelle wird ein Dioiket (beachte τοῦ) erwähnt, vielleicht in Z. 17 nochmals. Beide Beamte, sowohl der Epimelet wie auch der Dioiket, waren verantwortlich für die Finanzen und beide hatten laut dieser Urkunde ihr Wohlwollen (προαίρεσις, s. u.) dem Gott Hermes gegenüber gezeigt.

πλείονα: πλει- und πλε- wechseln in dieser Zeit. Siehe die Beispiele bei Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2² (1938) 60f. Vgl. P.Turku 3, 16: πλείω.

τὴν σὴν ... προαίρεσιν: es ist auffällig, daß hier nicht ὑμετέραν steht. Aus der Erwähnung des Dioiketen kann man also nicht folgern, daß das Schriftstück auch an ihn adressiert war. Im Präskript scheint es auch unmöglich gewesen zu sein. Mit einem Hinweis auf den dem Epimeleten bekannten Standpunkt seines gegenüber dem Kult eines Gottes wenigstens ebenso wichtigen Kollegen konnten die Beschwerdeführer ihr Anliegen gewiß unterstützen.

8. προαίρεσιν. Das Substantiv προαίρεσις wie auch das Verbum προαιρέομαι (üblicher ist die mediale Form) sind oft attestiert. Beim Studium der Belegstellen in den Wörterbüchern wird man darauf aufmerksam, daß besonders ἡ προαίρεσις in vorchristlicher Zeit selten ist. „Vorsatz, Vorhaben, Wille“ sind die Bedeutungen, die in den meisten Fällen zutreffen. Es ist auch zu sehen, daß nicht konkrete Handlungen, sondern die Absichten — in

unserem Fall etwa 'goodwill' — damit beschrieben ist; vgl. dazu z. B. in einem späteren Brief PSI XII 1261, 18 (IIP): καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄξιος ... τῆς σῆς ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως.

τὸν μέγιστον Ἑρμῆ. μέγιστος als Epitheton des Hermes ist besonders inschriftlich reichlich belegt, s. Ronchi, *Lexikon theonymon* 758–760.

ὑπὸ Σαραπ[ίω]νος τοῦ παρ' Ἀγλαοῦ: Der Präpositionalausdruck (ὑπό) wird von τελούμενα in Z. 6 bestimmt. Wer Aglaos war, lesen wir Z. 11: er hatte das Dorf ἐν δωρεῶν (vgl. dazu *W.Chr.* I 284). Von Sarapion wissen wir nur, daß er ὁ παρ' Ἀγλαοῦ war, d. h. ein untergeordneter, in dessen Diensten stehender. Es scheint, als ob Sarapion anfänglich den Tempelleuten günstig gesinnt gewesen war, so wie auch Aglaos. Doch im Jahre 30 änderte sich seine Stellung den Tempelleuten gegenüber, es kam in der Folge durch Steuererhöhungen zu Einbußen der Einnahmen für den Tempel.

Der einzige Aglaos, der bisher bekannt ist (s. PP VI 14882) ist Κῶιος, τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς ... παρὰ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ. Titulus Deliacus anni 154/3 (s. PP loc. cit.) erwähnt einen vornehmen Mann koischer Herkunft in Alexandria; er lebte unter Euergetes II., bei dem er in großer Gunst stand. Er hat aber wohl mit dem Aglaos unseres Dokumentes nichts zu tun.

9f. Hier wird die Lage vor der Veränderung beschrieben: Man hatte für das Ackerland in der Umgebung des Dorfes drei Artaben pro Arure als Pachtzins gezahlt. Wie groß dieses von den Priestern bebaute und der ἐπιβολή (Z. 12) unterworfen Land war, bleibt unbekannt; In der Lücke der Z. 9 stand die Zahl: ἄρουρ[(ῶν) . .].

10. Hier sind die Aufgaben der Ibispfleger genannt. Der Gnomon des Idios Logos (BGU V 93) stellt die unterschiedlichen Bereiche fest: τοῖς θάπτουσι τὰ ἱερὰ ζῶια οὐκ ἐξὸν . . . τρέφειν ἱερὰ ζῶια.

Unter τὰ ἱερὰ ζῶια sind natürlich grundsätzlich alle heiligen Tiere zusammengefaßt (vgl. die reiche Literatur zum Tierkult in Ägypten, z. B. Le Muséon 8 [1889] 211ff. 309ff.). Die hohe Wertigkeit des Ibis- und Falkenkultes zeigt schon allein die Liste von Ronchi, *Lexikon theonymon* 508ff.

ἰβίων τροφή wird im 2. Jh. v. Chr. z. B. in P.Petrie III 87, 24 und 97, 1 erwähnt. Neben der Bedeutung „Ibis-Nahrung“ kann damit auch jener Platz bezeichnet sein, wo Ibis gehalten wurden, wie P.Tebt. 5, 70 (II^a).

Über die ταφή der heiligen Tiere siehe Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I 109ff.

προστασία scheint neben „Stellung eines προστάτης (=Vorsteher)“ auch „Fürsorge“ bedeuten zu können; mit dieser Aussage ist es aber nicht vor dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. nachgewiesen. Die frühesten Beispiele dürften UPZ II 180a II 2 und 185, 6 sein; sie sind etwa gleichzeitig mit P.Turku 2+3 anzusetzen. An den beiden UPZ-Stellen handelt es sich um die Tierbestattung. Vermutlich schließt προστασία an unserer Stelle auch die Obsorge um die mumifizierten Tiere ein.

12. In der Lücke ist wohl ein Verbum für bezahlen gestanden: „und wir haben bezahlt ...“

14. Am Anfang der Zeile dürfte etwa [παρὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν] oder dgl. gestanden sein. Wie hoch der Pachtzins nach der gesetzwidrigen Erhöhung wurde, stand am Ende der Zeile: „pro Arure soundsoviel Artaben“. Es sind aber gerade diese Ziffern nicht erhalten; lesen können wir nur eine gesamte Artabenzahl von 72^{1/2}. Aber nimmt man eine Erhöhung des Pachtzinses um 1/3 an, so ergibt sich ein Ackerland von 70 Aruren, was nicht wenig war.

15. In den zwei nächsten Jahren wiederholte Sarapion sein Verfahren, vermutlich auch in dem Jahr bis zum Datum der vorliegenden Eingabe. In die Zwischenzeit, in einer Spanne von drei Jahren, fallen wenigstens zwei in dieser Sache eingereichte Urkunden. Von ihnen wird Z. 16–18 berichtet.

16. Herakleides ist der Vorgänger des in Z. 3 genannten Epimeleten.

17. Wir vermissen den Namen des Dioiketen. Die Dativendung -ει ist für das Finden des Namens belanglos. Die Amtsbezeichnung hängt an den unsicheren Buchstaben δι[, doch nach Z. 7 ist es naheliegend, daß nur ein Dioiket gemeint sein kann.

19. Wer an den Topogrammateus und an den Komogrammateus geschrieben hat, ist nicht angegeben. Möglicherweise der Dioiket. Aus P.Turku 1 und 31 kennen wir aus derselben Zeit den Dioiketen Dioskourides: Auch in diesen Schriftstücken betrifft es Angelegenheiten in Theadelphia.

P.Turku 3

Theadelphia

168 x 190 mm

Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr.

Pl. 15

Das gelbbraune Blatt ist aus zwei Teilen zusammengesetzt. Der linke Teil trägt Reste einer früheren Beschriftung, die zwischen den Zeilen 6 und 7, 8 und 9, und besonders deutlich unter der Z. 17 in der Mitte zu sehen sind. Diese Buchstaben stehen senkrecht zum aktuellen Text und haben nichts mit diesem zu tun. An der entsprechenden Stelle auf der Versoseite befindet sich eine aus Ziffern bestehende Kolumne. Es steht fest, daß der linke Teil dieses Papyrus offensichtlich aus minderwertigem Material, wahrscheinlich mit Fehlstellen, bestand und durch Aufkleben eines makulierten Blattes repariert wurde. Man kann weiters damit rechnen, daß das defekte Papyrusblatt weitere Schäden durch die Verarbeitung in Mumienkartonage — und wohl auch durch die Herauslösung aus dieser — erlitten hat, wodurch jetzt mehr fremder Text des aufgeklebten Streifens sichtbar wurde und von der Urkunde zu trennen ist.

- 1]ι και νιτρικήν τ[ήν] δεχ[ομένην ὑ]πὸ τοῦ τ.υ[.] . γεγενημένου
οιον[. . . κ]αὶ
- 2 πρ[ὸς τήν ` σήν `] προκει[± 9 ο]υς ὅθεν ἀπ[αχθῆναι]
καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν κατακ[λεισ]θῆαι
- 3 διὰ τοῦ σοι κατασταθ[έν]τος γράμμα[το]ς φ[α]ινομεν [. . . .].
ἐσκυλκῶς ἡμᾶς συνεταξασ
- 4]μηδ' οὕτως δεδω[.]θε εντ[.] τοῖς πρότ[ερον
συ]ντετελεσμένοις ἀδικήμασιν
- 5 φερομέν]ας εἰς τὴν οἰκί[αν τοῦ] Διονυσίου πλίνθου[ς] Ἴψ
ἀπενεγκάμενον μετὰ βίας
- 6].ατα [.] . . . ση ἕως δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύραν μετενέγκαι
εἰς
- 7] ἀνήνεχθαι. ἦν καὶ ὦρον τῶν τοπογραμμ]ατέα ἐπηγάγομεν.
πρὸς τὸ ` διαμαρτυρηθῆναί σοι ` παρεπέγραψας Χαιρήμονι τῶι
- 8 [πρὸς ταῖς ἐπι]σκέψειςι ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τούτου δὲ
π[ρ]οσκεκλημένου τὸν τὲ τοπογραμ]μα-
- 9 [τέα καὶ τὸν κωμογραμμ]ατέα καὶ ἐπειλήφθη πρὸς α[. .]λκα ὡς εἴημεν
κατεσχηκότες [ν] τῶν σημα]-
- 10 [νομένων (ἀρταβῶν)] ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων εἰς Ἴναρῶν καὶ
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἰβιοβοσκούς

- 11 [καὶ ἱερακοβοσκοὺς τῶν] ἐκφορίων τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος
 συντετελεσμένα εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προκεί-
 12 [μενα διὰ τοῦ]το ἐκ πλειόνων ἀξιούμεθα ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν καταφυγὴν
 ποιούμενοι ὄντος τῶν ἱερῶ[ν
 13 καὶ ἐμ]βλέψαντα εἰς τὴν γεγενημένην ἐπίσκεψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Χαιρήμονος μὴ
 14 [περιδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀγνώ]μονουμένους ἀλλ' ἐὰν φαίνεται συντάξαι περὶ μὲν τοῦ
 δηλουμένου διαλαβεῖν
 15]. ζηται γράψαι δὲ τῶι ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἀρχιφυλακίτη τῆς
 αὐτῆς μηθενὶ ἐπι-
 16 [τρέψαι] ἡμᾶς πλείω τῶν γ (ἀρταβῶν) [ό]πως μηθὲν ὑστέρημα
 γίνηται τῶν τῶι Ἑρμῆ [
 17 [ἱερῶν ζώων ὥσ]τε στήλας ἐπὶ τῶι [ἱερῶι ἀ]ναστήσωμεν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῶν
 τέκνων.
 18 εὐτύχει

8. τὴν: ἦν ex corr.

Zu Beginn des P.Turku 3 sehen wir die Sachlage in dem Rechtsstreit um neue kriminelle Ereignisse erweitert. Es geht dabei um den Pachtzins in der Höhe von drei Artaben (Z. 16). Aber inzwischen wurden weitere Gewalttaten verübt, deren Urheber vielleicht der in P.Turku 2, 8 und hier Z. 11 erwähnte Sarapion war. Es werden Verhaftung (Z. 2), Einbruch in ein Privathaus (? Z. 5) und Beschädigungen an einem Tempelgebäude (Z. 6) vorgebracht. Es fand eine amtliche Besichtigung (ἐπίσκεψις) (Z. 8, 13) statt. Nach den für Eingaben üblichen formelhaften Wendungen endet die Eingabe mit Betonung der Würde des Hermes und mit dem Gelübde, bei günstigem Erfolg eine Ehreninschrift dem König und seinen Kindern zu errichten. Daß die Königin nicht erwähnt wird, befremdet. Kleopatra II. hat ja ihren Gemahl überlebt.

1. νιτρικὴν. Über ἡ νιτρικὴ (πλύνου), die auf dem für die Wäsche benötigten Natron lag, siehe Wilcken, *Grundzüge* S. 252f. und Wilcken, *Ostraka* I S. 264f. Die Natronsteuer ist nicht nur auf Ostraka, sondern auch auf Papyri gut belegt, z. B. P.Ryl. 70, 8 (II^a), P.Petrie II 27, 3 (III^a), beide aus dem Arsinoites, und UPZ II 114 (II^a). Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, spricht nicht davon; die Natronsteuer scheint der ptolemäischen Epoche anzugehören.

2. πρὸς τὴν [θύρ]αν würde möglicherweise mit προκεί[μενον oder dgl. zusammenpassen, ist aber eine willkürliche Ergänzung. Jedenfalls weist ὅθεν in die Richtung, daß πρὸς τὴν als Lokalbestimmung aufzufassen ist.

ἀπ[αχθῆναι] und κατακ[λεισ]θαι setzen ein finites Verbum voraus, wahrscheinlich war dies φ[αίνομεν in Z. 3.

εἰς φυλακὴν κατακ[λεισ]θαι: Über Verhaftung und Gefängnis in den Papyri siehe R. Taubenschlag, *Opera minora* II 713–719. S. auch *Miscellanea Papyrologica*, Firenze 1980, 76 Anm. 17–18. Der gestörte Zusammenhang verwehrt uns das Wissen darüber, wer in das Gefängnis geworfen wurde. Man kann aber annehmen, daß es jemand aus dem Kreis der Beschwerdeführer war.

3. Zu καθιστάναι, „abliefern“, paßt gut als Objekt γράμμα, vgl. P.Lond. 219 (IP): τῷ δεῖνι καταστήσοντι ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ.

ἐσκυλκῶς: So, weil keine Komposita von σκύλλω in den Papyri (laut Preisigke, *WB*) vorkommen und weil das Wort selbst nur spärlich belegt ist. Bezüglich der Bedeutung „plagen, stören“ vgl. Ev. Mark. 5, 35: τί ἔτι σκύλλεις τὸν διδάσκαλον: und (im Passiv) P.Flor. 332, 15 (IP): ἵνα κἀγὼ μὴ σκυλῶ εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια. Wegen der Lückenhaftigkeit des Textes ist es nicht leicht, das Partizipium in die Syntax einzuordnen; man kann schwanken zwischen φ]αινόμεν[ος und φ]αινομέν[ου].

4. τοῖς πρότ[ερον συ]ντετελεσμένοις ἀδικήμασιν: Der Sinn scheint zu sein: Der Täter war nicht mit den vorher angestellten Übeltaten zufrieden. Vgl. P.Fay. 12 (Eingabe, 103^a), 7f. (τοῦ δεινός) ἀδικήματα εἰς με συντελεσαμένου, 25 περὶ τῶν ἀδίκως ... συ[ντετ]ελεσμ<έν>ων.

8. Über ἐπίσκεψις s. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 206ff.

9. ὡς εἶημεν κατασχηκότες: „als ob wir ... bei uns behalten hätten“, was von einem falschen Vorwurf ausgeht. Vom Schreiber scheint ein ν oder ein η zu sein.

10. ἐκ πλειόνων: Siehe die Anmerkung zu P.Turku 2,7. Als Neutr. Pl. aufgefaßt: „aus mehreren Gründen, aus desto besseren Gründen“.

13. ἐμ]βλέψαντα: „sein Augenmerk auf etwas richtend“, vgl. P.Tebt. 28, 15 (114^a): ἀξιοῦμεν ἐμβλέψαντα εἰς τὰ ὑποδεδειγμένα κτλ. und SB I 4638, 30 (Eingabe, II^a): τὴν] ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγὴν πεποιημένοι [ἀξιοῦμεν ἐμ]βλέψαντ' εἰς τὸν γεγονότα κτλ.

17. ἀν]αστήσωμεν: Vgl. Ditt. 56, 75 (IIIa) στήλας ἀναθέτωσαν. Unter den Papyri, die Eingaben überliefern, ist unsere Stelle, in der ein Gelübde zur Errichtung einer Ehreninschrift begegnet, bisher ein Unikum. Vgl. SB III 6152, 30 (93^a): ὅπως πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶ τε θυσίαι καὶ σπονδαὶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα ὑπὲρ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ... ἐπιτελεσθῆ. Auch in unserem Text ist die Königin nicht erwähnt.

P.Turku 3 verso

Schrift gegen die Faser.

1]	..
2	]	(τάλαντα) Ἄρν
3	]	Ἄτκ
4	]ς	Ἄσν
5	]	τ
6	]	ρν
7	]ις	ζ
8	]ν	Ἄσν
9	]	με Ἄφκε
10	]	χν
11	]	υπε [η\]
12	]	τξ
13	]	γρα(μματε-) φ
14	]	ωκς Ἄωι[
15	]	π
16	]	φκ. (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) [
17	]	Ἄβ?
18		κῆ

Diese Kolumne enthält wenige Endungen von Namen (und Berufen, s. Z. 13) sowie Geldbeträge. Z. 7 ist wahrscheinlich 'A zu 'ς korrigiert. In Z. 11 nach den Zahlen Reste eines abgewaschenen (?) Textes. Die Tintenfarbe ist jedenfalls anders.

Dreht man das Blatt um 90° gegen den Uhrzeigersinn, steht am oberen Blattrand (=linker Blattrand aus der Sicht des Rekto) = Z. 18 κῆ. Es ist dies vielleicht eine Aktenzahl, die zum Dokument des Rekto Bezug haben kann.

P. Turku 65

Theadelphia

16,5 x 8,3 cm

IIa

Ein rechts und links abgerissenes, mittelbraunes Papyrusblatt von durchschnittlicher Qualität, aus Mumienkartonage herausgelöst. In der Blattmitte sehen wir Reste roter Farbe, die von der Bemalung der Mumienmaske (Kopfteil) geblieben sind. An diesen Stellen war der Gesso wohl sehr dünn. Sowohl oben wie auch unten ist ein unbeschriebener Randbereich von 2 cm (oben) und 1 cm (unten) zu sehen. Es könnte demnach ein Text mit dem Anfang und Ende vorliegen.

Der Text enthält Namen, gelegentlich auch Berufsangaben, und Zahlen. Es könnte eine Liste über Zahlungen, teilweise mit der Angabe von Restbeträgen, sein. Interessant macht den Text ein Zusammenhang mit einigen anderen Turkuer Papyri (P.Turku 2+3, 31 und 79), der in der Erwähnung von Ibispflegern besteht: s. Z. 4, wo die Ergänzung zu τῶν ἰβ]ιοβοσκῶν Νεμεσήσιος (oder auch τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἰβ]ιοβοσκῶν) als gesichert betrachtet werden kann.

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 |] τῆς Θεμίστ[ου μερίδος |
| 2 |]τη Θεαδελφείαν [|
| 3 |]ετο αὐτὸς τοῦ Π[νεφερ]ῶτος .[|
| 4 | τῶν ἰβ]ιοβοσκῶν Νεμεσήσιος τοῦ [|
| 5 |] (γίνεται) τῆς κώμης ἐπιγεν[όμενα |
| 6 | Ἄ]νδρομάχου τῶν ὑφορβῶν [|
| 7 |] τοῦ Πετοσίριος θ (ἀφ' ὧν) ἐπιγ() γ .[|
| 8 | Κολλο]ύθου τοῦ Σεμθέως θ (ἀφ' ὧν) ἐπιγ() [|
| 9 |]υως τοῦ Σεμθέως θ (ἀφ' ὧν) ἐπιγ() [|
| 10 |]ννεὺς ἀδ(ελφός) λ ρ κζ (ἀφ' ὧν) ἐπερχ[|
| 11 |] . τος λείπ[ο]νται. (γίνεται) η ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς |

5. 11 / (γίνεται) 7, 8, 9, 10 † (ἀφ' ὧν) 10 λ ρ (τριακοντάρουρος)

5. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um τὰ ἐπιγενόμενα eines bestimmten Dorfes in der Themistu Meris des Arsinoites. Dasselbe Wort kommt auch in Z. 7, 8 und 9, dort in abbreviiertem Schreibweise, vor. Die Lesung ist jedoch nicht sicher. Das Verbum ἐπιγίγνομαι hat die ganz allgemeine Bedeutung „hinzukommen“. In die Überlegungen ist vielleicht auch das Substantiv ἐπιγένημα.³ Man bezeichnete damit einen Überschuß im Wirtschafts- und Steuerwesen (BGU 8 II 4 [III^a] οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τόκοι; UPZ 112 VI 4 [III^a]; P.Tebt. 854, 52 [II^a]) oder im Ackerbau den Ertrag einer zweiten Ernte im selben Jahr (BGU 1851, 9 [I^a]). In P.Cairo Zen. 59010, 34 ist es vom Zuschlag zu einer Rechnung gesagt. Was die zutreffende

³ Siehe dazu M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München 1925, S. 151ff. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 7).

Auflösung und Deutung in unserem Text ist, wird wohl infolge des geringen Textumfanges und des spärlichen Kontexts offen zu halten sein.

6. Soweit zu den Personen weitere, ihren Stand betreffende Angaben erhalten sind, sind es (neben dem Patronymikon) Amtsbezeichnungen wie in Z. 4 τῶν ἰβ]ιοβοσκῶν, τῶν ὑοφορβῶν (Schweinehirt) — man beachte, daß hier jeweils mehrere in dem uns unbekanntem Dorf lebten und nur jeweils einer von ihnen in dieser Liste figuriert — und ein τριακοντάρουρος (Z. 10).

P. Turku 79

Theadelphia

160 x 90 mm

II^a

Ein hellbraunes Blatt, links senkrecht abgeschnitten, rechts und unten abgerissen (vielleicht bei der Verarbeitung zu Kartonage). Der unbeschriebene Freiraum oben vom 5 cm Höhe läßt folgern, daß der Text hier mit dem Beginn erhalten ist. Links ist ein Freirand von 15 mm zu messen.

Der kleine Text ist trotz all seiner Lückenhaftigkeit mit dem Ibiskult (bzw. Falkenkult) in Verbindung zu setzen. Die zwei Wörter τρεφομ[ένου]ς Z. 1 und τεθνηκότ[ας] Z. 4 können nicht auf etwas anderes bezogen sein als auf die Pflege und Mumifizierung der heiligen Tiere. Es scheint sich um das Geld (Kasse?) zu handeln, das dafür aufzubringen war, Z. 4. Ob dies verpfändet werden konnte (Z. 6), bleibt offen.

- 1 I εἰς τοὺς τρεφομ[ένου]ς ἰβ]ις
 2 ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τῶ[ποις]
 3 καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς [
 4 τεθνηκότ[ας] χρήματ[ος]
 5 ἐκ τῆς νομῆς χλ[ωροῦ]
 6 τούτου ὑποτιθεμ[ένου]
 7 ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῶ[ι
 8 ἀνδρὸς καὶ . . . [

1. ἰβ]ις ist in der Literatur laut den Wörterbüchern ein feminines Wort, und so auch in Papyri, z. B. O.Tait I 384 Verso (III^a) ταῖς ἰβ]ισιν. Jedoch treffen wir das Wort auch als Maskulinum: P.Tebt. 963, 6 (II^a) λογεύειν τῶι ἰβ]ει τὰ καθήκοντα und ebd. 1086, 17 (II^a) τῶι ἰβ]ει. Man könnte hier am Ende der Zeile ebensogut an ἰέρακας denken, welches auch maskulin ist. Aber wenn νομῆς χλ[ωροῦ] (Z. 5) richtig ergänzt ist, sind die Falken ausgeschlossen.

3–4. Wie hier die Syntax läuft, ist wegen der Lückenhaftigkeit des Textes schwer in zutreffender Form vorstellbar.

5. Die beiden Substantiva sind paläographisch unsicher, würden aber gut zur Ibispflege passen. τὸ χλωρόν = Grünfutter.

Verso

Die Zeilenabstände zwischen 3 und 4, dann auch zwischen 4 und 5, ebenso 5 und 6 sind doppelt so groß wie sonst; vermutlich handelt es sich um Zeilen, die kürzer waren als diejenigen, die uns erhalten geblieben sind.

- 1]
 2] Δημητρίου
 3]ος Πτολεμαίου
 4]ς Πτολεμαίου
 5]άρχου β λ δ' (ἀφ' ὧν) κα(θαροῦ ?) χ.()
 6]τρίου τῶν ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς α γ
 7] Πετοσίρις ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 8]ξασθαι τοῦ Ἀ[θὺ]ρ ς σί(του) (ἀρτάβας) β λ [

5 (ἀφ' ὧν) pap. λ, κ pap., χ pap., 8 σι pap., (ἀρτάβας) pap. ς, (ἡμίσειαν) pap. λ

Der Inhalt ist wohl ein Verzeichnis von Namen mit Angaben über Bezahlungen in Naturalien. Die Namen, soweit sie erkennbar sind, zählen zu den gewöhnlichsten und am meisten belegten. Z. 5 läßt z. B. eine Ergänzung zu Ἰππ]άρχου zu, in Z. 6 ist Δημη]τρίου gut möglich.

Probleme, die nicht lösbar scheinen, bietet die Eintragung nach dem Namen in Z. 5. Ganz klar kann man κ mit einem Hacken-Alpha darüber erkennen, ebenso ein nachfolgendes χ. Doch vom hier darübersetzten Buchstaben ist nur ein indifferenter Rest erhalten. Unsicher ist, ob die Auflösung zu κα(θαροῦ) das Richtige trifft.

8. δέ]ξασθαι ist eine denkbare Ergänzung.

P.Turku 31

Theadelphia

160 x 180 mm

Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr.

Der mittelbraune Papyrus ist jetzt aus zwei Teilen zusammengefügt, deren Aneinanderfügung außer Diskussion steht. Oben gibt es freien Raum, der den Eindruck erweckt, ursprünglich gelassen worden zu sein. Der rechte Blattrand ist gerade beschnitten. Dieser Schnitt stammt nicht von der Zubereitung für die Verwendung in Mumienkartonage. Die Zeilen enden vor dem Blattrand, sind also rechts vollständig. Mit zunehmendem Abstand vom Blattrand beobachten wir eine vertikal verlaufende Klebung. Links und unten ist das Blatt defekt. Von einer achten Zeilen gibt es minimale Spuren, da dort der ehemals schrifttragende Papyrusstreifen, vermutlich bei der Auflösung der Kartonage, verloren gegangen ist.

Die Interpretation der Zahlen in Z. 1 und Z. 4 ist wegen des nicht erkennbaren Zusammenhanges sehr ungewiß.

Interessant macht den Text die Erwähnung der Ibispfleger (Z. 2) und des Landes, das für die Fürsorge der heiligen Tiere bebaut wurde. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um dieselben Angelegenheiten wie in P.Turku 2+3. Spezielles Interesse weckt die Erwähnung des Dioskourides, des ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, der in die Belange der Ibispfleger involviert war. Es ist offenkundig, daß wir es mit dem Dioiketen zu tun haben, der bereits aus U.P.Z. I 14 und P.Berl. Zill. 1 bekannt ist und an den die Eingabe P.Turku 1 vom J. 151 v. Chr. gerichtet ist. Der vorliegende Papyrus enthält kein Datum. Wir gehen jedoch wohl nicht fehl, wenn wir

aufgrund der Nachbarschaft zu den übrigen P.Turku eine Datierung in den 150^{er} Jahren annehmen.

1 κδ δ' ζ (ἀφ' ὧν)
 2] καὶ Παμ[ε]νῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰ[β]ιοβοσκῶν καὶ τῶν
 3] περὶ τῆς τοῖς ἱερ[οῖ]ς ζώοις γεωργουμένης
 \ / β' / γρ(αμματ) / φ. θ' ζ'
 4] συν κλ [] ρωσαι (vacat ?) δι' αὐτὰ παρὰ Διοσκουρίδου τοῦ
 5] ἀρχισω[μ]ατοφύλακος καὶ τῆς ὑπογεγραμμένης
 6] τη τῶν δημοσίων γραμματέων
 7] υσμεν[] ἴβρνθ
 8] ..
 9] εσκ εμενων..

1. (ἀφ' ὧν) Pap. L 5. γρ(αμματ) Pap. F

2. Παμενῶς ist im 2. Jh. v. Chr. als Name in P.Giss. I 36, 19 belegt.

3. περὶ τῆς ... γεωργουμένης scil. γῆς.

3/4. Die im Zeilenzwischenraum stehenden Zeichen scheinen in Z. 4 zu gehören, jedenfalls geht das weit nach unten gezogene ρ durch diese Zeile. Auch ist in Z. 4 für diese supralineare Eintragung Platz freigehalten. Es lassen sich keine Spuren abgeriebener Tinte feststellen. Durchschaubar ist diese Stelle nicht.

4–5. Zwischen Διοσκουρίδου und τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος ist am Beginn der Z. 5 Text unbestimmbarer Länge verloren gegangen. Man hat aber dennoch τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος auf Dioskourides zu beziehen.

P.Turku 31 verso

Der auf der Versoseite erhaltene Text verteilt sich auf zwei Kolumnen. Von Kol. I sind nur mehr Schlußbuchstaben von fünf Zeilen vorhanden (s. u.). Kolumne II, von einem anderen Schreiber stammend, besteht aus sieben Zeilen, die durchwegs in so schlechtem Zustand sind, daß nur wenige einzelne Wörter gelesen werden können, z.B. Z. 1 ἐργάτ[ο]υ, Z. 5 ἐ]ργάτην, Z. 6 ἔργου. Es scheint sich um Aufzeichnungen, wohl amtlicherseits, über (öffentliche) Arbeiten zu handeln.

Kol. I

1] πρὸς τὸν
 2] περὶ
 3] ιβ (ἥμισυ)
 4] ζ
 5] . ε α ἥ ιβ

QUITTUNG EINES ὑποδέκτης ἀννωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπων Μαύρων ÜBER EINE STEUERZAHLUNG IN GOLD

Fritz Mitthof

Hermopolites
P.Heid.Inv. G 1504

9,5 x 28 cm

1. Hälfte(?) des 5. Jh. n. Chr.
Plate 16

Der Papyrus ist hellbraun und von feiner Qualität. Er weist in der Mitte dunkle Flecken auf. Das Verso ist etwas dunkler als das Recto. Die Ränder sind oben, an der linken Seite sowie an der unteren Hälfte der rechten Seite abgeschnitten. An der oberen Hälfte der rechten Seite ist ein etwa 1,5 cm breiter Streifen entlang einer Faltung abgebrochen; im Mittelteil fehlt eine größere Partie. Die Handschrift ist geübt und schwungvoll. Der Schreiber hat zwischen den Zeilen recht große Abstände gelassen; die Buchstaben weisen zum Teil große Ober- und Unterlängen auf. Am Zeilenanfang ist der erste Buchstabe jeweils etwas größer als die folgenden, während die Buchstaben gegen Ende der Zeilen kleiner und stärker miteinander verbunden sind. Der Schreiber hat links einen Freiraum von 1-1,5 cm gelassen; der Freiraum unterhalb des Textes beträgt etwa 10 cm. Fünf senkrechte Faltungen in einem Abstand von etwa 1,5 cm sowie eine waagerechte Faltung etwa in der Blattmitte sind erkennbar. Die Faltstellen treten durch Risse und kleinere Ausbrüche hervor. Die Schrift läuft entlang der Faserrichtung. Die Tinte ist schwarz, aber recht blaß; der vom Schreiber verwendete Kalamos war dünn. Auf dem Verso befinden sich Tintenreste einer sich über zwei Zeilen erstreckenden Beschriftung; erkennbar ist in der oberen Zeile ein Kreuz bzw. Christogramm sowie in der unteren Zeile Reste von Buchstaben bzw. ein Schlußkreuz.

Bei der Urkunde handelt es sich um eine Steuerquittung. Der Hypodekt bescheinigt den Empfang einer Goldzahlung. Das Formular der Quittung ist von einigen Paralleltexten her bereits bekannt. Es handelt sich um die Texte PSI I 44, SB XII 10902 und 10903 sowie BGU XII 2144, 2145, 2167 und 2171.¹ Weitere, zum Teil wesentlich umfangreichere Texte aus dieser Gruppe sind in Bearbeitung bzw. werden in absehbarer Zeit publiziert werden.² Viele Fragen können daher an dieser Stelle nur berührt werden; eine umfassende Interpretation aller Texte dieses Typs wird erst möglich sein, nachdem auch die übrigen Texte publiziert worden sind. Der Aufbau der bislang bekannten Texte ist der folgende: Zunächst wird die Titulatur des eintreibenden Steuerbeamten aufgeführt, ohne daß sein Name genannt wird; es folgt die Angabe der betreffenden Indiktion; sodann folgt der Name des Zahlers im Nominativ, bisweilen eingeleitet durch ὀνόματος; daran schließt sich, sofern die Zahlung durch einen Stellvertreter erfolgte, der Name dieses Stellvertreters an, manchmal unter Angabe seiner Tätigkeit;³ schließlich folgt die Beschreibung der Zahlung, eingeleitet durch die Verbform δέδωκας (dort, wo das Verb erhalten ist, bislang immer in der Form δέδωκες). Dieses Quittungsformular liegt auch meinem Ergänzungsvorschlag zugrunde.

Von größerem Interesse ist der Text wegen der in den Z. 2 - 5 genannten Titulatur des Hypodekten, die hier erstmals vollständig erhalten ist. Bereits der Herausgeber der BGU-Texte führte an, daß die Abkürzung ὑποδ() zu Beginn der Texte als ὑποδ(έκτης) aufzulösen ist

¹ Daneben sei noch auf drei fragmentarische Reste weiterer Paralleltexte hingewiesen: SPP III 293; VIII 999; P.Ross.Georg. V 12 D Anm. zu Z. 3.

² Derzeit bearbeiten meines Wissens sowohl H. Maehler als auch G. Poethke mehrere aus der Berliner Sammlung stammende Quittungen dieses Typs sowie H. Palme einen Papyrus aus der Wiener Sammlung, der auf beiden Seiten mit insgesamt sieben derartigen Quittungen beschrieben ist.

³ S. BGU XII 2144, Z. 5: δι(ὰ) Ἀβράμις στρατιώτης; PSI I 44, Z. 2: δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου βοθη(οῦ).

und nicht, wie verschiedentlich angenommen, als ὑποδ(οχή);⁴ durch den vorliegenden Text wird dies nochmals bestätigt. Des weiteren erlaubt der Heidelberger Papyrus eine Verbesserung der Lesungen der Titulatur des Hypodekten in den zwei Texten BGU 2145 und 2167, wo anstelle des vom Herausgeber ergänzten ναύλων m. E. ebenfalls τίτλων zu lesen ist.⁵

Weder der Heidelberger Text noch die Paralleltexte bieten eine Datierung. Für die Paralleltexte wurde das 5. bzw. die erste Hälfte des 6. Jh. n. Chr. vorgeschlagen. Die Mauren sind von 340 bis ins erste Drittel des 6. Jh. als Garnison von Hermupolis nachweisbar. Die in der Titulatur genannten Steuern grenzen den in Frage kommenden Zeitraum allerdings etwas ein: Da das *aurum tironicum* im späten 5. Jh. nicht mehr nachweisbar ist, die *tituli canonici* aber erst seit dem 5. Jh. erwähnt werden, dürfte der Text aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jh. stammen.⁶

Der Text bietet keine neuen Aufschlüsse über die Tätigkeit des genannten Hypodekten bzw. über die Verwaltung der *annona militaris* im frühbyzantinischen Ägypten. Wie aus den Paralleltexten ersichtlich wird, hat der Hypodekt teilweise Naturallieferungen in Empfang genommen, teilweise Zahlungen in Gold. In den Papyri sind bislang drei mögliche Titulaturen des Hypodekten bezeugt: Er wird entweder als ὑποδέκτης ἀννωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπων Μαύρων,⁷ als ὑποδέκτης ἀννωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπων Μαύρων καὶ χρυσοῦ κανονικῶν⁸ oder, wie auch im vorliegenden Text, als ὑποδέκτης ἀννωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπων Μαύρων καὶ χρυσοῦ κανονικῶν τίτλων σὺν τιρώνων bezeichnet.⁹

Die beiden im Text namentlich genannten Personen tragen Namen, die im 5. Jh. im Hermopolites recht verbreitet waren; eine Identifizierung mit bereits bekannten Personen wäre aus Ermangelung weiterer Hinweise reine Vermutung.

1	†
2	Ἵποδέκτης ἀννωνῶν [ἐπὶ]
3	τόπων Μαύρων καὶ χρυσοῦ]
4	κανονικῶν τίτλων
5	σὺν τιρώνων δευτέρα
6	ἰνδικτίονος ὀνόματος
7	Σερῆνος Ἀχιλλεὺς
8	δι(ὰ) Φο[ιβ]άμμων(ος) χρυ[σοχόου ?]
9	[δέδωκα]ς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς
10	[β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ κ]ε[ράτι]α
11	[(Zahl) γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κ]ε[ρ(άτια) ι. μόν]α.
12	[(Name) διαστο]λεὺς
13	....

⁴ S. BGU XII 2167 Anm. zu Z. 2.

⁵ In BGU XX 2145, Z. 2-3 muß es heißen: [Ἵποδ(έκτης) ἀννωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπ(ων) Μαύρων καὶ χρυσοῦ | [κανονικῶν τί]τλων σὺν τι[ρώ]νων etc. Ich hatte Gelegenheit, diese Lesung an einer Xerokopie einer Photographie des Textes zu überprüfen, welche H. Poethke mir dankenswerterweise zugesandt hat; m. E. ist der erste erhaltene Buchstabe von Z. 3 eindeutig ein τ. Dementsprechend muß in BGU XII 2167 in den Z. 2-3 wie folgt ergänzt werden: Ἵποδ(έκτης) ἀν[νωνῶν] ἐπὶ τόπ(ων) Μαύρων καὶ [χρυσοῦ κανονικῶν | τίτλων] σὺν τιρώνων etc.; ebenso in den Z. 9-10: Ἵποδέκ(της) ἀν[νωνῶν] ἐπὶ τόπ(ων) Μαύρων[ν καὶ χρυσοῦ] | κανονικῶν τί]τλων σὺν τιρώνων etc.

⁶ Vgl. dazu den Kommentar zu den Z. 3-5.

⁷ S. BGU XII 2144; PSI I 44; SB XII 10902; 10903.

⁸ S. BGU XII 2171.

⁹ S. BGU XII 2145; 2167.

5 scl. χρυσῶ 71. Σερήνου Ἀχιλλέως 9 in den Paralleltexten immer δέδωκες 13 vielleicht συμφ(ωνῶ) oder σεσημ(είωμαι)

Übersetzung

'Der Hypodekt der für den hiesigen Ort bestimmten *annonae* der Mauren sowie des Goldes der *tituli canonici* einschließlich des *aurum tironicum* für die zweite Indiktion, auf den Namen des Serenos, Sohn des Achilleus, vertreten durch den Goldschmied(?) Phoibammon: Du hast bezahlt für dieselbe zweite Indiktion x Keratien Gold; das macht x Keratien Gold und sonst nichts (Unterzeichnet durch einen Diastoleus).'

Z. 2f. Die Wendung ἐπὶ τόπων als Teil der Titulatur eines Hypodekten ist auch in anderen Texten anzutreffen; vgl. SPP XX 92: ὑποδέκτης ἐπὶ τόπων ἐβδόμης ἰνδικτίονος; P.Char. 17: ὑποδέκτης οἴνου ἐπὶ τόπων (wohl auch in BGU XIII 2296 zu ergänzen); SB XII 12167 (= P.Erl. 52): ὑποδέκται τοῦ νομοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τόπων χορηγίας. Die Titulaturen der mit der Einhebung der *annona militaris* betrauten Steuerbeamten wurden oftmals nach dem Schema "was und für wen?" gebildet, d.h. sie gaben das jeweils zu erhebende Steuergut an sowie den Erfüllungsort, für den dieses Steuergut bestimmt war;¹⁰ der Erhebungsort wurde dagegen nur selten erwähnt. Die vorliegende Titulatur des Hypodekten dürfte ebenfalls nach diesem Schema gebildet worden sein; da allerdings in diesem Fall der Erfüllungsort mit dem Erhebungsort identisch war, konnte die Angabe des Namens des Erfüllungsortes (Hermopolites) durch die Wendung ἐπὶ τόπων ersetzt werden. Zur *annona militaris* vgl. D. van Berchem, 'L'annone militaire dans l'Empire romain au III^e siècle', *Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 8. série, 10, 1937, 117-202; A. Segrè, *Byzantion* 16, 1942-43, 393-444.

Z. 3 Die Mauren sind für die Zeit vom Jahr 340 an bis zum Anfang des 6. Jh. als Garnisonstruppe von Hermupolis nachweisbar; vgl. auch die Nennung eines *cuneus equitum scutariorum* als Besatzung von Hermupolis in der *Not.dign.Or.* XXXI 24. Ein Text vom 2. Dez. 538 belegt, daß die Truppe zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht mehr in Hermupolis lag.¹¹ Von etwa 548 an erscheinen die *Numidae Iustiniani* als Besatzung von Hermupolis; diese Truppe scheint im Zuge einer Neuordnung des Militärwesens ganz Ägyptens durch Justinian hierher verlegt worden zu sein.¹² Im folgenden eine Liste der Erwähnungen der Mauren im besagten Zeitraum:¹³

Publikation	Datierung	Bezeichnung der Mauren
BGU I 21	340	οἱ Μαῦροι
P.Charit. 7 (=P.Cair.Preis. 39)	347	οὐξιλλατίων Μαύρων σκουταρίων τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλμισιανὸν πραιπόσιτον διακειμένων ἐν τῇ Ἐρμοῦ πόλει
P.Charit. 6	347/8	οἱ Μαῦροι σκουτάριοι οἱ διακείμενοι ὑπὸ Ἀλμισιανὸν πραιπόσιτον

¹⁰ Vgl. etwa solche Titulaturen wie diejenige des ἐπιμελητῆς ἀχύρου Βαβυλῶνος (O.Mich. I 187) oder diejenige des im 4. und 5. Jh. oftmals bezeugten ἐπιμελητῆς σίτου Ἀλεξανδρείας.

¹¹ SB XVI 12488 (= P.Lond. III 998descr.+999), Z. 5: τοῦ πρότερον ἐν Ἐρμοῦ πόλει ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Μαύρων.

¹² Vgl. R. Rémondon, 'Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou', *Rech.Pap.* 1, 1961, 82 und BGU XII 2197 Einl. S. 115.

¹³ Vgl. auch P.Lond. III 1254: Μαύροις (4.Jh.); BGU XII 2137: νούμερος Μαύρων Λύκων πόλεως (426); P.Haun. II 26: τὸ κάστρον τῶν Μαύρων (6./7. Jh.); vgl. auch die Liste bei E. Wipszycka, 'Les reŕus d'impôts et le bureau des comptes des pagarchies aux VI^e-VII^e siècles', *JJP* 16-17, 1971, 106.

P.Charit. 8 (=SPP XX 98)	348	οἱ Μαῦροι σκουτάριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἐρμοῦ πόλει διακείμενοι ὑπὸ Ἀλμεσιανὸν πραιπόσιτον
P.Herm. 37	4.Jh.	οἱ ἐν Ἐρμοῦ πόλει γενναιότατοι Μαῦροι
P.Berl.Zill. 5	417	νούμερος Μαύρων τῆς Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως ¹⁴
BGU XII 2138	430	νούμερος Μαύρων Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως
BGU XII 2139	432	οἱ ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἐρμοῦ πόλει διακείμενοι γενναιότατοι Μαῦροι σκουτάριοι
BGU XII 2140	432	νούμερος Μαύρων (τῆς Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως?) ¹⁵
BGU XII 2141	446	οἱ ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἐρμοῦ πόλει διακείμενοι γενναιότατοι Μαῦροι
BGU XII 2146	457	οἱ ἐν Ἐρμοῦ πόλει Μαῦροι
P.Coll.Youtie II 89	485	ἀριθμὸς Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
BGU XII 2160	488	ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων
SB VIII 9776	496 ¹⁶	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
Μνήμη Γεωργίου 'Α. Πετροπούλου ¹⁷ (= P.Lond. III 869)	Ende 5. Jh./ Anf. 6.Jh. ¹⁸	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων καὶ καθωσιομένων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
P.Herm. 79	500 ¹⁹	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν
P.Amst. I 45	501	οἱ γενναιότατοι Μαῦροι
SB XVI 12864	506	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
P.Lond. III 1313	507	ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων

¹⁴ Zur Lesung der Z. 15 vgl. BL VIII, S. 64.

¹⁵ Vgl. BGU XII 2140, Anm. zu Z. 5.

¹⁶ Zur Datierung vgl. BL VII, S. 214.

¹⁷ S. Γ. Μ. Παράσσογλου, "Ἐνοικιαστήριο ἔγγραφο ἀπὸ τῆ βυζαντινῆ Αἴγυπτο", in: Μνήμη Γεωργίου 'Α. Πετροπούλου II (Athen 1984) 203-206.

¹⁸ Als Datierung kommen für dieses Dokument die Jahre 473, 488 und 518 in Frage; s. Παράσσογλου, a.a.O. 205 Anm. zu Z. 1.

¹⁹ Zur Datierung vgl. BL V, S. 46.

PSI IV 296	520	οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένοι γενναιοτάτοι Μαῦροι ²⁰
P.Stras. VI 579	521	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
P.Cair.Masp. I 67091 528(?)		ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ
SB XVI 12488	538	ὁ πρότερον ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ἀριθμὸς τῶν Μαύρων
P.Prag. I 42	Anf. 6. Jh.	ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων
P.Herm. 66	6.Jh.	ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων

Diese Liste verdeutlicht, daß im Laufe der etwa zweihundert Jahre, während derer die Mauren in Hermupolis stationiert gewesen sind, die Bezeichnung der Einheit einer mehrfachen Änderung unterworfen war; dabei lassen sich grob vier Phasen unterscheiden: Zunächst, d.h. um die Mitte des 4. Jh., heißt die Truppe οἱ Μαῦροι σκουτάριοι; sodann, zu Beginn des 5. Jh., νούμερος τῶν Μαύρων; wenig später, im zweiten Drittel des 5. Jh., οἱ ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἑρμοῦ πόλει διακείμενοι γενναιοτάτοι Μαῦροι; und vom ausgehenden 5. Jh. an bis ins 6. Jh. hinein ἀριθμὸς τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μαύρων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καθιδρυμένων o.ä. Ob mit dem Wechsel in der Bezeichnung auch bestimmte, die Truppe betreffende administrative Akte verbunden waren, ist fraglich. Besondere Beachtung verdient allerdings die letztgenannte Bezeichnung der Mauren. Das Verb καθιδρύειν bedeutet eigentlich "placieren" bzw. "errichten"; eine Parallele für eine Verwendung des Verbs zur Benennung einer militärischen Einheit wie im vorliegenden Fall ist, so weit ich sehe, nicht bekannt. Es könnte vermutet werden, daß der Wechsel von Μαῦροι διακείμενοι zu Μαῦροι καθιδρυμένοι durch bauliche Maßnahmen, etwa die Errichtung eines neuen, festen Standlagers, die ungewöhnliche Bezeichnung der Truppe veranlaßt hat. Denkbar ist aber auch, daß καθιδρύειν an dieser Stelle die Bedeutung "stationieren" hat, vergleichbar den in diesem Sinn verwendeten Verben ἰδρύειν und ἐνιδρύειν.²¹ Zur Bezeichnung ἀριθμὸς τῶν Μαύρων vgl. J. Maspero, *L'organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris 1912, 47-48 und R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin 1920, 272-274; zur Besetzung von Hermupolis in byzantinischer Zeit vgl. Maspero, a.a.O. 142-143. Zu den Mauren als Auxiliereinheit im 3. Jh. vgl. M. Speidel, 'The Rise of Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army, III: The Example of the Mauri', *ANRW II*, 3, 208-221; weitere Literatur ebda. S. 231.

Z. 3f. Vergleichbare Titulaturen von Hypodekten erscheinen in folgenden Texten: P.Flor. I 95; SB X 10568; XIV 12215 (ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ); P.Leip. 87 (ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ βουρδώνων καὶ πριμιπίλου); P.Oxy. XVI 1919 (χρυσώνης καὶ ὑποδέκτης τῶν κανονικῶν δημοσίων); vgl. auch P.Flor. I 11 (χρυσουποδέκτης), SPP XX 143 (ὑποδέκτης λαργιτιωναλικῶν καὶ δεσποτικῶν προσόδων) und P.Oxy. I 149

²⁰ Zur Ergänzung in Z. 3 vgl. BL VII, S. 234.

²¹ In BGU I 316 wird eine Einheit als οὐξελλατιῶν ἰπέων καταφρακταρίων εἰδρυμένων τὰ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλει bezeichnet; die Stationierung der *Numidae Iustiniani* in Hermupolis wird in P.Lond. V 1663 und SB V 8028 beschrieben mit den Worten: ἐνιδρῦσθαι τῇ Ἑρμοπολιτῶν πόλει ἀριθμὸν τῶν εὐκαθοσιώτων Νουμιδῶν Ἰουστινιανῶν.

(ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν κανονικῶν).²² Zu den κανονικοὶ τίτλοι vgl. etwa P.Cair.Masp. I 67033-67035, 67037-67039, 67041-67043 sowie P.Lond. V 1664: Bei diesen Texten handelt es sich um Quittungen, in denen verschiedene ἔθνικοι χρυσῶναι den Einwohnern von κώμη Ἀφροδίτης (Antaiopolites) den Empfang von Zahlungen in Gold bestätigen; die Zahlungen erfolgten jeweils vermittelt eines Hypodekten, und zwar εἰς λόγον κανονικῶν καὶ (παντοίων) χρυσικῶν τίτλων (καὶ ἀννωνιακῶν εἰδῶν) bzw. εἰς λόγον κανονικῶν. Was unter den κανονικοὶ τίτλοι genau zu verstehen ist, kann angesichts der bislang recht dürftigen Quellenlage nur ansatzweise geklärt werden. Wie BGU XII 2168 zeigt, konnten die χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι den ἀννωνιακὰ εἶδη (*species annonariae*) gegenübergestellt werden. Zugleich konnten aber auch beide Steuerarten als *tituli* bezeichnet werden: καὶ χρυσικοῖς καὶ ναύλοις καὶ παντοίοις ἀννωνιακοῖς τίτλοις (P.Mich. XIII 667). Die χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι werden v.a. in Landpacht- bzw. Landkaufverträgen sowie in Anträgen auf Steuererleichterung anlässlich des Besitzerwechsels eines Grundstücks (ἐπιστάλματα τοῦ σωματισμοῦ) unter den auf dem betreffenden Grundstück lastenden Steuern erwähnt; neben den bereits erwähnten Texten BGU XII 2168 und P.Mich. XIII 667 sind das P.Cair.Masp. I 67097 (Z. 39-40: ἔν τε σίτω ἐμβολῆς καὶ ναύλοις καὶ χρυσικοῖς παντοίοις δημοσίοις τίτλοις), II 67169 (Z. 4-5: ἀννωνιακῶν καὶ παντοίων χρυσικῶν τίτλων; vgl. Z. 19), P.Lond. V 1686 (Z. 25-26: παντοίων χρυσικῶν τίτλων καὶ διαγραφῶν καὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς); P.Michael. 52 (Z. 16:]η τε τίτλων ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ κ[αρπῶν κτλ.); P.Oxy. XVI 1887 (Z. 10: καὶ ὑπὲρ] χρυσικῶν παντοίων αὐτῶν τίτλων); 1907 (Z. 7: ὑπὲρ χρυσικῶν δημοσίων ἐκάστου τίτλου); SB XIV 12133 (= P.Herm. 67; Z. 9: τῶν χρυσικῶν τίτλων).²³ Anscheinend bezeichnete der Terminus τίτλος keine bestimmte Steuer, sondern stand ganz allgemein für "Steuertitel".²⁴ Dafür sprechen auch solche Wendungen wie τὸ κατὰ τίτλον oder ἕκαστος τίτλος (SB XVI 12324).²⁵ In dieser Weise konnten verschiedene Abgaben in einer Gruppe zusammengefaßt und gemeinsam veranlagt werden, wobei offenbar zumeist die Art der vorgesehenen Zahlung das entscheidende Kriterium für die Zugehörigkeit einer einzelnen Steuer bildete: Zahlung in Gold (χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι), in Silber (ἀργυρικοὶ τίτλοι) oder in Naturalien (ἀννωνιακοὶ τίτλοι). Als weiteres Ordnungskriterium konnte gelten, ob die Steuer Teil des *canon* war oder nicht; so werden in einigen der oben erwähnten Texte die κανονικοὶ τίτλοι anderen χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι gegenübergestellt. Nach der Formulierung der Titulatur in der vorliegenden Hypodektenquittung zu schließen (Z. 3-5: χρυσοῦ κανονικῶν τίτλων σὺν τιρώνων), gehörte das *aurum tironicum* nicht zu den "kanonischen" Steuern. Die χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι erscheinen hauptsächlich in Texten aus dem späten 4. sowie dem 5. Jh. Im 4. Jh. sind dagegen mehrfach ἀργυρικοὶ τίτλοι belegt: P.Stras. V 337; SB XIV 11702; SB XVI 12824(= SPP XX 93).²⁶ Das Nebeneinander von *annona* und *canon*, wie es in der Titulatur des Hypodekten vorliegt, ist in Texten aus dem 5. bis 7. Jh. mehrfach anzutreffen; so erfolgen Zahlungen εἰς λόγον δημοσίων ἀννωνῶν (bzw. ἀννωνικῶν) καὶ κανονικῶν (CPR VII 29; XIV 18; P.Herm. 41; P.Lond. V 1758; SB XII 10904, 10905), εἰς λόγον κανονικῶν καὶ παντοίων χρυσικῶν τίτλων καὶ ἀννωνιακῶν εἰδῶν (P.Cair.Masp. I 67038-67039), εἰς λόγον ἀννωνῶν καὶ παντοίων κἀνονος (P.Cair.Masp. I 67043), δημοσίου ἀννωνῶν καὶ κανονικῶν (SB XIV 11377), ὑπὲρ κανονικῶν καὶ ἀννωνιακῶν εἰδῶν (P.Haup. III 64), δημοσίων εἴτε κανονικῶν τίτλων εἴτε ἀννωνῶν (PSI I 43) oder εἰς λόγον ἐμβολῆς

²² Vgl. auch die ὑποδέκται χρυσοῦ τιρώνων in Anm. zu Z. 5.

²³ Daneben sind auch je einmal ἀρκαρικοὶ τίτλοι (P.Oxy. XVI 2020) sowie διάφοροι τίτλοι (CPR VIII 54) belegt.

²⁴ Vgl. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. 1) Steuertitel, Steuergattung, Steuergruppe.

²⁵ Vgl. auch P.Lond. V 1674, Z. 48: παντὶ δημοσίῳ τίτλῳ; P.Cair.Masp. II 67169, Z. 2: παντὸς χρυσικοῦ τίτλου.

²⁶ Ein Beleg aus dem 6. Jh. stellt P.Cair.Masp. I 67055, Kol. I, Z. 24 dar.

ἀννωνῶν καὶ κανονικῶν (P.Lond. V 1760).²⁷ Daß diese Unterscheidung im wesentlichen bereits im Jahr 303 bestand, zeigt P.Oxy. I 71 (Kol. II Z. 6-7: κανονικοὺς δὴ λέγω φόρους καὶ στρατιωτικὰς εὐθενίας). Zum Begriff *canon* vgl. L. Wenger, 'Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri', (*Sb. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 220, 2) Wien 1942; zu den κανονικά vgl. A.Ch. Johnson - L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton 1949, 309-310; zu den ἀργυρικοὶ τίτλοι ebda. 301; zu den *tituli* vgl. R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata*, Rome 1989, 239-274.

Z. 5 Für die Einhebung des *aurum tironicum* scheinen im Hermopolites bereits gegen Ende des 4. Jh. besonders Hypodekten verantwortlich gewesen zu sein. Zumindest erscheinen ὑποδέκται χρυσοῦ τρώνων in P.Leip. 34 Verso (373) und 62 (384-385); bei dem letztgenannten Dokument handelt es sich um eine Sammelquittung, mit welcher zwei χρυσῶναι ἐπαρχείας Θηβαίδος einem Hypodekten die Ablieferung von größeren Mengen Goldes bestätigen. Als untergeordnete Beamte werden in diesem Text *exactores* genannt. Des weiteren sei auf P.Ross.Georg. III 29-30 (389) verwiesen, eine eidliche Erklärung, in der ein ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ λόγου [τρονῶν] versichert, einem χρυσῶνης das von ihm eingehobene Gold ausgehändigt zu haben. Daß daneben aber auch andere Beamte in die Verwaltung der Erhebung des *aurum tironicum* involviert waren, zeigen die Texte P.Leip. 61 (375), in dem der Chrysones einem *officialis* aus dem Büro des *praeses Thebaidis* den Erhalt von *aurum tironicum* quittiert, sowie der bereits erwähnte P.Leip. 34 Verso, in dem ein ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ τρώνων einem Statthalter bestätigt, von einem *officialis* eine Goldzahlung in Empfang genommen zu haben. In einem Text aus dem Antinoopolites werden ebenfalls *officiales* mit der Steuer in Verbindung gebracht: ὄφφ(ικιαλίους) ἐ[λθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσίον] τρώνων καὶ β[ουρδῶνων] (P.Ant. I 33, Z. 22-23). In O.Bodl. II 2066 quittiert ein ἐξάκτωρ u. a. den Erhalt von *aurum tironicum*. Das *aurum tironicum* begegnet in den Codices von der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jh. an bis nach der Mitte des 5. Jh.; auch die sicher datierbaren papyrologischen Belege fallen in diesen Zeitraum. Danach scheint die Steuer nicht mehr erhoben worden zu sein.²⁸ Fraglich ist, ob der Hypodekt das Geld an die Staatskasse weiterleitete (vgl. P.Leip. 62; P.Ross.Georg. III 29-30), oder ob die Rekrutierung am Ort erfolgen und folglich das Gold einem Rekruten direkt ausgehändigt werden sollte; für ein derartiges Verfahren vgl. Wilck.Chr. 466 (= P.Lond. III 953), wo ein Epimelet einem Rekruten in Anwesenheit eines ἐπιμελητῆς τρώνων 30 *solidi* auszahlt. Zum *aurum tironicum* im allgemeinen s. Segrè, a.a.O. 422-424; Johnson - West, a.a.O. 304; Karayannopoulos, a.a.O. 119-123; J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse*, Bruxelles 1964, 205; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1973, 615-616; Delmaire, a.a.O. 321-329.

Z. 8f. Χρυσοχόοι treten in byzantinischer Zeit bei der Ausführung von Zahlungen in Gold öfters als stellvertretende Zahler auf; vgl. etwa P.Flor. III 297, Z. 83, 126(?), 164; P.Ness. III 90, Kol. II Z. 60; P.Oxy. I 132, Z. 7; P.Ross.Georg. V 61 A, Z. 9; PSI VIII 959, Z. 13; P.Wash.Univ. I 54, Z. 4. Eine andere Ergänzung dieser Zeilen, etwa χρυ[σοῦ] | κεράτια ι]ς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς | [β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) etc., würde eine ungewöhnliche Abweichung vom gängigen Formular bedeuten und erscheint mir daher unmöglich.

Z. 11 Die Angabe über den Betrag der von Serenos gezahlten Summe ist verloren gegangen. Bei dem senkrechten Strich, der auf κερ() folgt, könnte es sich um den unteren Teil eines ι handeln. Dahinter ist noch genügend Raum für einen zweiten Buchstaben, so daß vielleicht irgendeine Zahl zwischen 11 und 19 zu ergänzen ist; allerdings ist dies nicht mehr als eine bloße Vermutung.

²⁷ Vgl. auch P.Cair.Masp. I 67057-67058; P.Flor. III 297, Kol. IV^v 2, Z. 462-463; 377, Z. 14-15.

²⁸ S. Johnson - West, a.a.O. 218; J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*, München 1985, 121.

Z. 12f. Von der Unterschrift in den beiden letzten Zeilen des Textes ist nur wenig erhalten. Die Buchstaben λευς am Ende von Z. 12 sind recht sicher. In den beiden Paralleltextrn SB XII 10902 und 10903, in denen ebenfalls Goldzahlungen quittiert werden, tritt ein διαστολεύς als Unterzeichner der Quittung auf, und eine dementsprechende Ergänzung halte ich auch im vorliegenden Text für plausibel. Die διαστολεῖς gehörten wohl dem Rechnungsbüro des Pagarchen an.²⁹ Das zugehörige Verb in der Unterzeichnung ist bislang immer συμφωνῶ, doch erlauben die Reste in der letzten Zeile keine sichere Lesung.

²⁹ Vgl. Wipszycka, a.a.O. 105-116; vgl. ebda. die beiden Quittungen, in denen διαστολεῖς Zahlungen εἰς λόγον δημοσίων ἀννωνῶν καὶ κανονικῶν bestätigen (=SB XII 10904 und 10905). Zum διαστολεύς vgl. Tyche 4, 1989, 87-90 sowie für das 3. und 4. Jh. P.Heid. IV 308, S. 111-116 (mit einer Liste aller Testimonien).

P.COL. VIII 242: CARANIS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

John R. Rea

Plate 17

What makes this papyrus so interesting is the fact that it is a document from very late in the history of Caranis, quite possibly the latest. We have to be careful not to say that it is the latest document *from* Caranis, because the provenance is not known and the wording of the text may suggest that it could have been written from Caranis to some other place, as the editor's cautious 'Arsinoite' recognizes. There is much evidence of the struggles of the Fayum villages to survive even in the middle of the fourth century, cf. P.Turner 44 introd., and although the excavations at Caranis revealed coins from as late as the reign of Marcian (AD 450 - 457), see A.E.R. Boak, E.E. Petersen, *Karanis. (Topographical and Architectural Report of the Excavations During the Seasons 1924 - 1928)* p. 5, until recently papyrus documents have not been available to add detail for so late a date. The documents of P.Col. VII showed that Caranis was still functioning reasonably well in the second half of the fourth century, and the latest document was SB XIV 12109 of AD 377 until P.Haun. III 58, a dated document of AD 439, showed that the village was still surviving in the first half of the fifth century. That it is a sworn declaration about water rights is highly relevant to the root cause of the eventual extinction of the Fayum villages, desertification, cf. R.S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 96 n. 28.

Now P.Col. VIII 242, a letter in the *transversa charta* format characteristic of the late Byzantine period which cannot be earlier than the fifth century, tells a story of violent resistance by villagers to the sender's attempt to extract tax-money from them and to the police who try to enforce the collection.

Unfortunately the writer's spelling is full of iotacisms and other forms of phonetic error, which make it more difficult than usual to understand, although they are of types which are well known and documented in the grammars. His Greek is fairly normal for its period and its level, which is that of the local town and the village. The grammar would be considered poor by classical standards, but there is nothing which is not well paralleled in the handbooks of the Koine. The difficulties of understanding are chiefly caused by the orthography, but damage too has contributed to them, although the writing is unhurried and, where undamaged, easily legible.

In the new version presented here a fairly clear situation emerges. The sender is an official charged with collecting money taxes due from Caranis. He reports his difficulties to a colleague, who is already aware of the unwillingness of the villagers to occupy their village and pay their taxes to the emperor (2-3). On the day before the letter was written one man was brought by the sender before a *κεφαλαιωτής* of the village to have money extracted from him (3-4). He behaved insultingly and tried to attack the tax collector, but with the help of a peace officer (*εἰρήναρχος*) and 'the other public service official', whom I think most likely to be the collector's own colleague rather than another village official, the money was extracted from him (4-6). However, the victim collected a gang and tried, allegedly, to murder the peace officer (6-8). The collector says that this was intended to make it possible for the villagers to escape responsibility for *μερισμός* or anything else' (8-9). In this context *μερισμός* is probably a fairly general term for a village's tax share, see 8 n. On the day the letter was written the sender and his companion or companions sat doing nothing, and no one approached them, neither the peace officer or anyone else, because of the treatment which they had suffered on the previous day (9-10). Clearly the tax collector was dependent on the coercive powers of the local policemen and the situation had reached the point where these felt themselves in more immediate danger from the villagers than from the power of the state.

In a way this reflects what might be considered a very normal situation in a Fayum village. We can compare the episode of violence, arson, and resistance to the demands of the state revealed in *W.Chr.* 382, a document of AD 359 from Philadelphia, with which Wilcken compares other events illustrated in documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods from the Fayum. Perhaps, however, we can believe that οὐκ εἰσι πρὸς τῷ οἰκῆσαι τὴν αὐτῶν κώμην, 'they are not concerned to inhabit their village' (2-3), represents a more desperate situation than what is indicated by τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης φυγῆ χρησαμένων, 'while the inhabitants of the village had resorted to flight', i.e. temporarily, in *W.Chr.* 382. 14-15 (with BL III 15, s.v. 909).

First the text, with a normalized version and a translation, as published.

π(αρά)

κὲ πρίν με γράψε οὐκ ἀγνοεῖσαι εἰ θαυμασιότης ὅς ὅτι οὐκ ἠ[τ]ήθη ἀπὸ Καρανίδος
 πρὸς τὸ οἰκίσει
 αὐτὸν τὴν κόμην οὔτε μὴν [. . .] εσε τῷ Βασηλῆ κὲ γ[ἀ]ρ ἐ[ν] τῇ ἐχ]θὲς ρίφθεις μοι η [.] [.]
 παρὰ τῷ κεφαλωτῆ πρὸς μεθοδῖαν φανεροῦ κέρματος το[ῦ]τον ζητήσ[ας]
 μεθο[δεῦσαι] περιερό'ν'-
 χασεν μοι κὲ ἐβουλ[ήθη] μοι ἐπελθῖν c 17 δ . . τὸν ἐρ[ίν]αρχο[ν] καὶ τὸν ἄλλο'ν'
 λιτουργῶ[ν] τοῦτον ἐδυνάθην μεθοδεῦσε τ[ο]ῦ κυδαδιτινος ἔνεκεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκίνος
 συνάξας αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαφέρεροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν το εἰρινάρχῳ τοῦτον
 μέλον
 ἀνελῖν πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο γ[.] ἰγνομένου τοῦ λυποῦ μίτε μερισμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι
 ἀπόκρη-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν· κὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σήμερον οὔτ' εἰρινάρχος οὔτε ἄλλος τις εἶλθε πρὸς
 με δι' ὃ ἐπά-
 θαμεν τῇ ἐχθὲς ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὔτο καθ[ιζ]όμεθα μιδὲν πόλεμον ποιο[ῦ]ντες.

Normalized Text

π(αρά)

καὶ πρίν με γράψαι οὐκ ἀγνοήσει ἡ <σῆ> θαυμασιότης ὡς ὅτι οὐκ ἠ[τ]ήθη ἀπὸ
 Καρανίδος πρὸς τὸ οἰκίσαι
 αὐτὸν τὴν κώμην οὔτε μὴν [. . .] εσαι τῷ Βασιλεῖ. καὶ γ[ἀ]ρ ἐ[ν] τῇ ἐχ]θὲς ρίφθεις
 μοι η [.] [.]
 παρὰ τῷ κεφαλαιωτῆ πρὸς μεθοδῖαν φανεροῦ κέρματος το[ῦ]τον ζητήσ[ας]
 μεθο[δεῦσαι] περιερόγ-
 χασεν μοι καὶ ἐβουλ[ήθη] μοι ἐπελθεῖν c 17 δ . . τὸν εἰρ[ή]ν[α]ρχο[ν] καὶ τὸν
 ἄλλο'ν'

λειτουργὸ[ν] τοῦτον ἐδυνήθην μεθοδεῦσαι τ[ο]ῦ κυδαδιτινος ἔνεκεν. ὁ αὐτὸς
 ἐκεῖνος
 συνάξας αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαφέροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν τῷ εἰρηναρχῷ τοῦτον
 μέλλων
 ἀνελεῖν πρὸς τὸ τούτου γ[]ιγνομένου τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε μερισμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι
 ἀπόκρι-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σήμερον οὔτ' εἰρηναρχος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἦλθε
 πρὸς με δι' ὃ ἐπά-
 θομεν τῇ ἐχθρῆς ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὕτω καθ[ι]ζόμεθα μηδὲν πόλεμον ποιοῦντες.

Even before my writing, your wondrousness will not be unaware that there was no request from Karanis for the purpose of his settling the village, nor indeed ... to Basilios. For yesterday, having been cast out ... to the kephalaiotes for collecting a certain sum of money, seeking to go after him, he mocked me and wished to attack me ... I was able to go after the eirenarch and the other liturgist, on account of the ... The very same man, gathering the members of his household, laid siege to the eirenarch, intending to kill him so that if this occurred they would from then on pay neither merismos nor any other payment. For today neither an eirenarch nor anyone else has come to me because of what we experienced yesterday, but so we just sit here not making war at all.

Now a new version based on photographs kindly supplied by Professor Bagnall:

π(αρά).

κὲ πρίν με γράψε οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ σοι εἰ θαυμασιότης ὅς ὅτι οὐκ ἤχη οἱ ἀπὸ Καρανίδος
 πρὸς τῷ οἰκίσει
 αὐτῶν τὴν κόμιν οὔτε μὴν τ[ε]λέσει τῷ βασηλῆ. κὲ γὰρ ἐ[ν τῇ ἐχ]θρῆς ριφθίς μοι ἦν []
 [4-6]
 παρὰ τῷ κεφαλεωτῆ πρὸς μεθοδίαν φανεροῦ κέρματος. το[ῦ]τον ζητήσα[ς]
 μεθοδ[εῦσαι] περιερόν'-
 χασέν μοι κὲ ἐβουλ[ίθ]ι μοι ἐπελθὶν συνενεῦ... []... καὶ δ[ι]ὰ τὸν εἰ[ρήν]αρχον καὶ
 τὸν ἄλλο'ν'
 λειτουργὸν τοῦτον ἐδυνήθην μεθοδεῦσαι. οὐκ ἴδα δὲ τίνος ἔνεκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος
 συνάξας αὐτοῦ τὸς διαφέρ[ε]ροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν τῷ εἰρηναρχῷ τοῦτον
 μέλλον
 ἀνελεῖν πρὸς τὸ τούτο(ν) γ[]ιγνομένου τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε μερισμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι
 ἀπόκρι-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν. κὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σήμερον οὔτ' εἰρηναρχος οὔτε ἄλλος τις εἶλθε πρὸς
 με δι' ὃ ἐπα-
 θαν ἐν τῇ ἐχθρῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὕτω καθ[ι]ζόμεθα μηδὲν ποιοῦντες.

Normalized Text:

π(αρά).

καὶ πρίν με γράψαι οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ σου ἡ θαυμασιότης ὡς ὅτι οὐκ εἶσι οἱ ἀπὸ
Καρανίδος πρὸς τῷ οἰκῆσαι

αὐτῶν τὴν κώμην οὔτε μὴν τελέσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐχθρῆς ῥιφθεῖς μοι ἦν (ὁ
δεῖνα)

παρὰ τῷ κεφαλαιωτῇ πρὸς μεθοδίαν φανεροῦ κέρματος. τοῦτον ζητήσας
μεθοδεῦσαι περιεργό-

χασέν μοι καὶ ἐβουλήθη μοι ἐπελθεῖν ... καὶ διὰ τὸν εἰρήναρχον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον
λειτουργὸν τοῦτον ἐδυνήθη μεθοδεῦσαι. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τίνος ἕνεκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος
συνάξας αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαφέροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν τῷ εἰρηναρχῷ, τοῦτον μέλλων
ἀνελεῖν πρὸς τὸ τούτου γιγνομένου τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε μερικμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι
ἀπόκρι-

σιν αὐτοῦς ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σήμερον οὐτ' εἰρηναρχος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἦλθε
πρὸς μὲ δι' ὃ ἔπα-

θαν ἐν τῇ ἐχθρῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὕτω καθιζόμεθα, μηδὲν ... ποιοῦντες.

'Even before I write your Worship is not unaware that the people from Caranis are not concerned to inhabit their village or indeed to pay their taxes to the Emperor. And in fact yesterday I had (so-and-so) flung before the headman for exaction of a certain sum of money. When I attempted to collect from this man, he snorted his contempt for me and wanted to attack me ... and thanks to the peace officer and the other service official I was able to collect from this one. Yet, I know not why, that same man gathered his adherents and laid siege to the peace officer, intending to kill him, so that, when this was done, they should not in future be answerable either for their tax share or for anything else. And in fact today neither peace officer nor anyone else has come to me because of the treatment which they suffered yesterday, but we simply sit as we are, not doing anything...'

2. κὲ (=καὶ) πρίν με γράψε (= -ψαι) οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ. More familiar is κἄν μὴ γράψω (or γράφω), cf. P.Vindob.Sal. 22.6-7 οἶδεν γὰρ σου ἡ τελιότης, κἄν μὴ γράψω, κτλ., with 7 n., citing P.Lund. II 4.19, P.Oxy. IX 1216.5-6, P.Vindob.Sijp. 27.7, BGU III 984 (= G. Ghedini, *Lettere* No. XXVIII = M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 55).11; add P.Fouad 86.8, P.Oxy XVI 1841.3, LVI 3866.2, P.Rein. II 116.4. These use οἶδα; for οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ see P.Oxy. XVI 1833.2]κ[ἄν] μὴ γράψω τῇ σῆ διαθ{c}έσι (= -σει), οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ κτλ. Cf. SB VI 9399.4-5 ἐπίστασαι γάρ, κἄν μὴ δηλώσω, κτλ.

σοι. This looks like the phonetic equivalent of σῆ, but no example of σῆ ἡ θαυμασιότης (or comparable abstract) has been discovered, although ἡ σῆ plus abstract is very common. Probably we should correct to σοῦ ἡ θαυμασιότης, cf. P.Vindob.Sal. 22.3 τὸ χαρτίον . . . ὃ ἔχε[ι] σου ἡ θαυμασιότης, P.Lond. V 1681.3 καταξιώσῃ σου ἡ θαυμασιότης τοῦτον ἀποδιώξαι, P.Strasb. VIII 800.3 θελήσῃ σου ἡ θα[υ]μασι[ότ]η[ς] κτλ.; similarly for σου τὴν θαυμασιότητα see P.Oxy. L 3584.11, SB V 7635.8-9.

Ed. pr.'s solution, ἄγνοεῖσοι = ἄγνοήσει, does not suit the usage, which has the present tense in such contexts, see above.

The honorific abstract θαυμασιότης generally indicates some official status at a modest level, see P.Oxy. LVI 3869. 14 n. on the corresponding adjective θαυμασιώτατος. It seems

clear that the letter is a business one, since it mentions only one topic. The addressee was probably professionally concerned in the same business of tax collecting and was probably the sender's superior.

ὅς ὅτι for ὡς ὅτι, which is fairly common, see P.Lund. II 5.3 n., cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*¹⁵ 326 (§396 Anm. 6).

ἦσεν οἱ = εἰσι οἱ; ἦ[τ]ῆθι for ἦ[τ]ῆθη ed. pr. The interpretation in ed.pr. is tortured in the extreme, while the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ Καρανίδος is perfectly normal. For εἶναι πρὸς τῷ plus infinitive, 'to be engaged in some activity, occupied with it', see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 350 (§861.4), cf. *LSJ* s.v. πρὸς, B II. The absence of movable *nu* is well paralleled, see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 114, although it occurs less often in the Byzantine period.

οἰκίσε = οἰκῆσαι; οἰκίσε = οἰκίσαι ed. pr. In the papyri οἰκίζω is practically unknown, although in one passage it seems to occur with much the same meaning as οἰκέω, but taking the dative: τοῦ[ς] οἰκίζοντασ τοῖς τόπο[ι]ς P.Oxy. XII 1469.8

3 αὐτον = αὐτῶν = αὐτόν ed. pr., with no useful sense, whereas 'to inhabit their village' seems convincing.

Ed. pr. read τῷ Βασηλῆ and corrected to Βασιλεῖ, but translated 'to Basilios'. It seems quite inevitable that βασιλεύς, 'emperor' was intended.

There is a possibility that the mention of 'the emperor' offers a *terminus post quem* for the date of the letter. Ed. pr. assigned it to the fifth century, probably rightly, and indeed such a letter - in *transversa charta* format and with the so-called π(αρά) in the top margin - seems unlikely to be earlier than the second half of the fifth century, cf. P.Oxy XVI 1831. 1 n. The reigns of the earlier part of the century, until the death of Valentinian III in AD 455, were all joint reigns, so that, if we can be confident that the writer would have said 'emperors' in a joint reign, this document is no earlier than AD 455 and is therefore the latest datable document giving information about Caranis. To put it another way: it would be later than P.Haun. III 58 of AD 439 and either contemporary with the latest coins from Caranis, which are from the reign of Marcian, AD 450 to 457, or later than them. Again we have to be careful not to say the latest document from Caranis, see introd. Unfortunately it is doubtful whether the writer would have been scrupulous enough to remember to include a Western emperor.

ῥιφθίς (= ῥιφθείς) μοι ἦν [.] [. For the periphrastic construction see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 306 para. d. For the sense, 'I had (someone) thrown before (an official)', cf. P.Fouad 85.12-13 ὑπέσχετο γὰρ ἡ παρασκευάσαι αὐτήν διαλύεσθαι ἢ ἐπεὶ (= ἐπὶ) τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ῥιφῆναι, 'For he vowed either that he would arrange for her to have a settlement or that the points in the case would be cast before the governor'. In that case the subject of the passive verb is not a person, but the parallel is near enough. In this case the missing subject must be the designation of a person, perhaps his name, perhaps a description of his status, perhaps simply ἐ[κεῖνος, with nothing in the small gap between this and ἦν, cf. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκείνος (6 = ἐκεῖνος); this would imply that the recipient knew the recalcitrant taxpayer already.

4 κεφαλεωτῆ (= κεφαλαιωτῆ). On the early fourth-century κεφαλαιωταί of Caranis see R.S. Bagnall, *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978) 49-54. Since the situation is not entirely clear, it seems best to quote his final sentence (pp. 53-54), 'If my conclusion is correct, the *kephalaiotai* occupy a somewhat more active role than that of transporting grain from the granary to the harbor. They probably had responsibility each for a number of contributors, both to ensure delivery by them of the required amount and its transportation to the harbor, and also to distribute the compensation received from the authorities back to the contributors. As such, they performed an important role in the middle stages of the process of requisitioning supplies.' In our case we find a κεφαλαιωτής helping to exact a sum of money from a villager, but his position as intermediary seems not dissimilar.

μεθοδίαν, μεθοδ[εῦσαι, with μεθοδεῦσαι again in 6. All these evidently refer to the same process of tax-collection, see *LSJ* s.vv., exercised on the same person, but ed. pr. separates μεθοδίαν, 'collecting', from μεθοδεῦσαι, 'go after', an unwarranted translation, and takes the verb to have a different subject in each case, first the κεφαλαιωτής, it seems, and then 'the eirenarch and the other liturgist'. These agents of the government are not the appropriate objects of the process, at least in most cases. Note P.Ryl. IV 659. 20-23 οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ ὁ πραιπόσιτος τοῦ πάγου τίνα χρῆ μεθοδεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς γῆς εὐσεβῶν εἰσφορῶν.

φανεροῦ κέρματος. See ed. pr. for φανερός meaning τις, in this case 'a certain sum of money', citing F. Preisigke, *WB* s.v.; see also *LSJ*, G.W.H. Lampe, *PGL*, E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* s.v.

4-5 ζητήσα[ς] . . . περιερόν'χασέν (= περιερόγγασέν) μοι. For the tendency of the nominative to predominate over the oblique cases of the participle see B.G. Mandilaras, op. cit. 357 (§879.1-3).

For the verb, known only from Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 694, see ed. pr. introd. It seems to be related to ῥέγκος or ῥέγχος, a noise made in the nose or the throat, in this case a sneer of some sort. It is worth noting that *rhonchus* is used in Latin to mean a sneer of criticism, or snort of contempt, see P.G.W. Glare, *OLD* s.v. *rhonchus* 1 b, citing especially Martial, IV 86.7 *ne rhonchos metues maligniorum*, cf. I 3.5. ῥόγγος in Greek is recorded by G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, from a work entitled *Diaboli Iesu Christo Contradictio* (ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* 4-10). In one version we find ὁ διάβολος . . . κύρει ῥόγγον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπειράτο πιάσαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν (p.7), in the other at the corresponding juncture βάλας ῥόγγον εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ (p.9) etc. Lampe translates 'deep breath', which suits the context in that the devil has just been discomfited and is again returning to the attack, trying to trap Christ, but it may well be that the real meaning was that he was adopting a sneering or contemptuous tone. In *LSJ* s.v. ῥωχμός B 'wheezing', ῥογγός is recorded as an equivalent from one passage of a medical writer of the fifth century AD.

5 ἐβουλ[ίθ]ι = ἐβουλήθη. ἐβουλ[ήθ]ι ed. pr., but the gap is not wide enough. Cf. ἐδυνήθην (6) = ἐδυνήθην.

συνευ. Not σὺν ἑτέροις; perhaps a name beginning with Εὐ-?

καί. This seems very suitable. Although κέ is the predominant form in this letter, καί is clear a few words later.

δ[ι]ᾶ seems very attractive, after which it may be that in the endings of the following nouns and adjectives -ον represents -ων, and that the agents were peace officers in the plural and liturgical officials in the plural, but doubt is cast on that by the singular peace officer who is threatened with murder below, and it is more likely that we should accept the singular accusatives and translate something like, 'thanks to the peace officer and the other liturgical official'. This means that ἄλλον would represent ἕτερον, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*¹⁵ 253 (§306.3). The liturgical official might be another villager but perhaps it is more likely that he was a colleague of the collector, who would hardly have come on such a venture alone, since his correspondent already knew the difficulties to be faced, cf. 2-3.

On the little that is known of the organization of the police in this period see P.Turner 42 introd. For a plurality of eirenarchs cf. P.Oxy LIV 3767.2: they are in fact ex-eirenarchs, but it looks as if they acted as a college in a village (they are called ἄγροικοι, 15) at the time of the theft which is under investigation.

6 Ed. pr. τ[ο]ῦ κυδαδιτινος ἔνεκεν, but the trace counted as τ is from the crossbar of the final epsilon of μεθοδεῦσε (= -σαι). For ὕδα = οἶδα see Gignac, *Grammar* i 201. The first

iota is really the top part of a damaged epsilon. For οὐκ οἶδα τίνοσ ἐνεκεν see SB VI 9239. 7-8, cf. P.Oxy. L 3584.8 [ο]ὐκ οἶδα δὲ τίνοσ χάριν.

7 κάθισμα ἐποίεισαν (= ἐποίησαν). No parallel has been found, but the suggestion of the ed. pr. that it means 'laid siege to' seems most attractive, cf. *obsessio*, περικάθισις. An alternative might be 'laid ambush for', cf. *insidiae*, ἐνέδρα.

8 In an earlier period the μερικμός might be the well known device of distributing the arrears of those taxpayers who cannot be made to pay because of their destitution or flight among taxpayers who remain, cf. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 105-106 (μερικμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων, on which see now also J.C. Shelton, P.Brookl. (Pap. Flor. XXII) 43 introd.), 504 (index: for the variety of similar taxes). The institutionalized unfairness of this system would be well calculated to provoke resistance such as this, but these individual taxes had disappeared by the date of this document and μερικμός is likely to be a general word for a villager's share of the global tax liability.

8-9 ἀπόκρισιν (= ἀπόκρισιν) . . . ποιεῖν. Cf. P.Oxy LIX 3985. 11-12 πρὸς τῶ (= τὸ) ἐν . . . τοῖσ δημοσίοισ ἀποκρίνασθαι . . . καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόκρισιν παρασχεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. 'Answering for' the public taxes of a village seems exactly parallel to the situation in P.Col. 242.

As for the grammar, μερικμόν and ἄλλο τι can be regarded as being in the 'accusative of respect'.

9-10 δι' ὃ ἔπαθαν ἐν τῇ ἐχθέσ: ἐπάθαμεν τῇ ἐχθέσ ed. pr., but cf. ἐ[ν τῇ ἐχ]θέσ 3, ἐν τῇ σήμερον 9. The *nu* of ἔπαθαν, in spite of damage, seems clear.

10 At the end of the line ed. pr. read, without much sign of doubt, μηδὲν (= μηδὲν) πόλεμον ποιο[ῶ]ντες, 'not making war at all'. Although ποιοῦντες is a possible reading with a suitable meaning, πόλεμον does not give an appropriate sense and cannot be confirmed from the photographs. The surface is abraded at this point and there appears to have been some correction of the writing. The sense to be expected is that the collector cannot pursue his business, which is certainly not war. For this μηδὲν ποιοῦντες would be enough, so between them we expect something which would not alter it significantly, such as τὸ κύνολον (P.Mil. II 48.13, P.Monac. I 1.21), τὸ καθ' ὅλον (P.Oxy. XVII 2133.20), τὸ καθ' ὅλου (CPGr I 5.24), τὸ παράπαν (P.Panop.Beatty 2.84).

Running horizontally at a little distance below this line near the foot is a sheet join which overlaps downwards, making it very clear that the writing runs across the fibres of the recto of a roll which has been turned round to open in a vertical direction. On this *transversa charta* format in letters of the Byzantine period see P.Oxy. LIX 4005 introd. para. 3.

NOUVEAUX PAPYRUS PTOLÉMAÏQUES DANS LA COLLECTION DE GENÈVE

Paul Schubert, Genève

Au cours des dernières années, nous avons été gratifiés par la publication de plusieurs éditions de papyrus ptolémaïques du II^{ème} siècle avant Jésus-Christ, provenant de cartonnages de momies. C'est le cas, entre autres, du premier volume des papyrus d'Helsinki, ainsi que du deuxième volume des papyrus "Erasmus". On ne peut que se féliciter de l'enrichissement de la documentation pour cette période somme toute assez mal connue. Les cartonnages de momies qui ont fait leur apparition sur le marché pendant ces dernières années nous promettent encore quelques belles surprises !

Depuis plusieurs années, mon prédécesseur, Claude Wehrli, déplorait que la modeste collection papyrologique de Genève ne possède presque pas de papyrus de la période ptolémaïque: notre dépôt recelait certes de nombreuses pièces romaines et byzantines, certaines fort belles, mais seulement quelques papyrus ptolémaïques, pour la plupart dans un état tellement fragmentaire que l'on ne pouvait pas espérer en tirer grand-chose.

Lorsque, en décembre 1989, un restaurateur bien connu nous a proposé l'achat de papyrus tiré de deux cartonnages de momies, nous avons saisi l'occasion d'enrichir notre collection. Les fonds nécessaires à un tel achat avaient été réunis depuis un certain temps déjà, et nous n'attendions que de voir apparaître sur le marché des papyrus intéressants.

Le lot que la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève a acheté provient de deux têtes de momies. Le restaurateur a réussi à sauver l'extérieur de l'une des deux têtes, tandis que l'autre a disparu dans le processus de démontage. L'examen des textes indique que les deux momies proviennent du nome héracléopolite. Les documents qui offraient des possibilités de datation indiquent tous le milieu du II^{ème} siècle avant Jésus-Christ.

Qu'en est-il du contenu de ces papyrus ? Relevons tout d'abord une pièce littéraire (la seule du lot), conservant, semble-t-il, le début de l'hymne homérique à Dionysos, que la tradition médiévale ne nous avait pas transmis. Ce texte a fait l'objet d'une communication de mon collègue André Hurst. Signalons seulement, au dos de ce papyrus, la présence d'une table de multiplications.

Le reste du lot est documentaire. Il ne convient pas de faire ici une description complète de chaque pièce; permettez-moi cependant de vous indiquer la nature des pièces les plus intéressantes.

Deux documents, de respectivement trois et une colonne, concernent la même affaire d'héritage. Un enfant réclame un héritage qui a, selon toute vraisemblance, été usurpé par la famille du mari de sa mère. Ladite famille voulait sans doute éviter que le patrimoine ne passe dans une autre famille. Insérée dans le texte figure une ordonnance adressée aux chrématistes, aux juges et aux laocrites.

Au verso de l'un des deux papyrus se trouve une autre pétition, adressée au *dioikêtès* Dioscoride, à propos d'une autre affaire d'héritage usurpé. Un Juif du nom de Mardonios a profité d'une période de troubles pour s'arroger les droits à la succession d'une personne morte pendant les troubles.

Pour rester dans le domaine judiciaire, il faut signaler une lettre adressée aux laocrites. Ce document semble indiquer que les laocrites pouvaient procéder à une saisie en cas d'insolvabilité.

Un autre papyrus nous conserve les restes de ce qui était sans doute un *prostagma* royal. Il traitait de la procédure à suivre en cas de recours dans le cadre d'un procès.

Nous possédons également les restes d'une lettre circulaire adressée à divers fonctionnaires du nome à propos de la levée de l'impôt en blé. Un autre document touche à la taxe sur les bains, ainsi qu'à la taxe sur les pigeonniers.

Du fait de leur intérêt particulier, deux papyrus ont déjà fait l'objet d'une publication dans la *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

Le premier est une lettre du stratège du nome à un subalterne concernant l'envoi de troupes vers Péluse.¹ Dans le document, on peut suivre la transmission d'un ordre par voie hiérarchique, depuis le roi jusqu'au fonctionnaire, probablement le responsable du port d'Héracléopolis. L'intérêt de ce document réside dans le fait qu'il illustre un épisode historique bien connu par les sources littéraires: la campagne de Ptolémée VI Philométor en Syrie en 146 av. J.-C. Les troupes envoyées à Péluse allaient sans doute continuer leur chemin jusqu'en Syrie pour participer aux hostilités.

Le deuxième document² n'est qu'un petit fragment fort endommagé. Il contient la partie gauche d'un en-tête de contrat, avec la mention de prêtres éponymes. Le fragment date de 152 avant Jésus-Christ, et contient les restes d'une titulature royale indiquant, si mon interprétation est correcte, le règne conjoint de Ptolémée VI Philométor, sa femme Cléopâtre II, ainsi que de Ptolémée Eupator. Attesté déjà dans un document démotique, le règne de Ptolémée Eupator ne nous était connu jusqu'à présent par aucun document grec.

J'interromps ici cette énumération fastidieuse, bien que le lot ne soit pas épuisé, pour lancer un appel à mes collègues. Genève n'est pas la seule ville à avoir acheté des papyrus provenant de cartonnages de momies au cours de ces dernières années. Il y a fort à parier que, dans d'autres lots récemment acquis, se trouvent également des documents d'une nature proche de ceux dont je vous ai parlé. On ne peut non plus exclure que tel fragment de notre collection viennoise compléter un document se trouvant dans une autre collection, ou inversement. Je serais heureux de pouvoir collaborer avec des collègues qui souhaiteraient opérer des échanges d'informations. Mon appel s'adresse en priorité aux détenteurs de documents inédits du II^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ en provenance du nome héracléopolite.

¹ *ZPE* 86 (1991) 233-236.

² *ZPE* 94 (1992), 119-122.

MENCHES & LUCIUS MEMMIUS: JUST GOOD FRIENDS? THE POSITION OF P. Tebt. I 33 IN THE MENCHES-ARCHIVE*

A.M.F.W. Verhoogt

During the winter of 1899/1900 Grenfell & Hunt were excavating at Ūmm el Baragât, ancient Tebtunis, in the south of the Fayum. Besides other things they discovered a crocodile cemetery, where thousands of crocodile mummies were buried. These creatures gained an unexpected importance when one of the workmen accidentally discovered that one of the crocodile mummies was wrapped in sheets of papyrus. After this discovery thousands of mummies were unwrapped, and it turned out that about 35 mummies contained one or more papyri.¹ These were edited in P. Tebt. I (1902) and IV (1976). Most of the papyri appeared to belong to the archive of the village scribes of Kerkeosiris, particularly connected with Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris between about 120 and 110 B.C.²

The archive contains many agricultural reports from Menches. On the back of one of these reports (P. Tebt. I 75; 112 B.C.) there is another text from the same year: P. Tebt. I 33.³ This famous text announces the visit of the Roman senator Lucius Memmius to the Fayum. Although it is written on the back of a text from the archive of the village scribes of Kerkeosiris, there is no direct relation with this archive. The text is written by the dioecetes Hermias and addressed to the royal scribe Horus. The expected circular letter from the basilikos grammateus to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis of the nome, which would explain the presence of this text in the archive of the village scribes, is not there.⁴

In this paper it was suggested that the link between the recto and the verso of this papyrus lies in Ptolemais Euergetis, the capital of the Arsinoite nome. From other texts in the archive we know that the village scribes had to present reports like P. Tebt. I 75, the recto of the papyrus, at the office of the basilikos grammateus.⁵ The last date occurring in P. Tebt. I 75 is Mecheir 29 (March 17, 112 B.C.). Menches will have been at the office of the basilikos grammateus after this date, in the beginning of Phamenoth.⁶ On the other hand, the letter from the dioecetes (P. Tebt. I 33) is dated Mecheir 17 (March 5, 112 B.C.). From texts in the Zenon archive it is known that it took a letter from Alexandria about 22 days to arrive in the Fayum.⁷ The letter from Hermias will have arrived at the office of the basilikos grammateus about Phamenoth 9 (March 27, 112 B.C.).

It is very tempting to suppose that, while Menches was in Ptolemais Euergetis, at the office of the basilikos grammateus, the letter from Hermias announcing the visit of the Roman senator Lucius Memmius, arrived there as well. As it was a matter which concerned the whole nome, all village scribes will have had to be informed. Fortunately enough, some of the village

* The author of this paper is preparing a thesis on the archive of Menches. I would like to thank Mr. Anthony S. Bliss, rare book librarian of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, for kindly answering my questions on this and other papyri from this archive kept in the Bancroft Library.

¹ P. Tebt. I, Introduction.

² Cf. P.W. Pestman, 'The Official Archive of the Village Scribes of Kerkeosiris. Notes on the so-called archive of Menches' in P. Rainer Cent., pp. 127-134.

³ UC 1921-1927. P. Tebt. I 33 is written on the back of fragment UC 1921 (cols. iv-b - v) [A.S. Bliss, letter of June 18, 1992].

⁴ Two examples of such a circular letter can be found in P. Tebt. I 27 (113 B.C.).

⁵ E.g. P. Tebt. I 26; cf. P.W. Pestman, op. cit., pp. 130-131.

⁶ If P. Tebt. I 112, an account listing expenditure from Mecheir 6 to Phamenoth 6 of year 5, is written by Menches as well (cf. P. Tebt. I 112, Introduction), this would mean that Menches was busy in Kerkeosiris until Phamenoth 6 (March 24, 112 B.C.).

⁷ Cf. P. L.Bat. XX 26, note to line 8.

scribes were present in Ptolemais Euergetis at that moment. Instead of writing a circular letter, the basilikos grammateus just ordered them to copy it out on a piece of papyrus, which they duly did.

A POSTSCRIPT ABOUT A WOODEN TABLET BOOK (P. KELLIS 63)

John Whitehorne

It is now just over a decade since archaeological work began at Ismant el-Kharab (Ismant the Ruined) in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis. In ancient times this was the site of Kellis in the Mothite nome, a village which was gradually abandoned by its inhabitants at the end of the fourth century as the moving sand dunes of the Western Desert slowly engulfed its buildings.

Early seasons at the site involved only limited soundings as part of the archaeological survey of the Oasis which was carried out by the Canadian-based Dakhleh Oasis Project.¹ More recently there have been 5 seasons of excavations on a larger scale at Kellis and 2 study seasons, directed since 1986 by Dr Colin Hope of Monash University.² The most significant finds at the site so far from the papyrological point of view are undoubtedly those from a block of 3 contiguous houses located in the central residential sector of the site, known as Area A. Excavated in 1988, House 2 in this area was the find-place for 2 wooden tablet books. One of 9 boards contains Isocrates' Cyprian Orations, the other of 8 boards bears a series of farm accounts dating from 4 years in the early 360's.³ Also found in House 2 were a number of papyrus fragments written in Greek and Coptic and fragments of other inscribed wooden tablets. There were also the makings of a number of other tablets, in the form of offcuts of the blocks of wood from which the boards had been sawn, sawn boards themselves, and 2 wooden mallets which were presumably used at some stage of the manufacturing process.⁴

House 3 was excavated by Dr Hope in 1991/2.⁵ Contiguous with House 2 and contemporary with it, House 3 has yielded an even more impressive selection of written materials of various types. Again there are 2 complete wooden tablet books, this time one of 7 boards and one of 5. Unlike the examples from House 2 both these notebooks had been made up from boards taken from different codices. The original texts had been erased and the boards trimmed down to their present size. All the boards had been given a skim of gesso to prepare them for writing but only one was inscribed. The exception, folio 4 of the book with 5 boards, bears the text of 4 Manichaean hymns and a Coptic vision of the ascent into heaven. Several individual inscribed boards were also found, one bearing a bilingual Manichaean text written in Coptic and Syriac, something which is apparently a very rare combination. There was also a small archive of papyri in both Coptic and Greek relating to a single family, and a deposit of over 600 fragments of papyri found associated with a number of broken pottery vessels.

It is from this deposit that the fragments of the present text, provisionally numbered P.Kellis 63, have been recovered. A single papyrus, and one that is incomplete to boot,

¹ For reports on the initial survey seasons see A.J. Mills, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (=JSSEA)* 10 (1980) 251-82, 12 (1982) 93-101, 13 (1983) 121-41. For the Oasis area see now G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Egypte, IFAO Bibl. d'Etude* 100, Cairo 1987.

² The Kellis excavations remain under the auspices of the Dakhleh Oasis Project but have been funded most recently by the Australian Research Council. Preliminary reports on the 1986, 1987 and 1988-90 seasons are given by C.A. Hope in *JSSEA* 15 (1985) 114-25, 16 (1986) 74-91 and 17 (1987) 157-76. For a consolidated report on the excavations at the site including the 1990 season see C.A. Hope, *MedArch* 1 (1988) 160-78.

³ Currently being edited by R.G. Jenkins and K.J. McKay as *The Kellis Isocrates (T.L. Kellis 2)* and by R.G. Jenkins and G. Wagner as *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book (T.L. Kellis 1)* (both forthcoming).

⁴ For a report specifically on this material see J.L. Sharpe, *JSSEA* 17 (1987) 192-7, as well as Hope (*supra* n.2) 17. 160-6.

⁵ For a preliminary report on the 1991/2 season see C.A. Hope, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (=BACE)* 2 (1991) 41-50.

naturally pales into insignificance in the face of such a mass of material written on wood. There are tens of thousands of papyri but early wooden books are so unusual that it is only right and proper that the finds of tablets at Kellis should get most of the limelight.⁶ Yet my text, which would otherwise be of very limited value, gains added interest, I believe, because of a possible connection with the wooden notebooks found next door in House 2.

P.Kellis 63 is a private letter addressed to an individual called Theognostus, who was most likely one of the residents of House 3 since his name occurs as the addressee in several other papyri from the deposit. The name of the person who wrote the letter is unfortunately missing. The letter also mentions a 'brother' Psais (a common name at Kellis) and at the end of the letter greetings are sent from 'your brothers.' Although these relationship terms are most likely a formality as they so often are in private letters, the name Theognostus and the use of ἀγαπητός and ἐν θεῷ in both address and closing formula mean that we cannot entirely exclude the possibility of a religious context of some kind. If that is the case the context is as likely to be Manichaean as Christian since R.G. Jenkins has identified a word on the back of the top fragment of the papyrus as Manichaean Syriac.⁷ The letter itself is written in a hand of a common type assignable to the early or mid-fourth century, a date which is consonant with the find place of the papyrus on the floor deposit of House 3.

The contents of the body of the letter are unfortunately beyond recovery unless more fragments come to light and can be matched up. In fact there may well be more missing from the middle section of the papyrus than presently appears to be the case. For once, however, this is not of so much importance. It is the postscript to P.Kellis 63 which is of particular interest given the text's discovery in an area of the site where, as the archaeological evidence shows, the inhabitants of Kellis were engaged in making and recycling wooden tablets of the type found in Houses 2 and 3, and perhaps even transcribing different types of texts onto them.

In a second more uncial hand the writer of the postscript passes the following request on to Theognostus:

P.Kellis 63.17-21:

πινακίδιον εὐμετρον καὶ
 ἀστῖον δέκα πτυχῶν πέμ-
 ψον τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἰσίῳνι.
 20 ἑλληνιστῆς γὰρ γέγονεν
 καὶ ἀναγνώστης παναττικὸς

18 l. ἀστεῖον

'Send a well -proportioned 10-page notebook of city quality for your brother Ision. For he has become a writer of Greek and a thoroughly Attic reader...'

Traces of ink below the bottom line show that this was not the end of the postscript. There must have been at least one more line at the foot of the papyrus and perhaps more than one since when the postscript resumes down the left hand side of the letter it is clearly concerned with another matter.

⁶ A list of wooden tablets from Graeco-Roman Egypt is given by W. Brashear and F.A.J. Hoogendijk, *Enchoria* 17 (1990) 21-54. I am most grateful to Dr. Hoogendijk for a copy of this useful article.

⁷ R.G. Jenkins, personal communication, 1 Sept. 1991.

What sort of information can we get from this brief request? The descriptive terms ἀστεῖος and εὐμετρος which are used for the type of wooden notebook which Ision wants are tantalisingly vague. The only parallel which I have found for a request of this nature is in P.Fouad 74, which is also of fourth century date. There the writer, a public scribe (νομικός) who is forwarding a list of requests for his correspondent to purchase for him in Alexandria, is much more explicit:

P.Fouad 74.10-12:

δελτάριον τετράγωνον μέγα δεκάπτυχον, τῶν
πτυχίων γιγνομένων λεπτῶν ὡσεὶ φυλλαρίων
καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ξύλον μικρὸν ἵνα μὴ τὸ κηριον

10 I. δεκάπτυχον 11 I. πτυχίων

'A large square tablet book with 10 pages, the boards as thin as leaves and in the centre of them a little piece of wood so that the wax does not [stick them together]...' ⁸

What this seems to suggest is that while the term εὐμετρος refers, as we might expect, to the proportions of the wooden tablets, i.e. the relationship between the height and width of the boards themselves or perhaps that between their overall area and the area available for writing, the term ἀστεῖος may well have to do with a dimension of which modern bibliophiles are not so conscious, i.e. the thickness of the book.

That both these writers should be requesting a 10-page notebook is worthy of some comment for with wooden tablet books the number of boards in the book obviously affected the book's thickness much more directly than is the case with a modern book made of paper. In their discussion of the format of the writing tablet and its relationship to the codex, Roberts and Skeat remarked that the nature of the material itself would limit the number of boards in a tablet book and noted that 'no specimen surviving from antiquity has more than 10.'⁹ Even so we cannot assume from this that 10 boards was the maximum number possible in a wooden tablet book.¹⁰ A distinction needs to be drawn, I suggest, between a notebook of the type which the public scribe in P.Fouad 74 was ordering, and the type which, to judge from the examples already found at Kellis, the postscript writer in P.Kellis 63 expected Theognostus to send to him for Ision.

The former was a book of wax tablets, which would have been thicker insofar as the boards needed to be hollowed out to take the wax. Hence the writer's concern that the boards should be 'as thin as leaves.' The latter was most likely similar to the Isocrates and the farm account book from House 2. Both of these are made up of whitened boards which could be written on directly so that the whole notebook is likely to have been less thick than its wax tablet counterpart.

The difference in thickness over 10 boards might be as much as 2-3 cms. F. Hoogendijk has recently republished a number of wax tablets as P.Lugd.Bat. 25.15-18. Like the Kellis

⁸ For the small raised square of wood left in the centre of wax tablets to separate the waxed surfaces from each other when the tablet book was closed see J. Scherer's note *ad loc.*

⁹ C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, British Academy, London 1983, 12.

¹⁰ As seems to be implied by Sharpe (*supra* n.4) 193: '... the specimen with the largest number of leaves contains ten, which for all practical purposes would appear to have been the upper limit.'

material, these too date from the fourth century so that we can be sure that the comparison is between items produced more or less contemporaneously. Made of imported beechwood, they are generally *c.* 0.5-0.6 cm thick and only one tablet, P.Lugd.Bat. 25.17, measures less than that, at *c.* 0.35 cm thick. The tablets in the Kellis Isocrates and the farm account book, on the other hand, are very much thinner. Made of local willow, the 9 boards of the Isocrates are only 3.1 cm thick when closed, the 8 boards of the farm account book only 2.5 cm thick.¹¹

It is therefore difficult to be sure that 10 boards would ever have constituted the upper limit for wooden notebooks of this type. Furthermore, as we can see from the Kellis Isocrates, it was no great problem to expand (or contract) a wooden notebook to accommodate the amount of text to be copied. The Isocrates originally contained only 8 boards, but by the time the copyist got to the front of the third board he was already aware that he was going to have trouble fitting all his text into the space available. After folio 3R his writing starts to become cramped and to spill over into the margins, and before he reached folio 7V he had decided to give up the unequal struggle to get a quart into a pint pot. Taking a board from another book, the copyist blocked out the existing writing on it with a greyish gesso and after untying the cords which held the Isocrates notebook together he inserted the new board after folio 7. In a similar way a 10-board book could have been expanded to more than 10 boards if required, or reduced to less than 10 if the work being copied turned out to be shorter than anticipated.

Another assumption it would be risky to make, even though we now have two references to notebooks 'of 10 boards' as well as a number of extant examples,¹² is that 10 boards was in some sense or other a standard format. If it was, it was certainly not the only standard format available. The alignment notches down the edge of the 9-board notebook from Hibis published by P.J. Parsons¹³ indicate that it is complete as it stands. So a 9-board format was just as much a 'standard' as 10 boards. Furthermore what happened with the Kellis Isocrates demonstrates that 8 boards was the original format in which that notebook had been made up. In addition the fact that the most recent wooden notebooks from House 3 at Kellis were discovered intact with their boards uninscribed and tied together suggests that formats of 7 and 5 boards were also possible. Indeed the 5-board format is confirmed by the fact that the school-book on 5 wax tablets edited by F. Hoogendijk as P.Lugd.Bat. 25.15 is also complete as it stands. The best we can say therefore is that wooden notebooks, whether of wax tablets or whitened boards, appear to have been available with any number of boards up to and including 10 but that, as Roberts and Skeat correctly noted, none have been discovered so far with any more than 10 boards. In fact the determining factor in the number of boards in a book and hence the book's thickness may well have been something as simple and obvious as the diameter of the section of tree trunk from which the block to be made into boards had been cut.¹⁴

This brief postscript to P.Kellis 63 accordingly opens up a whole range of questions about the history of the wooden tablet book. Some of these questions can already be answered, in part at least, from the physical evidence which the archaeological excavations have turned up at Kellis itself. Others will need more evidence and further consideration before a satisfactory

¹¹ Sharpe (*supra* n.4) 193-4.

¹² 10-board notebooks listed by Brashear and Hoogendijk (*supra* n.6) 34-45 are P.Flor.18.51-70 (A.D. vi; wax tablets) and T.Lond. MS Add.Ms 33369 (A.D. vii; ined.). Pack² 2737 = SB 3.6215-8 (A.D. iv-v; wax tablets) which now has 9 boards originally had 10 too: Roberts and Skeat (*supra* n.9) 12, n.2.

¹³ P.J. Parsons, *JEA* 57 (1971) 165-80.

¹⁴ Unless wooden notebooks were being manufactured on a large scale at Kellis - and the archaeological evidence to date does not suggest this - it would clearly have been easier to 'block' a single section of trunk, saw that into the number of boards that could be got out of it and make them up into one book than to make several blocks of the same dimensions in order to produce a predetermined number of boards. In the case of the recycled books from House 3 the determining factor in the number of boards per book will have been the dimensions of the smallest board to be recycled.

resolution can be reached. At the same time the content of the postscript serves to flesh out the archaeological remains by offering us a glimpse of the multicultural nature of fourth century Kellis.

Kellis was a large village, or small town, whose inhabitants seem to have enjoyed an enviably high standard of living. The site boasted an imposing Egyptian style temple dedicated to the town's patron god Tutu (Gr. Tithoes), with a forecourt decorated with columns, and perhaps statues mounted on the inscribed sandstone pedestals which a wealthy third century inhabitant, Aurelius Ofellianus, had set up.¹⁵ There were also high-quality private houses there and administrative buildings whose inner walls and ceilings were decorated with plasterwork painted in a variety of hellenistic styles. Yet this was not a metropolis like Antinoe or Oxyrhynchus, nor even a town like Karanis lying in the heart of a heavily populated area. Kellis was a remote settlement several days' journey from the Nile Valley. To reach it was probably a major undertaking.¹⁶ Nevertheless the inhabitants of the place were by no means isolated from the intellectual currents of their time. Among them were those who could speak and read Greek and Syriac as well as Egyptian. There were those like Ision and the unknown owner of the Isocrates who had an avid interest in the literature of the classical Greek past. There were also those whose imaginations were caught by the much more recent ideas embodied in the teachings of Mani or Jesus Christ. Despite its geographical isolation fourth century Kellis must have been a stimulating environment in which to live. At a time when purely economic considerations seem to have become dominant in everything, even academic life, it is good to be reassured that there has always been more to human existence than selling donkeys or rearing pigs.¹⁷

Appendix

P.Kellis 63

c. 10.5 x 14 cm; c. 15 x 19 cm

Early to mid-A.D. iv

τῶι ἀγαπητῶι κ[αὶ πατρὶ
 Θεογνωστῶι ο[
 ἐν θεῶι [χαίρειν.
 εἰ μὲν παρά σοι ἐ[στιν ὁ ἀδελ-
 5 φός σου Ψάϊς ψ[
 πρόσεχε σε ἑαυτ[ὸν
 σης νήψεως κα[ὶ
 χας ταύτας λαβο[

(several lines missing)

¹⁵ The excavation of the Main Temple area, which was also begun in 1991, is reported by C.A. Hope (*supra* n.5) 43-9. The god Tutu and his shrine at Kellis are discussed by O.E. Kaper, *BACE* 2 (1991) 59-67, and see also J. Quaegebeur, *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* 6.602-6 s.v. 'Tithoes.'

¹⁶ The *Historia Monachorum*, although sensationalised, gives some idea of the difficulties of travel in the Egyptian desert in the later fourth century. P.Genova 1.20 and 21 (+ P.Genova 2. Appendix) concern the establishment of a corporation (*societas*) for the transport of goods between the Oasis and the Nile valley.

¹⁷ Occupations chosen merely *exempli gratia*, but influenced by J. Oates' presentation to the last International Congress in Cairo of a sale of a donkey from Kellis (*ed.pr.* in *BASP* 25 [1988] 129-35) and by the fact that many of the P.Kellis documentary papyri contain references to χοιρίδια.

-
- 10]ων ἐστιν
]ν παρ' ὑμῖν
ἐσ]τιν δ̣ ε̣ [..]ο καὶ ὄψε-
ται. ἀσπάσασθε πάντας
κατ' ὄνομα. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑ-
μῶν ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς.
- 15 ἐρρῶσθε ἐν θεῶι
ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, ἀ[γαπη]τοί.
- (m. 2)
- πινακίδιον εὐμετρον καὶ
ἀστίον δέκα πτυχῶν πέμ-
ψον τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἰσίωνι.
- 20 ἐλληγιστῆς γὰρ γέγονεν
καὶ ἀναγνώστης παναττικός
.....

Down left hand margin, also in second hand:

μαθέτω ὁ υἱὸς [(unknown number of letters missing)] πρὸ τοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτήν.

5 ψαῖς 10 ὑμῖν 15 l. ἐρρῶσθαι 18 l. ἀστειον

Notes

The change from one addressee in the first fragment to several in the closing formula is worrying. Since there is no secure join between the 2 pieces of the text, it must remain a possibility that these are in fact fragments from 2 separate letters written in the same hand.

1 *Exempli gratia*, cf. P.Oxy. 56.3858.1.

2 The name of the writer of the letter is expected at the line end, so perhaps a name beginning with omicron. ὁ [ἀδελφὸς N. seems too long, and the words should be in reverse order.

5 Perhaps a patronymic at line end?

6 A break in the fibres makes σ very uncertain but δὲ does not seem possible.

6-7 Restore as περὶ τῆς σῆς νήψεως?

8 A small trace after the break in the fibres may be σ. Otherwise ταῦτα ἔλαβο[.

11 ἄψεται or ἔψεται not so likely.

16 Apparently a variation on a regular closing formula in Christian private letters, cf. P.Oxy. 56.3857 introd. I do not think ἀ[δελ]φοί can be read.

19 The omission of iota adscript confirms that the postscript is by a second hand.

21 Dotted letters of παναττικός are uncertain; τυπατικός might be possible, except that the word is otherwise unattested.

Translation:

- (1-7) 'To my beloved (friend) [and father (?)] Theognostus, from O..., greetings in god. If your brother Psais (son of (?)) Ps... (?) is with you, take heed (concerning) your sobriety and ...'
- (12-21) 'Greet all by name. Your brothers greet you. I pray that you are well in god, beloved (friends).' (Second hand) 'Send a well-proportioned 10-page notebook of city quality for your brother Ision. For he has become a writer of Greek and a thoroughly Attic reader...' (Margin) 'Let the son (of *N.* ?) learn that ... before she was given (as wife ?).'

LITERARY AND SUB-LITERARY PAPYRI FROM BERLIN

Wm. Brashear

Plates 18-25

The following farrago results from the ongoing cataloguing of papyri in the Berlin collection and comprises multifarious texts ranging from the sublime to the pedestrian - epic and lyric poetry, history, mathematics and tachygraphy - presented (to economize on space) in telegraphic style. Experts in the respective disciplines will want to elaborate upon them. R. Daniel and R. Kotansky identified several items using the Ibycus computer program. The texts are all written on papyrus. Unless otherwise indicated provenances are unknown, dates A.D. Vertical measurements precede horizontal ones. → = side with horizontal fibers (or: written along the fibers); ↓ = side with vertical fibers (or: written against the fibers).

1. Homer, Iliad XVI 31-35

P.Berol. 21333

2.2 x 5 cm.

V

Hermupolis

→ blank. ↓ traces of five lines in dark brown ink; accents in the same ink. Writing shows some affinity to Cavallo-Maehler, no. 11a = P.Oxy. 2459. Identified by R. Kotansky. No variant readings. (Pl. 18,1)

↓

] traces [
αι κε] μή αργειοισ[ιν
v]ηλεες' ουκ άρά σ[οι
ου]δ' έ θεέ[...]' [
]..[

2. Homer, Iliad XXIII 670-676, 710-714

P.Berol. 21339

3.7 x 5.5 cm.

IV

Codex fragment. Cursive writing somewhat similar to P.Bodmer IV: Menander, Dyskolos = Seider 51 = Cavallo-Maehler 5b and *ibid.* 4a, 5a. (Pl. 18,2)

→ [η ουχ αλ]ις οττι μαχης [
[εν πα]ντεσσι πονοισι δαημο[να
[ωδε γ]αρ εξερεω και μιν τετ[ελεσμενων
[αντι]κρυ χροα τε ρηξω συν τ[οστε αραξω
[κηδ]εμονες δε οι ενθαδ αο[λλεες
[οι κε μι]ν εξοισο[υσιν
]..[

2 πονοισι· εργοισι is the sole reading attested for the line. Εν παντεσσι πονοισι in this position in Π. 10.245, 279, Od. 13.301 and 20.48 (πονοις). (Pl. 18,3)

 ↓] γε βατην ες μ[εσ]σο[ν αγωνα
 λαβε] τήν χερσι στιβαρησ[ιν
] τους τε κλυτος ηράρ[ε τεκτων
 βι]ας ανεμων αλειειν[ων
 νωτ]α [θρασεια]ων απο [χειρων

3. Homeric Glossary to Iliad I 97f.

P.Berol. 21306
 7.2 x 14 cm.

VII

Light brown papyrus. → traces of an account (?). ↓ left margin: 1.7 cm.; horizontal *kollesis* between ll. 3-4. Irregular letters, downward sloping lines; probably a school exercise. Except for I 1 [αφε]ξει, identical entries in P.Oxy. 2405 in the following order: ελικωπιδα, δομεν, κουρη, απριατην, αναποινον.

Recently published Homeric glossaries: L. Raffaelli, *APF* 36 (1990) 5; P.Yale II 125; P.Hamb. 200; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Mnemosyne* 40 (1987) 158-162; C. Gallazzi, *ASAE* 69 (1983) 189-193; *id.*, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 1-9. Cf. K. Alpers, 'Griechische Lexikographie in Antike u. Mittelalter,' in: H.-A. Koch, ed., *Welt der Information. Wissen u. Wissensvermittlung in Geschichte u. Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1990, 14-38. (Pl. 19,1)

↓ -----
 [αφε]ξει [(97)
 [δομ]ε νε αποδου[ναι (98)
 ελι[κωπιδα] ..ν ευο[φθαλμον (98)
 απριατην ανευ πρασ[εως (99)
 5 αναποινον ανευ λιτρον [(99)
 κουρην κ[ορ]ην ε.[(98)

I 1 [αφε]ξει: From the variant λοιμοῖο βαρείας χείρας ἀφέξει.

I 2 l. δομεναι. Between epsilon and ny the long tail of xi from the preceding line.

II 5 l. λυτρων.

4. Prose (History?)

P.Berol. 21304
 10 x 7.5 cm.

II B.C.
 Abusir el Melek

Cartonnage. Intercolumnar space ±1.5 cm. ↓ blank. (Pl. 19,2)

→	col. I	col. II
	-----	-----
	]traces	ε.ορ..[
	]ρη	εις παντα ηρ[
	].πρ..	εαυτωι κτησα[
	].επο	παν...χρην[
	]στοτ..	την πατρωι[αν
	].....	κρ...παραμ..[
	].ε..	πρ[ο]σφησας .τη[
	]τωνδε	κουριων [.] πτ[
	].ληρ	νησθαι σκεπη[ν με-, κα-
	].οξι	ταλαβειν τοιου[τ-
	].ης	ξε της δεινοτη[ος
	]..	ου..των τοις δε[
	---	[..]. νυν ενος[
		[.]ητερα κα[θ]ως α.[

Col. II 2-3 Cf. Demosthenes, *or.* 14.31: ἕκαστος ἐαυτῶι κτησάμενος.


5. Elegiac Couplets

P.Berol. 21340

6 x 7.3 cm.

II B.C.

Light brown papyrus; no *kollesis*. ↓ indistinct ink traces of two lines written against the grain in large letters. → two columns of writing; lower margin 2.3 cm. Inconsistent letter forms: e.g. upsila in l.2; kappas in l.7; long rho in *πρωτον* vs. short rho in *ημετερα*; epsilon in *επελθω*. Alpha and tau similar to those in Turner, *GMAW*, no. 12 = P.Tebt. 4 (mid II B.C.); tau and upsilon to those in Turner, no. 21 = P.Oxy. 659 (I B.C.). Comparable are P.Ryl. 531; P.Merton 1 = Seider, no. 14 (II B.C.). Nine crosses and separator dots (χι̇ περιεστιγμένα) adorn the lower right corner. Possible lines of interpretation are proffered in the line notes. Special thanks to the participants at the congress for their help on this and the following fragment. (Pl. 20,1)

→].[].[.]..[].[].[.]..[
	]ρδηνευυμνοναιεισας [	]ρδην εϋυμνον αεισας
	]αναταισινισην [	ἀθ]ανάταισιν ἴσην
	]εθεσπισεπαιδιτεμουσεων [	] ἑθεσπισε παιδί τε Μουσέων
5	]χερσινεθηκεφιλην τ[	] χερσιν ἔθηκε φίλην
	]υτευωδεοσοζης [	]υτ' εϋώδεος ὄζης
	]πολυσεκκεχυσαι α[	] πολὺς ἐκκέχυσαι
	πι]ναξπηρωτονεπελθω [	πί]ναξ πῆ πρωτον ἐπέλθω
	].αρημετερα [	] γὰρ ἡμέτερα
		

1]ρδην: Only the long, sublinear, vertical descender of a letter is visible. Α]υδην? Parsons. Lydes would be the woman, besung in hymns (εϋυμνον), equal to the immortal goddesses (ἀθ]ανάταισιν ἴσην) who so obsessed the poet Antimachus that he wrote a long elegiac

poem about her. The same poet also wrote a poem called Δέλτοι of which only one line survives (fr. 74 Wyss). Wyss speculated this poem consisted of short pieces each of which was represented as fitting onto a single writing tablet. Here, Antimachus might be speaking, reviewing his past work before he turns to the writing tablet before him and begins a new poem. Parsons

εὐμνον αἰείσας: Cf. *h. hom.* 3.19 = 207 (of Apollo): πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὐμνον ἔοντα; Callimachus, *h. Apol.* 30-31: οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἔν μόνον ἤμαρ αἰεῖσει / ἔστι γὰρ εὐμνος and F. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo*, Oxford 1978, 38. In P.Oxy. 3537 (p. 65):]ν ὑμνον αἰείσω (of Antinous) the ny on the edge of the papyrus is distinct, thus precluding a possible emendation to εὐμνον.

3 ἀθανάταισιν ἴσην: Comparing a mortal woman to the goddesses recalls such familiar passages as Sappho 199 P. (2B. and D.): φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν; 229 P. (91 B., 123 D.): γάμβρος εἰσέρχεται ἴσος Ἄρει; Catullus 51: *ille mi par esse deo videtur* and 61.16f. Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 1731-1743; Seneca, *Med.* 82-89; Colluthus, *Rape of Helen* 251; and B. Snell, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 71-76, for further discussion and examples, e.g. Demetrios Poliorketes likened to a god in *Hermocles* 1.13f. (Powell p. 174); Eur. *Rhesus* 355: σύ μοι Ζεὺς ὁ φαναῖος; Callimachus, *h. I* 79-80: Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων / θειότερον; P. Bodmer XXIX (*Vision de Dorotheos*) 142: αὐτὸς ἄμ' ἔσπετο ἰσόθεος φῶς (cf. *Hom. II.* 11.472: ὁ δ' ἄμ' κτλ.).

4 ἐθέσπισε, aorist of θεσπίζω, is easier to construe than θέσπι (vocat. of Θεσπιδ?), σε κτλ.

παιδί τε Μουσέων: For the poet as offspring of the Muses, cf. Plato, *rep.* II 364e (Orphic. *Fragm. Kern* 81f.): Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, Σελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἐγγόνων; Hes. *Theog.* 94ff.: ἐκ γὰρ τοι Μουσέων. For the poet as servant (θεράπων, κῆρυξ, ἄγγελος, προφήτης, ὑποφήτης, πρόπολος - never παῖς) of the Muses, cf. O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen u. Römern*, Würzburg 1934; Choerilos Samius (*Suppl. Hellen.* no. 317.2 and n.); H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs*, Göttingen 1963, 35.1 (bibliography on the *Dichterweihe*); P. Murray, 'Poetic Inspiration in Early Greece,' *JHS* 101 (1981) 97.

5 κιθάρην] ? Haslam.

φίλην: Juncture of ny's diagonal and vertical strokes written over a small circle.

6 κηρο]ϋ τ' εὐώδεος: Parsons, citing Gow on *Theocr.* 1.128; and Ovid, *met.* 8.226; *Diosc.* II 83. But the subjunctive form of the verb ὄζει then becomes difficult to explain. On wax in antiquity see R. Büll, *Das grosse Buch vom Wachs* I, II, Munich 1977; R. Büll and E. Moser, 'Wachs,' in: *RE, Suppl. XIII* 1370f.; M.J. Raven, *OMRO* 64 (1983) 7-47; H. Chouliara-Raïos, *L'abeille et le miel en l'Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Iannina 1989 (*non vidi*). Otherwise, it may have been the wood that was redolent.

6 ὄζεις: "bad smell, of bad breath," *LSJ* citing Cels. 3.11. Considering, however, the ambivalence of such English words as "odor, smell, scent," and their cognates and equivalents in other European languages, which are usually accompanied by qualifiers to distinguish between pleasant and disagreeable olfactory sensations, this ancient Greek word may have been just as neutral and adaptable – hence, the necessity of providing it with a qualifier here: εὐώδεος.

6-7 εὐώδεος ὄζεις ... πολὺς ἐκκέχυσαι: An aromatic epiphany? Cf. F. Pfister, 'Rauchopfer,' *RE* 1A,1, 268-270; *id.*, 'Epiphanie,' *RE, Suppl. IV* 316 § 40; G. Mussies, 'Identification and Self-Identification of Gods,' in: R. van den Broek *et al.*, edd., *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden 1988, 5, 11; B. Kötting, 'Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit,' in: *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike u. Christentum. Gedenkschr. f. Alfred Stuiber (Jb. f. Antike u. Christentum. Erg.-Bd. 9)*, Münster 1982, 168-175; W. Speyer, 'Die Vision

der wunderbaren Höhle,' *ibid.* 188-197, esp. 189-190; E. Lohmeyer, *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch. SB Heidelberg* 1919, no. 9; W. Deonna, 'Εὐωδία. Croyances antiques et modernes. L' odeur suave des dieux et des élus,' *Genava* 17 (1939) 167-263; E. Pax, 'Epiphanie,' *RAC* 5 (1962) 841; K. Smolak, *JÖB* 34 (1984) 4; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism*, Oxford 1947, 135-137; F. Rundgren, 'Odor suavitatis,' *Or. Suec.* 36-37 (1987-88) 85f.; E. Jones, *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis II*, London-Toronto 1951, 314-318.

Does πολὺς ἐκκέχυσαι refer to an effusive outpouring of divine poetic inspiration as *Dichterweihe*? Cf. P.Oxy. 3537.18 (p. 64): πολὺ [χεῦμα θεοπν]εύστου.

Cf. Eur. Hipp. 413: Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν ἦν πολλή ρυῆι Haslam

"You lie spread out before me in vast expanse" Parsons

7 νῶν]? Required is a long monosyllable. εἰ]? Haslam

8 πί]ναξ: Writing tablet/book roll representing teachings, doctrine, literature, prophecy, revelation? See in general on this *topos* in iconography: Theodor Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig 1907, repr. Hildesheim-New York 1976; in literature: L. Koep, "Buch," *RAC* 2 (1954) 688-717; *id.*, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum* (Theophaneia 8), Bonn 1952, 1-2.3; Gerd-Heinz Mohr, *Lexikon der Symbole*, Düsseldorf-Cologne 1974, s.v. Buch; Peter Bing, *The Well-Read Muse*, Göttingen 1988, 12.5, 18-19, 104-105.31.

The word naturally recalls Callimachus's Pinakes, his system of categorizing lists. Cf. Regenbogen, "Pinax," in: *RE* 22,2, 1408ff. In general on writing tablets in antiquity see the bibliography in Wm. Brashear, F. Hoogendijk, *Enchoria* 17 (1990) 21-54.

πῆ: Ionic interrogative particle.

πρῶτον ἐπέλθω: Words scarcely befitting the end of a poem. Hence, maybe the end of a proemium set off from the rest of the poem by the ornamental device of dots and crosses. Otherwise, the papyrus roll may have contained a florilegium, the crosses indicating the end of this particular selection.

πί]ναξ ... πρῶτον ἐπέλθω: "How should I, a writing tablet, first recount?," (the talking book?; cf. Bing, *op. cit.* 19-35).

"O, my writing tablet, how shall I first approach you, i.e. what shall I write on you first?" Cf. Eur. Hel. 165: τίνα μοῦσαν ἐπέλθω; Parsons

9] γάρ (?): Visible is the rightmost tip of a horizontal stroke. πόλλα]? Haslam, πάντα]? Parsons.

✠✠✠✠✠✠✠✠✠✠ This series of χῖ περιεστιγμένα might conceivably mark the end of this particular selection in the florilegium - a practice attested by Diog. Laert. III 65-66: λαμβάνεται ... χῖ περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐκλογὰς καὶ καλλιγραφίας. Cf. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Pap. Bruxellensia 26), Brussels 1992, 12.17. R. Cribiore (*per litteras* 21 Sept. 1992) informs me that there are similar decorations in PSI I 19 (=Pack² 1207) and in P.Rein. II 84 (=Pack² 2653).

Col. II: τ[: Visible is a long horizontal stroke, most likely the crossbar of tau. It is not written in alignment with the alpha beneath it but set more to the right.

Translation: "... having besung (her?) celebrated in hymns; ... her, comparable to the immortal goddesses; ... he prophesied to a child ... of Muses ... and with (his?) hands put a dear/beloved ... of sweet smelling odor; ... you effusively poured forth; ... tablet, where should I write on you first? ... for (many/all subjects) are at our disposal."

6. Lyric ?

P. 21302
9.2 x 6 cm.

Π

Light brown, fine quality papyrus; worm-damage on extant portion. ↓ blank. → margins: upper 2.4, lower 1.3, right 1.5 - 0.8 cm. Text in black ink. Relatively unskilled writer, probably a school pupil, imitating and striving to attain a literary style. First ny in l. 2 demonstrates a serif on the right hasta. Tiny "feet" or even large curves projecting to the right terminate the vertical hastae of pi in l. 2 line, rho in ll. 3,5,7, phi in l. 4, eta in l. 6 and the first ny in l. 8. Descender of rho does not project beyond the letters' base line. Somewhat similar scripts: Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, nos. 7,8,10.

Except for lines 3,6,7 which are iambotrochaic, the metrical pattern common to the other line ends is]υ - υ υ - . (Pl. 20,2)

→	]ανεπαν[	]ανε π̄αν
	]νεποθεν	]ν ἐπόεεν
	]αιροδον	]αι ρόδον
	]ναπεριφρων	]να περίφρων
5	]νχάρινε.	]ν χάριν ε.
	]μεποησε	]μ' ἐπόησε
	]θριάνδεδυ	]θριάν δ' ἔδυ
	]ανειχονεγω	]ἀνείχον ἐγώ

1 π̄αν[: π̄άλι[ν? Parsons, noting that the left vertical hasta is more slanted than that normally found in nys by this hand.

2]νεποθεν: Diagonal stroke through omicron from 2 o'clock to 6 o'clock.

3]αιρ' ὀδόν?, 'Ρόδον? Preceding alpha minuscule trace of a horizontal stroke on the base line. Vertical hasta of phi from the line below runs through the second omicron.

4]ναπεριφρων: Non-descript speck of ink before ny at mid-point above the base line gives no hint of letter once standing here.

5]ιν,]ην: Vertical hasta preceding ny on the edge of the papyrus.

]νχα ρ̄ινες?, χάριν ἐς (postpositive preposition)?: Non-descript speck of ink after the lacuna succeeding epsilon. Sigma very speculative.

6 The curved stroke at the bottom of the left vertical hasta of pi is either an inadvertent or intentional stroke similar to that terminating the right vertical hasta. Otherwise, pi has maybe been corrected from an original my.

7 κατ' ὀρ]θριάν δ' ἔδυ? describing the setting moon, in contrast to the steadfast (περίφρων) lady (?) who arises (ἀνείχον ἐγώ) from her bed (?). Otherwise, ἀνείχον = "I remain constant." δεδυ-?

8] ἄν εἶχον?

E. Handley suggests the text might be elegiac, citing as parallel for this practice P.Turner 5 where the hexameters and pentameters are written in *scriptura continua* without regard to verse division. His reconstruction is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 9 + \quad] \overset{10}{\alpha} \overset{11}{\nu} \overset{11}{\pi} \overset{11}{\alpha} \bar{\nu} \\
 \vdots \\
 1+8+ \quad] \overset{10}{\nu} \overset{11}{\pi} \overset{11}{\theta} \bar{\nu} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{\nu} \parallel \\
 8 + \quad] \overset{9}{\alpha} \overset{10}{\rho} \overset{10}{\delta} \overset{10}{\delta} \bar{\nu} \\
 2+7+ \quad] \overset{8}{\nu} \overset{9}{\alpha} \overset{10}{\pi} \overset{10}{\rho} \overset{10}{\iota} \bar{\nu} \bar{\omega} \bar{\nu} \parallel \\
 9 + \quad] \overset{10}{\nu} \overset{11}{\chi} \overset{11}{\alpha} \overset{11}{\rho} \overset{11}{\iota} \bar{\nu} \bar{\sigma} \\
 \vdots \\
 1+7+ \quad] \overset{7}{\mu} \overset{8}{\pi} \overset{9\alpha}{\sigma} \bar{\eta} \bar{\sigma} \\
 \parallel \\
 1\ 1/2 + 7 + \sim] \overset{8}{\theta} \overset{9}{\rho} \overset{10}{\iota} \bar{\alpha} \bar{\nu} \bar{\delta} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{\delta} \bar{\nu} \\
 \vdots \\
 2+6+ \sim] \overset{7}{\alpha} \overset{8}{\nu} \overset{9}{\iota} \overset{10}{\chi} \bar{\nu} \bar{\sigma} \bar{\nu} \bar{\omega}
 \end{array}$$

1 e.g. κοίρ]ανε πάν[τως.

4]να περίφρων ?

5 e.g. χάριν ἔσ[χον.

7. Philo, Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis 151, 154-155

P.Berol. 21342

12 x 6.3 cm.

VI-VII

Lower corner of a codex page. Margins: ↓ left: 1.5, lower 5 cm.; → right: 1.5, lower 5 cm. Given the number of *imponderabilia* involved (unknown margins, varying numbers of letters per line, possible textual variants, etc.) estimating the page-format is a highly speculative undertaking. Calculating 18-24 letters per line and ca. 36 lines per page, results in one ca. 32 cm. tall and 17 cm. wide (= Turner's Group 5). Sloping majuscule in light brown ink, with attempts at distinguishing between thick and thin strokes, somewhat similar to Cavallo-Maehler, nos. 39a,b,45b. Horizontal strokes of tau and psi display ascending nib on the left, a descending one on the right. Likewise, the horizontal of gamma with a descending nib. Occasional heterogeneous letter forms, for example, taus in →2 and ↓10 of varying heights and with or without nibs. High points in ↓3, →7, low point in →3, apostrophes in ↓9, →9. *Nomen sacrum*: →11. Identified by R. Daniel. Collated with the edition of P. Wendland, Berlin 1897, repr. Berlin 1962. (Pl. 21)

<p>↓ -----</p> <p>.. και ..[ψυχῆς τ[α μεγαλα τολμη] ματα· τ[ον μεν περιγειον] χ[ω]ρον α[πολελοιπυιας αν] 5 ε[ιλ]κυσ[μένης δε και μετα] τ[ων] θειω[ν φυσηων δια] τωμεν[ῆς θεας γαρ εμπι] πλαμεν[η των γνησιων και] αφ'θαρτ[ων αγαθων εικο] 10 τως τοι[ς εφημεροις και]</p>	<p>→ -----</p> <p>[τι τα γαρ ημερα] εν ψ[υ]χη [φυτα ημερους απ]οτικτοντα [καρπους ασειους] μεν. λογους [επαινετας δε πραξ]εις ω[γ]υγι [ος ευηθεια παρερχε]σ[θαι μ]ε [νειν γαρ εδει και δ]ρεφες[θ]αι [και απληστως εμφο]ρεισθαι· [καλλιστον γαρ η εν] αρε[τ]αις [τελειαις ακορεστος ε]υφρο·συ [νη ης οι λεχθεντε]ς αμπελω [νες συμβολα οισ δε] ο θ(εο)ς επι</p>
---	--

→ 61. δ]ρεπεσ[θ]αι.

8. Table of Parts; Multiplication Table

P. 21303

16.6 x 7.5 cm.

VII-VIII

Broken off from the right and left. *Kollesis* 2 cm. left of the right edge. 1 cm. further to the left of this first *kollesis* still another *kollesis*. Margins: → upper 0.5, lower 1 cm.; ↓ upper 0.5 cm. → fragments of three columns; coll. II-III: division table for ninths. Calculations all correct. Writing somewhat similar to Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, no. 169.

This genre of calculation table is well-known, and the parallels are numerous; cf. David H. Fowler, 'A Catalogue of Tables,' *ZPE* 75 (1988) 273-280. Most recent publications: R. Pintaudi, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni (Papyrologica Florentina XVIII)*, Florence 1989, *passim*; and M. Hasitzka, *Neue Texte u. Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht (MPER XVIII)*, nos. 322-330.

P.Mich. XV 686 and P.Berol. 21303↓, however, are proof that not all Greek mathematical tables were necessarily so banal. On ↓ in somewhat more cursive style by the same person is an unusual multiplication table presumably beginning [1 x 1/3 = 1/3, 1/2 x 1/3 = 1/6, 1/3 x 1/3 = 1/9, 1/4 x 1/3 = 1/12]. (Pl. 22)

→col. I	col. II	col. III	↓
	τῆ]ς α τὸ θ//	τῶ(v) ιθ [	] ε'' ιε̄ [1/3] x 1/5 = 1/15
	] β ζιη//	τῶ(v) κ [	] ζ'' ιῆ [1/3] x 1/6 = 1/18
	τῶ](v) γ γ'	τῶ(v) λ [	] ζ'' κᾱ [1/3] x 1/7 = 1/21
	τῶ](v) δ γ'θ//	τῶ(v) μ .[	] η'' κδ [1/3] x 1/8 = 1/24
	] ε λ ιη-	τῶ(v) ν [	] γ'θ'' κζ 1/3 x 1/9 = 1/27
	] ζ β'	τ[ῶ(v) ξ	] γ'ι'' . 1/3 x 1/10 = 1/30
	] ζ β'θ//	τ[ῶ(v) ο	] traces
	] η λ γ'ιη	τ[ῶ(v) π	-----
] -	τῶ(v) θ α	τ[ῶ(v) ρ	
	] τῶ(v) ι αθ//	-----	
	] τῶ(v) ια αζιη		
	] τῶ(v) ιβ αγ'		
	] τῶν ιγ αγ'θ//		
	] τῶν ιδ αλῆη		
	] τῶν ιε αβ'		
	] τῶν ις αβ'θ//		
	] τῶν ιζ αλγ'ῆη		
	] τῶν ιη β		

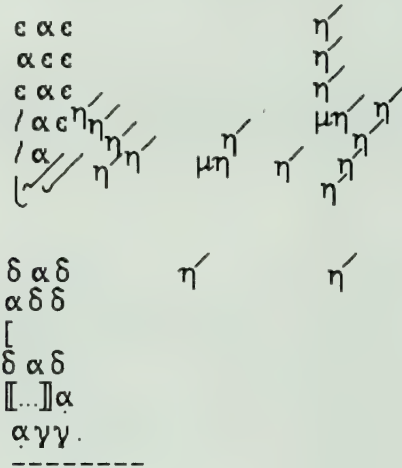
9. Multiplication and Penmanship Exercises

P. 21310
10.8 x 12 cm.

VIII

↓ small drawing or doodle (?). → upper margin 0.5, left 1 - 2 cm., right: variable. Ordinary multiplication exercises showing commutative property of numbers: 5x1=5, 1x5=5, 5x1=5; 4x1=4, 1x4=4, 4x1=4; [3x1=3], 1x3=3. Parallels: Hasitzka; Harrauer-Sijpesteijn; Pintaudi-Sijpesteijn; Fowler, *opp. citt.*

Mixed in with these and extending over the page to the right are various cursive forms of the fraction 2/3, penned (probably by the same person) at least fifteen times: pen trials, writing exercises or doodles. Similar scratch-pad products: Harrauer-Sijpesteijn, *op. cit.* The basic form of the 2/3 fraction is similar to that pictured in *Tyche* 5 (1990) 25. For the long tails ending in hooks cf. CPR IX, Gr. Texte VI, Taf. 23, 28, 29. For other forms see Wm. Brashear, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 242. (Pl. 23)

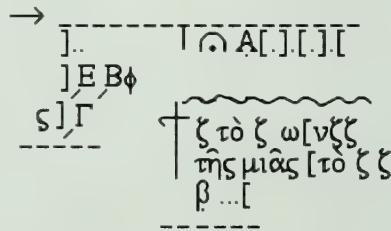


10. Tables of Parts

P.Berol. 21308
4.3 x 9.6 cm.

VII

Light brown papyrus. On one side, traces of an account in *nomismata* written →; *kollesis* ca. 2 cm. from left edge. Underneath it a strip of vertical fibers. On the other side, the tables of parts, also written →. (Pl. 24,1)



Col. II ζ τὸ ζ ω[vζ ζ': Cf. B. Boyaval, *Rev. arch.* 1977, 217: κδ// τὸ κδ// Σν.

Col. I: "(1/2 of) 5000 (is) 2500; of (6000) 3000." Col. II: "(1/6) of 10,000 (is) 1[666 2/3]. 7ths. The 7th (of 6000 is) 8(57 1/7). (1/7th) of one is (1/7); of 2"

11. Shorthand Manual

P.Berol. 21320
7 x 7 cm.

V-VI

Light-brown papyrus. On one side traces of a Christian text written ↓; on the other, remnants of a shorthand manual likewise written ↓. There is hence no way of determining whether this fragment derives from a roll or codex or what is recto and verso. The Christian text preserves a somewhat damaged right margin which corresponds to the lower edge of the tachygraphic text. Presumably no more than one entry at the most is missing from the tetrads abutting on this edge. Milne is the standard work on the subject. Cf. Pack 2753ff. Addenda in P.Yale II 129, introd.; PSI XX Congr. no. 4; P.Berol. 17016 in *APF* 39 (1993).

The first recognizable word (ἀριθμός) belongs to Tetrad 67 (cf. Milne). The word traces preceding it, however, do not correspond with anything in Tetrad 66. Furthermore unusual are the additional entries in Tetrads 67, 74 and the inconsistent tachygraphic sign in Tetrad 75.

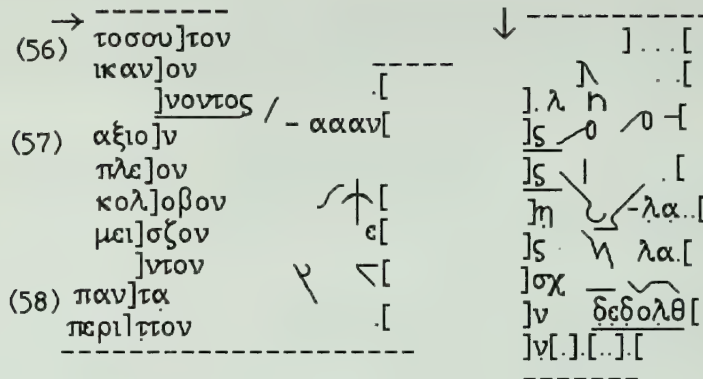
<p style="text-align: center;">-----</p> <p style="text-align: center;">]μηρον</p> <p style="text-align: center;">].αισ[.]</p> <p>(67) αριθ]μος.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ελασ]ων</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ολιγος]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">πλειω]ν</p> <p style="text-align: center;">].ον</p> <p style="text-align: center;">].</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-----</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">-----</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.....[</p> <p>(74) ο]π//μακ<ρ>αν.[</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ο.[.]ελθων.[</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ιζει//ελη[</p> <p style="text-align: center;">λυρα.[</p> <p>(75) ηρ//ανπαζε[ι</p> <p style="text-align: center;">εμπροσθε[ν</p> <p style="text-align: center;">οπισθεν [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">λειπεται [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-----</p>
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12. Shorthand Manual

P.Berol. 21307
6.8 x 3.3 cm.

IV-V

Codex page fragment. Writing somewhat similar to P.Berol. 21297 (v. *Anagenesis* 3, 1983, pl. IIa, IIb) – letters here more vertical, there more slanted to the right; and to P.Oxy. 1614 = Turner, *GMAW*, no. 23. Nos. in parentheses refer to Milne. New are the additional entries in Tetrads 56 and 57 and the word endings in Tetrad 58 for which heretofore only the beginnings were attested. ↓ text so far unidentified. (Pl. 24,2-3)



→
 κολ]οβον: Milne κολοβο[υ].
 μει]σζον: 1. μει]ζον.

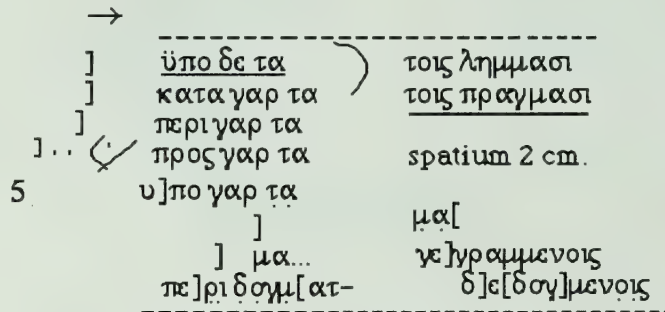
As yet unidentified tachygraphic symbols to the right of these entries.

13. Shorthand Syllabary

P.Berol. 21330
 12 x 5.3 cm.

V
 Hermupolis

Found in Eshmunein on January 28, 1905. Light brown papyrus broken off on three sides. ↓ traces of four lines of a document. → syllabary; variable right margin. Milne, p. 17, records a similar text. (Pl. 25,1)



Frequently cited works:

- Cavallo-Maehler = G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period*, London 1987.
- Harrauer-Sijpesteijn = Hermann Harrauer, Pieter Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*, Vienna 1985.
- Milne = H.J.M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, London 1934.
- Seider = Richard Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri II*, Stuttgart 1970.
- Turner, *GMAW* = E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed., P. Parsons, ed.), London 1987.

SUL DISCORSO INTORNO ALLA MUSICA DEL P. HIBEH I 13

Maria Carla De Giorgi

Plate 26

Col. i.

[πολλ]ακίς επηλθε μοι θαυμασαι ω ανδρες [Ελληνες
[ει αλλοτριας τιν[ες] τας επιδειξεις των οικειων τε
[χν]ων ποιουμεν[οι] λανθανουσιν υμας λ[εγοντες] γαρ
[ο]τι αρμονικοι εισι και προχειρισαμενοι ω[ι]δας τινας
5 ταυτας συγκρινουσιν τωμ μεν ως ετυχεν
κατηγορουντες τας δε εικη εγκω[μιαζ]οντες
και λεγουσι μεν ως ου δει αυτους ου[τε ψ]αλτας
ουτε ωιδους θεωρειν περι μεγ γαρ τ[αυτ]α ετεροις
φασιν παραχωρ[ε]ιν : αυτων δε ιδιον [ει]ναι το θε
10 ωρητικον μερος φαινονται δε περι μεν ταυτα
ων ετεροις παραχωρουσιν ου μετριως εσπουδακο
τες εν οις δε φασιν ισχυειν εν τουτοις σχ[εδια]
ζοντες)—: λεγουσι δε ως των μελων τ[α] μεν
εγκρατεις τα δε φρονιμους τα δε δικαιους
15 τα δε ανδρειους τα δε δειλους ποιει)—: κακως ειδοτες οτι
ουτε χρωμα δειλους: ουτε αρμονια αν ανδρειους
ποιησειεν τους αυτηι χρωμενους)—: τις γαρ ουκ οιδεν

Col. ii.

[Αιτ]ωλους και Δολοπας : και παντας τους Θε[ρ
[μοφυλ]ησι. διατονωι μεν τη μουσικη χρω[μενους] μα
20 [λλον] δε των τραγωιδων οντας ανδρειο[υς] των δι
[α πα]ντος ειωθοτων εφ αρμονιας αιδειν)—: [ωστε
[ουτε] χρωμα δειλους ουτε αρμονια αν[δρειους] ποι
[ει εις τ]ουτο δε ερχονται τολμησ ωστε [ολον τον βιο]ν κα[τα
[τριβ]ειν εν ταις χορδαις : ψαλλοντες μεν [πολυ χ]ει[ρον τω]ν
25 [ψαλ]των : αιδοντες δε των ωιδων : συνκρινοντες δε
[του τ]υχοντος ρητορος παντα παντω[ν χει]ρον ποιουντες
[και πε]ρι μεν των αρμ[ο]νικων καλουμ[ενω]ν εν οις δη
φ[ασι]ν διακεισθαι πως : ουθ ηντινα φων[ην] εχοντες λεγειν :
εν[θο]υσιωντες δε : και παρα τον ρυθμ[ον δε] παιοντες
30 το υποκειμενον σανιδιον αυτοις [αμα τοις] απ[ο] του
ψ[αλ]τηριου ψοφοις : και ουδε αισχυν[ομενο]ι εξειπ[ειν

—τω[ν] μελων τα μεν δαφνης εξειν [ιδιον] τι τα δε κιτ[του]
 ετ[ι δε ερω]τωντες ει ου φαινεται [.....]α ιδια επιτη[...
 ε[.....]νθεισθαι · και οι σατυροι προς [αυλο]ν χορευον[τες]¹

Il *P. Hibeh* I 13, esaminato nelle precedenti analisi puntuali secondo una codificazione ritmico - lessicale², secondo le regole combinatorie che presiedono alle associazioni del materiale tipico della retorica di tipo sofista³, si presenta interessante ad una lettura che ne consideri attentamente le problematiche filosofico - musicali. Lo stile chiaramente epidittico⁴ si rileva già nell'esordio:

“Spesso mi è accaduto di essere sorpreso, o uomini dell'Ellade⁵, del fatto che passino a voi inosservati alcuni che fanno declamazioni estranee alle loro arti”. (*Col. I*, linee 1.-3.).

La fase d'avvio del *discorso* è decisamente polemica; il retore attacca i cosiddetti *Armonici*: “Infatti, dicendo che sono armonici (ἀρμονικοί) e scegliendo alcuni canti, li mettono a confronto, cosicché ne condannano a caso alcuni e a caso ne elogiano altri” (*Col. I*, linee 3.-6.).

Degli *Armonici*, ossia degli studiosi della scienza armonica, ci parla Aristosseno⁶ come dei suoi precursori, ma contro di loro polemizza, alla maniera del retore del nostro papiro, che pone in evidenza la superficialità delle loro trattazioni teoriche, nonché la loro presunzione di dettare leggi riguardanti questioni musicali.

Dal momento che costoro mancano di principi generali, che possano fornire una base sistematica alla loro analisi, qualsiasi tentativo che essi fanno, come il confronto e la successiva classificazione delle diverse armonie, appare casuale (τῶμ μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν κατηγοροῦντες, τὰς δὲ εἰκῆ ἔγκω[μιάζ]οντες) e, pertanto, non degno di credibilità.⁷

Proseguendo:

“Dicono, inoltre, che non bisogna considerarli né come strumentisti (ψάλτας) né come cantori (ὄδούς). Infatti, riguardo a queste cose affermano che bisogna lasciarle ad altri, dal momento che il loro campo è quello teoretico. Essi mostrano, tuttavia, di essere immoderatamente entusiasti (οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδακότες) di quelle cose che lasciano agli altri, mentre trattano alla buona di quelle cose in cui dicono di essere forti (ισχύειν). Dicono che alcune melodie

¹ Trascrizione di B.P. Grenfell - A.S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, London, I, 1906, pp. 46-47.

Il papiro si presenta scritto in onciale di tipo ordinario, in larghe colonne, le cui linee mostrano notevole irregolarità di lunghezza.

² Cfr. U. von Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, Berlin 1921, pp. 66 ss.

³ Gli editori del papiro lo attribuiscono ad Ippia di Elide, il sofista contemporaneo di Prodicò e di Socrate, con riferimento ai passi degli omonimi dialoghi di Platone, *Hipp. min.* 363C, 368D; *Hipp. mai.* 385E (cfr. B.P. Grenfell - A.S. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-48). Similmente C.E. Ruelle, “Le papyrus musical de Hibeh”, *R Ph* XXXI (1907), pp. 235-240, attribuisce il papiro a Ippia, sostenendo che il testo di *P. Hibeh* I 13 appartenga a un discorso pronunciato, in occasione dei giochi olimpici, contro l'influenza paideutica della musica. W Crönert, “Die Hibehrede über die Musik”, *Hermes* XLIV (1909), pp. 503-521, pur non attribuendolo ad Ippia, lo pone in ambito sofista, in base allo stile, definito isocrateo di prima maniera e perciò databile al 390 a.C., anteriormente all'apertura della scuola isocratea. Nell'ambito sofistico lo colloca anche M. Untersteiner, *I sofisti*, Firenze III, 1954, pp. 208-211. Per lo stile dei sofisti, cfr. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, trad. it. B. Heinemann Campana, Roma, I, 1986, pp. 74-89; R. Meijering, *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*, Groningen 1987, pp. 7-9. Per la cronologia del *P. Hibeh* I 13, cfr. appresso.

⁴ Per lo stile epidittico cfr. M. Gigante, *Il discorso olimpico di Lisia*, St. in on. di L. Castiglioni, Firenze 1960, pp. 375-393.

⁵ Evidentemente il retore si rivolge a una πανήγυρις, cfr. E. Ruelle, *art. cit.*, pp. 235-240.

⁶ Cfr. Aristox. *Harm.* I 2.

⁷ W. Crönert, *art. cit.*, pp. 503-521, sulla base di Arist. Quint. *De mus.* II, 14, parla di συγκρίσεις, confronti tra differenti armonie, contenute in un'opera di Damone.

rendono temperati (ἐγκρατεῖς), altre saggi (φρονίμους), altre giusti (δικαίους), altre audaci (ἀνδρείους), altre vili (δειλούς), non capendo che il cromatico (χρῶμα) non può rendere vili, né l'enarmonico (ἀρμονία) audaci quelli che se ne servono" (Col. I, linee 6.-17.).

La polemica contro gli *Armonici* prende spessore filosofico nei riferimenti alla dottrina degli ἥθη, attribuita a Damone, per il quale Platone mostra entusiasmo in vari luoghi della *Repubblica* e delle *Leggi*.⁸ Il nostro retore dimostra il suo scetticismo nei confronti dell'influenza psicagogica della musica e delle reazioni che differenti armonie potrebbero provocare nell'animo umano.⁹

Si passa, quindi, alla constatazione di fatto che l'uso di diverse melodie non ha alcuna influenza effettiva sull'atteggiamento comportamentale di individui ed ἔθνη.

"Chi infatti non sa (Col. II, linea 17.) che Etoli e Dolopi e tutti quanti (si radunano) alle assemblee di Thermos (Θερμιακαί) i quali si servono del diatonico, sono più audaci dei tragedi che sono stati abituati regolarmente a cantare nell'enarmonico? Cosicché né il cromatico rende vili né l'enarmonico audaci" (Col. II, linee 18.-22.).

Alla Col. II, linee 18. - 19., si potrebbe proporre la seguente integrazione congetturale, per un'ipotesi di datazione più recente:

Αἰτωλούς και Δολοπας : και παντας τους Θε[ρ
μιακ]ησι διατονωι μεν τη μουσικηι χρῶ[μενους μα

cf Pl. 26

La citazione di Etoli e Dolopi si potrebbe riferire alla *Legg Etolica*, che ogni anno si riuniva in assemblea generale a *Thermos*, città dell'Etolia, sul lago Triconide, presso il santuario federale di Apollo Thermio, sede religiosa e politica della legg. Qui evidentemente si svolgevano le *Θερμιακαί* annuali.¹⁰ Della *Legg Etolica*, attestata per la prima volta in un'iscrizione attica nel 367-366 a.C.¹¹, i Dolopi entrarono a far parte dopo il 322 a.C.¹² Quindi Etoli, Dolopi e tutti gli ἔθνη, che facevano parte della legg, celebravano con canti del diatonico la πανήγυρις annuale di Thermos. A questa datazione tarda fa difficoltà

⁸ Cfr. Plat. *De rep.* 400 a. c., 424c; *De leg.* 700 a - 701b. Per Damone, vissuto non più tardi del V sec. a.C., cfr. U. von Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 59 ss., 66 ss; A.E. Raubitschek, "Damon", *C & M* XVI (1955), pp. 78-83, lo pone nell'ultimo trentennio del V sec. Similmente C. Del Grande, *La metrica classica*, in "Encicl. Class." V 1, Torino 1960, p. 216 ss. Un sofista del circolo di Pericle lo considera A. Barker, *The Musician and his Art*, in *Greek Musical Writings*, Cambridge, I, 1984, pp. 168-169. Damone fu il primo ad indagare gli effetti della musica sull'animo umano. Cfr. Philod. *De mus.* I 13; III 77; IV 33.

⁹ Per la dottrina degli ἥθη cfr. H. Marrou, *Mousikos Aner*, Grenoble 1937; ID., *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* Paris 1950; E. Moutsopoulos, *La musique dans l'oeuvre de Platon*, Paris 1959; L. Richter, *Zur Wissenschaftslehre von der Musik bei Platon und Aristoteles*, Berlin 1961; E.A. Lippman, "The sources and development of the Ethical View of Music in ancient Greece", *Mus. Quart.*, IV (1963), pp. 188-209; ID., *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece*, London 1964; W.D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music*, Cambridge 1966; H. Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der Griechischen Musik*, Leipzig 1968; G. Comotti, *La musica nella cultura greca e romana*, Torino 1991, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰ Cfr. Polyb. V 3, 10; 4, 1; 7, 8; 8, 1; 8, 5: πανηγύρεις ἐπιφανεστάτας; Strab. Xc 453. Per Thermos cfr. C. Fiehn, "Thermos (Thermon?)", in *Aitolien* RE V 2, col. 2423-44; E. Meyer, "Thermos", *Kleine Pauly* V 1975, col. 746. Per *Θερμιακά πανήγυρις* cfr. *Mon. Mytil.*, Boekh, II, pp. 194-195.

¹¹ Cfr. G. Klaffenbach, "Zur Geschichte Aetoliens und Delphis im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *Kl XXXII* (1939), pp. 189-209; ID., *Inscriptiones Graecae*, IX 1 (2) fasc. 1, *Inscriptiones Aetoliae*, 1-94, p. 82 (196); M. Sordi, *Le origini del koinon etolico*, in AA.VV., *Zur griechischen Staatskunde*, Darmstadt 1965, pp. 343 ss.; J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek federal states, Their instructions and history*, Oxford, 1968; P. Lévêque, *Gli stati federali*, in AA.VV. *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, Roma, VII, 1974, pp. 60-61; M. Sordi, *Storia politica del mondo greco*, Milano 1982, p. 239.

¹² Cfr. Paus. I, 25, 4.

l'attribuzione del papiro ad Ippia¹³, già posta in dubbio da Nestle¹⁴ e da Untersteiner¹⁵, che lo riferiscono, come già Crönert, all'ambito sofista anonimo¹⁶ considerando che il contenuto musicale e lo stile siano argomentazioni poco solide per la paternità di Ippia. La considerazione che Aristosseno usi il termine ἔναρμόνιον, mentre il nostro retore usa ἄρμονία per indicare l'enaarmonico, fa supporre a Barker¹⁷ e ad Anderson¹⁸ che l'autore del papiro sia anteriore ad Aristosseno.¹⁹ Considerato che Aristosseno è del IV secolo a.C., si può supporre che l'autore del papiro, pur dando l'impressione di essere un φιλόσοφος più che un μουσικός, sia da collocarsi cronologicamente come contemporaneo o di poco posteriore ad Aristosseno.

Proseguendo:

“Essi giungono a tal punto di temerarietà da passare tutta la vita sulle corde, suonando molto peggio degli strumentisti (ψαλτῶν), cantando peggio dei cantori (ᾠδῶν), mettendo a confronto peggio di un qualsiasi retore, facendo ogni cosa peggio di ogni altro. E riguardo ai cosiddetti armonici, nei confronti dei quali dicono di essere particolarmente disposti, pur non avendo nessuna parola da dire, si entusiasmano anche solo battendo il ritmo, contemporaneamente con i suoni dello psalterion, sulla tavola dove seggono (posta sotto di loro)”. (Col. II, linee 23.-31.).

Si fa riferimento qui a tutti gli esperimenti di differente accordatura, ai διαγράμματα di cui parla Aristosseno²⁰, secondo i quali gli *Armonici* suddividono per quarti di tono i diversi intervalli della scala d'ottava nel genere enarmonico. I cosiddetti *Armonici* hanno un'inadeguata comprensione, a parere del nostro retore, non solo dei fenomeni musicali, ma anche del ritmo giusto nel momento della *performance*.²¹

Ed infine:

“Essi non si vergognano di dichiarare che alcune melodie avranno la peculiare caratteristica dell'alloro, altre dell'edera, e ancora di chiedersi se non sembrano proprie ... anche i satiri danzando al suono del flauto ...” (Col. II, linee 31.-34.).

Nonostante lo stato frammentario delle ultime due linee, si può intravedere un ulteriore attacco contro qualsiasi tipo di classificazione della musica, sia essa del genere apollineo (τῶ[v] μελῶν τὰ μὲν δάφνην ἔξειν [ἴδιόν] τι), che del genere dionisiaco (τὰ δὲ κίττου), sia essa musica di carattere mimetico,²² che di carattere irrazionale ed estatico, come quella dei satiri che danzano al suono dell'αὐλός.

L'ambito tardo - sofista si evidenzia qui, ancora una volta, nel rifiuto del νόμος e nella prevalenza della φύσις.²³

Trasposto in ambito musicale, il principio si traduce nel rifiuto di norme e catalogazioni di ogni genere, dando al papiro, in quest'ottica, nuovi *effetti di lettura*.

¹³ Cfr. nota 2.

¹⁴ Cfr. W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, Stuttgart 1940, pp. 435-437.

¹⁵ Cfr. M. Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-211.

¹⁶ Cfr. nota 2.

¹⁷ Cfr. A. Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

¹⁸ Cfr. W.D. Anderson, “The Importance of Damonian theory in Plato's thought”, *Trans. of Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, VIII (1955), p. 88.

¹⁹ Per la cronologia, cfr. *Suida* s.v. Ἀριστόξενοσ.

²⁰ cfr. Aristox. *Harm.* I 2.

²¹ Cfr. Aristox. *Harm.* VI 13-19; XXXII 29-31.

²² Si potrebbe accogliere, alle linee 33.-34., l'integrazione di H. Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike*, Bern 1954, p. 144; e di M. Untersteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 210:

ἔτ[ι δὲ ἔρω]τῶντες, εἰ οὐ φαίνεται [ἐνταῦθα] ἰδίᾳ ἐπιτή[δευσ]ις

εἰ[ὸ μί]μεισθαι καὶ οἱ σάτυροι πρὸς [τὸν αὐλὸν] χορευόν[τες].

²³ Cfr. H. Koller, *op. cit.*, p. 144; M. Gigante, *Nóμος βασιλεύς*, Napoli 1956, pp. 145 ss.

HEXAMETRISCHE-ETHOPOIIAI AUF PAPYRUS UND ANDEREN MATERIALIEN

José-Antonio Fernández Delgado

Innerhalb der *progymnasmata* oder Kompositionsübungen, mit denen die Rhetoren die Ausbildung des zukünftigen Redners förderten, befindet sich auf einem relativ fortgeschrittenen Niveau die Form der *êthopoía*,¹ die in der dichterisch-rhetorischen Annäherung an den Charakter einer mythischen oder realen Persönlichkeit und ihr Verhalten in einer typischen Situation besteht.² Die zu behandelnden Themen stammen meist aus der homerischen Dichtung, und ihre Ausarbeitung, die sich bemüht irgendwie originell zu sein, wird durch eine charakteristische Eingangsformel eingeleitet: τίνας ἄν εἴποι λόγους. Ein beispielhaftes Muster in Prosa ist von Aptonius unter der Überschrift Τίνας ἄν εἴποι λόγους Νιόβη κειμένων τῶν παίδων angefertigt worden.³ Weitere ähnlich geartete Belege befinden sich in reichlicher Anzahl zwischen den *progymnasmata*, die der seinem Lehrer Libanios zugeschriebene Werkcorpus enthält. Ein Fragment eines opistographischen Papyrus-Kodex, P.Vindob. G 29789, der zwischen das dritte und das vierte Jahrhundert datiert wird, enthält auf seinem *recto* Reste von zwei in halbkursiver Schrift geschriebenen Prosa Ethopoiien, die ihr Herausgeber als die von einer Vorlage ausgehende Kopie eines "jungen Schülers" klassifiziert.⁴ Eine beträchtliche Anzahl ähnlicher Ethopoiien wurde im Laufe der byzantinischen Zeit von verschiedenen Rhetoren verfertigt.⁵

Eine Komposition dieser Art, die die Rede des Zeus, der Helios wegen des Phaeton überlassenen Wagens ermahnt, zum Inhalt hat und die in Hexametern verfaßt ist, blieb auf der Grabstele ihres Autors, eines elfjährigen Knaben, der mit diesem Entwurf ehrenvoll im capitolinischen Wettkampf des Jahres 94 n. Chr. gestritten hatte, erhalten.⁶ Um den ethopoeitischen Charakter des Gedichtes zu dokumentieren, erwähnt sein Herausgeber Moretti⁷ eine Arbeit von Crusius über eine andere ethopoeitische Komposition, die, gleichermaßen hexametrisch konzipiert, auf der einen Seite eines Kairoer Holzdiptychons bewahrt worden ist und auf die Wende des 5. zum 6. Jahrhundert datiert wird.⁸ Sie behandelt ein nachhomerisches Thema, bei dem der Schatten Achills die Griechen tadelt, ihn ohne Vergeltung gelassen zu

¹ Die vorliegende Arbeit ist im Institut für Klassische Philologie der Freien Universität Berlin mit Hilfe eines Stipendiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung entstanden. Ich möchte der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung für die Bewilligung des Stipendiums meinen Dank aussprechen sowie dem Institut für Klassische Philologie, insbesondere Prof. Dr. Tilman Krischer, für ihre Gastfreundschaft und ihr Entgegenkommen.

² μίμησις ἤθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου, οἷον τίνας ἄν εἴποι λόγους Ἀνδρομάχῃ ἐπὶ Ἑκτορι, gemäß der Definition des Hermogenes: Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* II, S. 15. Cf. G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton, N. Y., 1983, S. 54 ff. und H.M. Hagen, *Ἠθοποιία. Zur Geschichte eines rhetorischen Begriffs*, Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1966.

³ Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* II S. 45.

⁴ H. Gerstinger, "Bruchstücke einer antiken Progymnasmata-Sammlung im Pap. gr. Vindob. 29789", *Mitteil. Ver. klass. Philol. in Wien*, 4, 1927, S. 35-47.

⁵ Cf. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII 5,1), München 1978, S. 108-116.

⁶ Cf. J.-A. Fernández Delgado - J. Ureña Bracero, *Un testimonio de la educación literaria griega en época romana* (IG XIV 2012 = Kaibel, EG 618), Universidad de Extremadura (Cáceres), 1991.

⁷ L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, III, Roma 1979, S. 193.

⁸ O. Crusius, "Aus antiken Schulbüchern", *Philologus* 64, 1905, S. 142-146. S. a. P. Jouguet - G. Lefebvre, *BCH* 28, 1904, S. 208; F. Blaß, *APF* 3, 1906, S. 480; E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, Bonn 1913, 42b.

haben (so wie es skizziert erscheint bei Euripides, Hec. 1145, später bei Ovid, Met. XIII 443–446 und vor allem bei Quintus aus Smyrna XIV 185–222).

Zur gleichen Zeit ediert Crusius selbst, in Zusammenarbeit mit Gerhard, den P. Heid. 1271, der eine Sammlung von sechs *êthopoítai* enthält, die mit Ausnahme von zweien bis auf die Versanfänge ziemlich gut erhalten sind und wie der zuvor genannte ins 6. Jh. datiert werden.⁹ Sie werden mit einer Reihe ähnlicher im neunten Buch der *Anthologia Graeca* überlieferter Kompositionen (451–480 und 449, 126) in Verbindung gebracht. Auf diese hatte sich bereits Reitzenstein einige Jahre zuvor gestützt,¹⁰ um zum einen den wirklichen Charakter, zum anderen die Prosaüberschriften einer Reihe von Schriftstücken zu erklären, die in zwei von Graves herausgegebenen und ins 4. Jahrhundert datierten Papyrusfragmenten, welche am linken Rand schwerste Beschädigungen aufweisen, enthalten waren und die man als das *excerptum* eines kyprischen Gesanges über Achill und Helena interpretiert hatte.¹¹

Vom Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts stammt zugleich die Herausgabe des P. Oxy. 671, der in die zweite Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts datiert wird und der aus zwei stark verstümmelten Fragmenten besteht, die jedoch die Eingangsformel der Überschrift τίνας ἂν εἴποι klar zu erkennen geben.¹² Wenn, wie man aus der wiederholten Erwähnung eines βασιλεύς zu schließen scheint, beide Fragmente, von denen das eine eine Lücke von fünf Zeilen aufweist, das gleiche Thema behandeln, würde dieses einen größeren Umfang erreicht haben (mindestens 25 Zeilen) als es gewöhnlich in den bis hierher erwähnten hexametrischen

⁹ O. Crusius–G. A. Gerhard, "Mythologische Epigramme in einem Heidelberger Papyrus" *Mélanges Nicole*, Genf 1905, S. 615–624. Die Überschriften der im Heidelberger Papyrus enthaltenen Kompositionen lauten: [Φοῖνιξ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείῃα προτρε]πόμενος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα [παύ]σασθαι τῆ[ς ὀργῆς], Μία τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν συντυχοῦσα τῇ Ἑλένῃ ἐν τῇ Ἐλ[λάδι], [Εἶς] τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Ἑκτορος φονεύσαντος τὸν Πάτροκλον καὶ φορέσαν[τι]ος τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοῦ], [Ζ]εὺς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης προσελθούσης αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ Διομήδους ὡς τράσαντο[ς αὐτῆς τὴν χεῖρα], [Ἀφροδί]τη τοῦ Διομήδους ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς Αἰγυαλείης (ein nachhomerisches Thema) und [.] Ἀγαμέμνωνος μὴ βοηθήσαντος τῷ Ὀρέστῃ.

¹⁰ R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 38, 1900, S. 102–105. Die Themen der Kompositionen der AG sind in der Mehrzahl homerischer Herkunft, obgleich es einige hesiodische (451, 452), einige nachhomerische (461, 477) und einige stärker gekünstelte (449, 453–456, 479, 480) gibt. N. 476, 478 und 480 sind in jambischen Trimetern geschrieben. Die Überschriften sind das Werk eines späteren Lemmatisten und erscheinen nicht immer treffend; cf. P. Waltz–G. Soury (ed.), *Anthologie Grecque* VII, Livre IX, Paris 1974, ad 463, 464, 466, 467.

¹¹ Ch. Graves, *Hermathena* 5, 1885, S. 237–257; A. Ludwich, *Carminis Iliaci deperditi reliquiae*, Königsberg 1897. Von einigen besagter Kompositionen hat Reitzenstein die folgenden Überschriften rekonstruieren können: [Καλλιόπ]η παραμυθουμή[ν]η τὴν Θέτι[δα] (ein Thema, dessen Behandlung Reitzenstein von Quintus aus Smyrna III, 633ff. angeregt worden sieht), [Ἄ]φροδίτη Μ]ενελάου κελεύσαντο[ς μὴ θάψαι Αἴαντα], [Τριόπ]α[ς] Ἐρ]σίχθονος ἂν[α]λίσκοντο[ς πᾶσαν] | [τὴν αὐτοῦ] οὐσίαν καὶ μὴ κόρον ἐσ[χ]ηκότος, [Ἀπόλλων] μετὰ τὴν ἀ]νέ[ρ]εσιν τῶν παίδων τῆς Νιό[β]η[ς]. Es scheint mir nicht nötig zu sein, den Anfang τί ἂν εἴποι bei einer jeden Überschrift zu unterstellen, wie es Reitzenstein tut, oder ihn wie E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, Göttingen 1963, S. 86f, zu konjizieren, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß auch andere Manifestationen wie die des Heidelberger Papyrus diese Kurzform der Überschrift ohne die Eingangsformel aufweisen. Außer der im P. Graves enthaltenen Ethopoiien hat Heitsch ebenfalls die des P. Ryl. (S. 77 ff.), des Kairoer Holzdiptychons (S. 125) und des P. Cair. Masp. III 67316, II 67188 (S. 151) in seine Sammlung aufgenommen.

¹² Ein Zeichen N am Rand des ersten Verses der Komposition, das die Herausgeber B. P. Grenfell und A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* IV, 1904, S. 122–124, als νι() oder ιν() deuten und annehmen, daß es sich auf den Namen des Dichters bezieht oder auch auf die sprechende Person, befindet sich ebenfalls am Anfang einer Reihe von Papyri des 4. Jhdts., die Gerichtsreden enthalten und in denen das Zeichen als "N(arratio)" (L.C. Youtie–D. Hagedorn–H.C. Youtie, "Urkunden aus Panopolis III", *ZPE* 10, 1973, S. 150, A. 2) oder ein anderes lateinisches Wort (N. Lewis, "The symbol N", *P. Rain. Cent.*, S. 121–126) erklärt worden ist. Andererseits verstärkt der Zusammenfall die Vermutung P. Parsons, *The Oxy. Papyri* XLII, 1974, S. 14, daß es sich bei dem Zeichen mit den Zügen eines eher stilisierten, mehr kreuzförmigen N, das sich zugleich am Anfang der im P. Oxy. 3002 enthaltenen und ebenfalls ins 4. Jh. datierten *êthopoíta* befindet, um eine Version des in besagten Urkunden gefundenen Zeichens handelt.

éthopoiiai der Fall ist. Diese pflegen, mit Ausnahme der epigraphischen Ethopoiie des Sulpicius, die aus 43 Hexametern besteht, zwischen einer Länge von zwei und zehn Versen zu schwanken.

Unter anderen Kostproben literarischer Anwandlungen, die von Dioskoros von Aphroditos, einer zumindest als repräsentativer Bürger und Notar der Thebaide wohlbekannten Persönlichkeit des sechsten Jahrhunderts, auf dem *verso* seiner Dokumente aufgetragen worden sind, befinden sich auch hexametrische *éthopoiia*-Übungen, die, wenn nicht gar schulischer Herkunft, auf alle Fälle nicht gerade von einer besonders guten Kenntnis der griechischen Sprache zeugen.¹³ Abgesehen von zwei auf dem *verso* des P.Cair.Masp. III 67353 B und C tradierten Überschriften haben sich auf dem P.Cair.Masp. 67316 *verso* und dem P.Cair.Masp. 67187, 10-18 zwei Kompositionen zum Thema Achilleus und Polyxene erhalten¹⁴, von denen ersterer die Eingangsformel des Textes bewahrt. Außerdem scheint sich im P.Cair.Masp. 67188 *verso* eine weitere *éthopoiia*-Komposition über ein Gespräch der in Pflanzen verwandelten mythischen Gestalten Hyacinthos und Daphne –ein Thema, das ebenfalls in der *éthopoiia* VIII 399F. von Libanios zugegen ist–, zu befinden, auch wenn man sie noch so sehr als "eine Überleitung zur Ekphrasis" bezeichnet hat.¹⁵

Auch wenn ihr Anfang, der das Problem erhellen könnte, uns nicht erhalten geblieben ist, scheint es sich bei der einen Komposition (oder den mehreren), die sich im P.Ryl. 487 befindet, um eine *prosôpopoiia*, so wie sie Keydell mit einer anderen von den Rhetoren gebrauchten Bezeichnung nennt, zu handeln.¹⁶ Der Papyrus, der 1938 ediert worden ist, wird zwischen das dritte und vierte Jahrhundert datiert und enthält Reste von 37 Hexametern. Das in diesem Fall bearbeitete Thema, die Rückkehr des Odysseus und die Bestrafung der Freier, unterscheidet sich von der Mehrheit der Themen dadurch, daß es direkt aus der Odyssee (nicht aus der Ilias) stammt, obgleich in seiner Ausformung originelle Einfälle zum Ausdruck kommen.

In neuerer Zeit sind zwei weitere hexametrische *éthopoiiai* auf Papyrus, beide von beträchtlicher Ausdehnung, P.Oxy. 3002 und P.Oxy. 3537, durch Prof. P. Parsons herausgegeben worden, der sie dem vierten beziehungsweise dem Übergang vom dritten zum vierten Jahrhundert zuweist.¹⁷ Die erste besteht aus 26 Hexametern und entbehrt der Überschrift, genauso wie die Stücke im neunten Buch der *Anthologia Graeca*, ehe sie sie vom Lemmatisten erhielten.¹⁸ Ihre Identifikation ist aber möglich gewesen auf Grund ihres charakteristischen Stiles und weil hier die homerische Ausgangssituation so bearbeitet ist, daß sie der entsprechenden homerischen Passage (*Il.* I 207–214, in der Athene Achilleus auffordert, seinen Zorn

¹³ Cf. J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, I-III (*Catal. génér. des antiquités égypt. du Musée du Caire*), 1911-1916; ders., "Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte: Dioscore, fils d'Apollôs", *REG* 24, 1911, S. 426-481; W. Crönert, *Gnomon* 2, 1926, S. 654-668; R. Keydell, *RE* Suppl. VI, 1935, Sp. 27-29; L.S.B. Mac Coull, *Dioscorus of Aphroditos. His Work and his World*, Berkeley-L.A.-London 1989.

¹⁴ Das ist ein nachhomerisches Thema, dessen Behandlung abgesehen von den Manifestationen im Stesichoros und in der Tragödie, uns in der Prosaethopoiie 16 des Libanios (VIII 411F.), in zwei langen *declamationes* des Coricius (R. Förster, *Hermes* 17, 1882, S. 193-238) und im P.Flor. 390, der dem 5. Jh. zugeschrieben wird (G. Vitelli, *Papiri Greco-Egizii* III, Milano 1915), begegnet.

¹⁵ Crönert, S. 658.

¹⁶ R. Keydell, *Bursians Jahresbericht* 272, 1941, S. 16f.; und nicht einfach eine Schulübung oder eine Sammlung derselben wie andere Forscher geurteilt haben: C.H. Roberts (ed.), *Catalogue of the Papyri in the J. Rylands Library*, III, Manchester 1938, S. 100-102; A. Körte, *APF* 14, 1941, S. 106f.

¹⁷ *The Oxy. Papyri* XLII, 1974, S. 12-15; L, 1983, S. 59-64.

¹⁸ Ein auf dem Rand der Komposition des Diptychons von Kairo lesbares ΛΟΓΟ ebenso wie eine Unterzeile "trés difficile à déchiffrer" könnten mit der Überschrift korrespondieren, vermutet Crusius, *Philologus* 64, S. 146.

abzulegen) näher als in anderen Fällen folgt (jedoch nicht soweit, daß sie bereits in eine andere Schulübung, die Paraphrasis, von der nur Belege in Prosa bekannt sind, überginge).¹⁹

Die zweite Komposition besteht aus 24 Hexametern, die Anfang und Ende auf dem *recto* je eines Papyrusstreifens bewahren. Ebenfalls ist die Eingangsformel der Überschrift erhalten, welche mit Hilfe des Inhalts als "Worte, die Hesiod sagte, als er von den Musen inspiriert wurde" rekonstruiert worden ist, ein Thema, das nicht nur an sich schon originell ist, sondern vor allem deswegen, weil es nicht die erwartete Entwicklung des Autors vom Schäfer zum Dichter, sondern seine Entwicklung vom pastoralen zum erhabenen Dichter präsentiert, gemäß einer für die griechisch-lateinische Dichtung der Kaiserzeit typischen Vorstellung.

Das vorliegende Dossier hexametrischer Ethopoiien, natürlich unvollständig,²⁰ versucht also, außer daß es diese zusammenstellt, vor allem die Unschlüssigkeiten und Ungenauigkeiten an den Tag zu bringen, die gelegentlich der Identifikation und Bestimmung der verschiedenen Muster dieser Gattung anhängen, einer Gattung, die im Grunde genommen als das Verskomplement der in Prosa durch die Rhetoren selbst bekannten *êthopoîia*-Übungen bezeichnet werden kann. Von der Einordnung durch einige Herausgeber abgesehen bildet die Tatsache, daß der Katalog literarischer Papyri von Pack den Beleg des Diptychons von Cairo (1843 Pack²), die Belege des P.Graves (1844 Pack²) und den des P.Ryl. (1831 Pack²) als "Epic" bezeichnet, die des P.Heid. (1611 Pack²) als "Epigrams" und den des P.Oxy. 671 (1614 Pack²) als "Epideictic epigrams" (das ist die Bezeichnung, die schon durch die antiken Herausgeber insgesamt den im neunten Buch der *Anthologia Graeca* enthaltenen Kompositionen, *êthopoîiai* und anderen, gegeben worden ist), einen letzten Reflex besagter Ungewißheit. Die neue Klassifikation der scholaren Texte sprachlichen Inhalts, die im Pack³ enthalten sein werden, nimmt, durchgesetzt von J. Debut, den P. Heid. unter den "fragments tragiques, épiques ou lyriques non identifiés", das Diptychon von Kairo, den P.Graves und den P.Ryl. unter den "paraphrases mythologiques" auf (und läßt die restlichen draußen).²¹

Wir stimmen mit Crusius überein, wenn er bezüglich des Diptychons von Kairo, des P.Heid. und der Kompositionen des neunten Buches der *Anthologia Graeca* behauptet, daß "diese kurzen, an die Aufgaben der Rhetoren erinnernden ῥήσεις für die Praxis der Schule bestimmt waren und wohl auch aus der Praxis der Schule hervorgegangen sind."²² Nun gut,

¹⁹ Hermogenes, π.μ.ε.θ.δ.ε.ν. 24 (Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* II S. 445); Quintil. *Inst.* I 9. 2; cf. Parsons, *ZPE* 6, 1970, S. 133-149. Auf jeden Fall demonstrieren das vorliegende sowie die aus dem P.Cair.Masp. 67188 oder aus dem P.Graves zitierten Beispiele, daß, wenn die *êthopoîia* des Titels entbehrt, die Identifikation sich nicht immer als einfach erweist. Die Form des Titels ihrerseits -τίνας ἄν εἴποι λόγους, in verschiedenen Beispielen der *AG* einfach τί ἄν εἴποι oder ganz ohne diese Eingangsformel- oder auch die Abwesenheit des Titels scheint, bevor sie dazu beiträgt, den mehr oder weniger hohen Charakter der verschiedenen Belegstücke zu erhellen, doch eher auf die einfache (von den Autoren nicht immer verspürte) Notwendigkeit zu antworten, den Typus oder das Thema der Komposition, wenn diese in Begleitung anderer auftritt, zu kennzeichnen, oder sie entspricht einem gewissen Bemühen um Vollständigkeit.

²⁰ Auf Grund der Vorstellung der vorliegenden Arbeit auf dem 20. Internationalen Kongreß für Papyrologie habe ich von der sehr gewissenhaften Arbeit J.-L. Fournets "Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer", *ZPE* 92, 1992, S. 253-266 Kenntnis erhalten, welche, zumindest in ihrem vollem Umfang, noch nicht erschienen war und von der mir der Autor freundlicherweise einen Sonderdruck überließ. Von einer bestimmten Anzahl von *êthopoîiai* der byzantinischen Zeit, die in Versart und Thematik variieren und deren Autoren durch die Handschriften bekannt sind, abgesehen, erwähnt Fournet die Papyrus-Ethopoiien meiner Studie und insbesondere eine Komposition von neunzehn Hexametern, die in dem noch unveröffentlichten "Codex des Visions" der P.Bodmer (cf. vol. XXXVIII, 1991) enthalten ist. Sie wird ins Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts datiert, und ihre Überschrift τί ἄν εἴποι ὁ Κάιν ἀποκτείνοντας τὸν ["Αβελ] antizipiert die biblisch-christliche Thematik, die schließlich in einigen anderen Ethopoiien späterer byzantinischer Zeit auftaucht. Dennoch wird die epigraphische Ethopoiie des Sulpicius von Fournet beiseite gelassen, was dazu führt, daß er die Papyrusbelege als die ältesten ansieht und Schlüsse zieht, die auf das Vorkommen der Ethopoiie in Ägypten beschränkt sind.

²¹ J. Debut, "Les documents scolaires", *ZPE* 63, 1986, S. 251-278.

²² Crusius, *Philologus* 64, S. 146.

doch nur indem man die Texte als rhetorische Schulübungen bezeichnet, erschöpfen sich noch nicht die Probleme ihrer Definition.

Zumindest die des Dioskoros von Aphroditos, auch wenn sie in Bezug auf sprachliche und metrische Ausführung die weitaus mangelhaftesten sind, sind Werke, wenn nicht eines Dichters, so doch eines professionellen Kopten mit literarischen Umtrieben, der sich bisweilen in einer Art von Dichtung, wie sie in der Schule praktiziert wurde (und ich beziehe mich nicht nur auf seine *êthopoíai*), übte. Dem Modell des epigraphischen Gedichtes des Sulpicius nach zu urteilen, könnten sowohl durch den Umfang als auch durch den Schrifttypus und andere äußere und innere Charakteristika der Papyri die Komposition des P.Oxy. 3537, vielleicht auch die des P.Oxy. 3002, begeisterten Gelegenheitsdichtern zugeschrieben werden.²³ Erstere weist gewisse Spuren von Begabung auf. Sie bietet in zwei Versen Varianten an, ist in einem halbliterarischen Schrifttypus geschrieben und befindet sich nebst Resten einer weiteren Komposition auf dem *recto* eines Papyrus, dessen *verso* eventuell den aus derselben Hand hervorgehenden Entwurf eines Enkomions (auf Hermes und Antinoos) –einer Gattung, die ebenfalls in den *progymnasmata* der Rhetoren zugegen ist und zugleich häufig in den Aufzeichnungen des Dioskoros vorkommt–, enthält.²⁴ Letztere nimmt den oberen Teil einer Papyrusseite ein, deren untere Hälfte und Rücken unbeschrieben sind, die Parsons aufgrund ihrer Schrift und Orthographie als "a very professional piece" bezeichnet hat.

Der P.Heid. und der P.Graves, beide opisthographisch und aus einem Codex stammend, sind eindeutig *êthopoíai*-Anthologien. Im ersten Fall können die sorgfältige Ausnutzung der Seitenhöhe, der Schrifttypus zwischen unzial und kursiv und mit gewundenem *ductus*, sowie diverse orthographische und prosodische Fehler²⁵ an echte Schulübungen denken lassen²⁶ oder auch an die von einem Handbuch ausgehende Kopie, die, vielleicht beim Diktat, von einem Schüler erstellt wurde. Die Buchschrift, die, obgleich sie einige Mängel enthält,²⁷ für einen professionellen Schreiber charakteristisch ist, und die breiten Ränder des Codex des P.Graves²⁸ lassen noch eher an ein richtiges Handbuch denken, im Sinne einer Sammlung von Übungen dieser Art, die als Versdichtungen die Entsprechung z.B. des Prosarepertoires, das Libanios zugeschrieben wird, darstellen. Ein ähnliches Repertoire wird die Quelle der Reihe von hexametrischen *êthopoíai*, die im neunten Buch der *Anthologia Graeca* überliefert sind, bilden, und der Einfluß besagter Übungen ist in der griechischen und lateinischen Dichtung und Prosa der Kaiserzeit, von Ovid bis Nonnos, zu spüren.²⁹

Das Diptychon von Kairo wirft meiner Meinung nach ein Problem auf und das lautet: Wie vereinbart man die relative Qualität und stilistische Sorgfalt der Ethopoiie, selbst wenn sie einige Schreibfehler mit einschließt, mit dem Inhalt der anderen Seite, der aus der vierfachen

²³ Cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an introduction*, Oxford 1968, S. 88ff.

²⁴ Gleichermaßen wechseln sich Ethopoiie und Enkomion in Prosa im P.Vindob. G 29789. in Versen möglicherweise im P.Bodmer, dessen "Riesenschrift" Fournet (S. 262) ebenfalls an eine Schulübung denken läßt, ab. Vielleicht also zielte die Sammlung von Kompositionen des P.Oxy. 3537 auf die Praxis in der Schule ab und war selbst das Werk eines Dichters, der zur gleichen Zeit als *grammatikós* arbeitete, ein Dichtertypus von dem nach A. Cameron ("Wandering poets: a literary movement in Byzantine Egypt", *Historia* 14, 1965, S. 497-507) im späten Ägypten reichlich Vertreter vorhanden waren. Fournet (S. 263, A. 61) versucht, diese Hypothese auch auf den Fall des Dioskoros auszudehnen, entgegen der Tatsache, daß trotz allem dessen Handhabung des Griechischen so wenig mustergültig ist.

²⁵ Z. 2 σκοπηλῆς (für-οῖς), Z. 11[πο]ίης (für-οῖς); Z. 12 [ό]σσαδίην (für-τιον), Z. 20 δηιότηδος, Z. 19 ἔντοθι (durch ägyptischen Einfluß); Z. 12 κατ' Ἄρεα, Z. 14 τόσσους, Z. 17 Ἐκτωρ (obgleich die ersten beiden Maße sich bei Homer befinden und besonders bei Nonnos erstere häufig vorkommt); cf. P. Collart, *REG* 49, 1936, S. 429-439 (433); W. Morel, *Hermes* 87, 1959, S. 379.

²⁶ So nach Meinung Crusius, *Mélanges Nicole*, S. 623f.

²⁷ Fr. I *verso*, Z. 7 τ' an Stelle von θ'; Fr. II *recto*, Z. 1 und 2 *ny ephelkystikón* unkorrekterweise hinzugefügt.

²⁸ Cf. Graves, S. 256; Reitzenstein, S. 105.

²⁹ Cf. Crusius, *Mél.Nicole*, S. 623-624; A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos*, Lund 1933, S.145 ff.

Kopie eines jambischen Spruches besteht, und der, als die bloße Schreibübung, die er ist, einer viel elementarerer Schulstufe angehört. Da die Herausgeber nicht angeben, daß wir es mit zwei verschiedenen Händen zu tun haben, scheint es vernünftig, anzunehmen, daß auch die *êthopoía* als Schreibübung in etwas, das ein Schulheft gewesen sein könnte, kopiert worden ist.

Der Umfang des verstümmelten P.Oxy. 671, mindestens 25 Verse, wenn man annimmt, daß es sich um eine einzige Komposition handelt, kann an einen zu dem des P.Oxy. 3002 analogen Ursprung denken lassen. Er ist vermutlich etwas eher entstanden und teilt mit dem früheren das gleiche Zeichen in seinem *incipit*, obgleich die Schrift hier eine "unregelmäßige Unziale" ist.³⁰ Der P.Ryl., der ebenfalls schwere Lücken aufweist, aber opisthographisch ist, der mit einer Schrift, die "roh und unregelmäßig" ist und "die an den Versenden zur Kursivschrift degeneriert",³¹ geschrieben worden ist und einige Mängel aufweist, kann eine Schularbeit oder, im Falle daß er mehr als eine Komposition birgt, vielleicht Variationen über ein Thema oder auch die Kopie derselben enthalten.

Im übrigen etabliert sich der Einfluß dieser Art von Übungen auf die Dichtung des Nonnos in Wirklichkeit innerhalb einer weitaus komplexeren Bündelung von Zusammenhängen. Ein Wesenszug, der in größerem oder geringerem Maße all diesen Übungen gemein ist, ist die Kombination homerischer, beziehungsweise hesiodischer Phraseologie mit Vokabular aus Tragödie und hellenistischer Dichtung und der eigenen Zeit.³² In prosodisch-metrischer und stilistischer Hinsicht weist der Hexameter der *êthopoíai* eine Reihe von Eigenheiten auf, die eher in den Ethopoiien späteren Datums angesagt waren und die für den nonnianischen Vers charakteristisch sind: unter anderem innerhalb einer begrenzten Anzahl von Schemata die Vorherrschaft des Daktylus, vorzugsweise trochäische Zäsur, Vermeidung von Proparoxythona am Versende, Einschränkung der Elision und Umgehung des Hiats, Angleichung der Sätze an den Versrahmen, asyndetische Verbindung oder durch *δέ*, Partikelknappheit und Gebrauch rhetorischer Verfahren wie der Anapher, der Paronomasie, der Asonanz und anderer mehr.³³ Aber auch die Belege, die früher sind als der Dichter von Panopolis, nehmen dessen Stil vorweg,³⁴ und zwar derartig, daß Parsons mit Recht über den P.Oxy. 3537 hat sagen können, daß er dazu beiträgt, zu bezeugen, daß Nonnos "the perfecter, not the inventor of his style" war. Sogar die epigraphische *êthopoía* von Sulpicius, geschrieben im ersten Jahrhundert in Rom, scheint eine frühe Manifestation dieser stilistischen Tendenz darzubieten.³⁵

Damit könnte man hinzufügen, daß die verschiedenen Papyrusbelege dieser Gattung nicht nur, wie man zu sagen pflegt, eine örtlich gebundene Manifestation der griechischen Dichtung

³⁰ Grenfell-Hunt, S.122.

³¹ Roberts, S. 101.

³² Nur dem Autor des P.Ryl. scheint es gelungen zu sein, sich erheblich vom odysseischen Modell zu lösen.

³³ Cf. Wifstrand, S. 79 f., 138 f., 161, 169; F. Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques*, I, Paris 1976, L-LV. Durch die Suche nach Asonanzen und Reimen, vor allem aber durch die Häufigkeit der trochäischen Zäsur, ist von Jouguet-Lefebvre (S. 209) die Komposition des Diptychons von Kairo einem Zeitgenossen oder Schüler des Nonnos zugeschrieben worden. Als "*Nonnien fervent*" wird von Collart (S. 430) der Autor des Heidelberger Papyrus bezeichnet, welcher alle seine Hexameter in eine der neun nonnianischen Formen gegossen hat und fast ausschließlich dessen Endgruppen, was die Verteilung der Silben betrifft, benutzt, von Stil und Vokabular abgesehen. Nonnos und seine Schüler hat gleichermaßen Dioskoros von Aphroditos als Vorbilder für seinen Wortschatz genommen, der auf eine Reihe von Termini, die sich fortlaufend wiederholen, beschränkt ist (Maspero, *REG* 24, S. 472; Keydell, *RE* Suppl. VI, 28).

³⁴ Cf. Keydell, *BJ* 272, S. 17; Graves, S. 252; Ludwig, S. 8; Parsons, *ad loc.*; M.L. West, "A new poem about Hesiod", *ZPE* 57, 1984, S. 33-36; A. Barigazzi, "Una dialexis in versi su Esiodo (P.Oxy. 3537)", *Prometheus* 11, 1985, S. 1-10.

³⁵ Cf. Fernández Delgado-Ureña Bracero.

oder deren letzte Blüte in Ägypten darstellen,³⁶ sondern daß diese aus einer lange Zeit in griechischen Rhetorikklassen kultivierten Praxis hervorgeht und nur der Fortbestand des edukativen Systems sie hat bewahren und in Raum und Zeit ausdehnen können. Neben den Anleihen von Homer und der zeitgenössischen Dichtung sind weitere offenkundige Züge des schulmäßigen Charakters einerseits die in geringem Abstand regelmäßig erfolgenden Wiederholungen,³⁷ andererseits möglicherweise die Verwendung eines spezifischen formelhaften Wortschatzes, der dazu diente, die Komposition zu erleichtern.³⁸ Und der eine wie der andere Aspekt scheinen sich in der Dichtung des Nonnos widerzuspiegeln,³⁹ wenngleich sie hier aus Mangel an Zeit nicht ausgeführt werden könne.

³⁶ Crusius, *Philologus* 64, S. 146; Roberts, S. 100; Parsons, *The Oxy. Pap.* L, S. 59; G. Guidorizzi, "Gli epigrammi papiracei di epoca imperiale", *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. di Papirologia*. II, Napoli 1984, S. 313-317; J.-L. Fournet, S. 260, 262.

³⁷ P.Heid.: Τυνδαρέη Z. 9,11; πάλιν Z. 9,11,15 (an der gleichen Stelle im Vers); ἐθέλεις Z. 10,13; κτείνασα Z. 12,14; κατ'(μετ') Ἄρεα(-ηα) Z. 12,13; μόθος (-ου) Z. 21,22 (an der gleichen *sedes*); Διομήδης (-εος) Z. 24,27 (an der gleichen *sedes*); βελέεσσιν (...) ἐρώτων Z. 26,28 (an der gleichen *sedes*). P.Ryl.: ἴκελα Ἀντιφάτη καὶ (Τηλεμάχῳ καὶ) Z. 5,29 (an der gleichen *sedes*); μνηστῆρας (-ων κακότητος) Z. 25,28,35 (an der gleichen *sedes*). P.Oxy. 3002: Τρώεσσι (δυσμενέ-, ἐπέ-) κορύσσειο Z. 1,11,16 (an der gleichen *sedes*); οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖς (-ούς) Z. 8,14 (an der gleichen *sedes*); σοῖς ἐτάροις Z. 12,16 (an der gleichen *sedes*).

³⁸ Abgesehen von einem, obgleich homerischen, im P.Cair.Masp. III 67316, 3 und AG IX 459,1; 474, 2 banal und prosaisch erscheinenden ἀτρεκέως, haben beide, der P.Graves und der P.Oxy. 3002, beziehungsweise Fr. I *recto*, 11; II *verso*, 6 und Z. 2, 20, an der gleichen *sedes* im Vers ein Adjektiv wie ἀστυφέλικτος, das in der Dichtung von Kallimachos, Oppianos und wenigen weiteren Stellen an registriert wird, und außerdem das Verb ὑποδρήσσω, zum ersten Mal im A.R. III 274 zugegen, später bei Nonnos, D. 48, 297 und seinem Schüler Museos, 143, ebenfalls stets an den gleichen *sedes* im Vers. Das Syntagma κορύσσεισθαι (-ειν) χειρας ist dem P.Oxy. 3002, 1 und der AG IX 460, 3; 473, 3 und Nonnos (33, 118; 34, 328, 298) gemein (außerhalb des Papyrus immer in der gleichen Form und am Versende), wohingegen bei Homer dieses Verb entweder in der absoluten Form oder mit *dativus instrumentalis* verwendet wird. Das Adjektiv δεκέτηρος, ein Hapaxlegomenon, befindet sich in der AG IX 464, 5 und 474, 3 (an der gleichen *sedes*). Vielleicht erklärt die Anwesenheit dieser schulmäßigen Lieblingsformulierungen mehr als die Zugehörigkeit zu derselben *nanus* oder zu derselben poetischen Schule, wie A.Cameron es vorschlägt ("Two notes on the Greek Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* IX 474, 395 und 458)" *BICS* 14, 1967, S. 58-61), die phraseologischen Verwandtschaften, die in den Belegen der AG zu beobachten sind.

³⁹ Cf. Collart, S. 430.

LA TRADIZIONE PAPIRACEA DEGLI "ELEMENTI" DI EUCLIDE

Tiziano Dorandi

1. Parlare a Copenhagen della tradizione manoscritta degli *Elementi* di Euclide, seppure limitatamente ai papiri, vuol dire, innanzitutto, rendere un doveroso omaggio alla memoria di Johan Ludvig Heiberg, il grande filologo danese, che ha legato il suo nome alla edizione delle opere scientifiche greche.¹

Dopo aver indagato la trasmissione del testo di Euclide negli ampi *Prolegomena critica* che aprono il V volume dell'edizione degli *Elementa*,² il Heiberg ritornò sul tema tredici anni più tardi con i significativi *Paralipomena zu Euklid* confrontando i risultati della precedente ricerca con il nuovo materiale manoscritto che era stato, nel frattempo, reso noto. La prima parte dei *Paralipomena* è dedicata ai papiri: P.Herc. 1061, P.Oxy. 29, che già Heiberg aveva discussi,³ e soprattutto P.Fay. 9.

Il numero dei papiri di Euclide si è arricchito dopo la morte dello studioso di un ulteriore testimone, il P.Mich. III 143, ma almeno un altro frustulo tuttora inedito è conservato nella Collezione degli "Oxyrhynchus Papyri".⁴

Un caso a sé costituiscono i sei *ostraca* di Berlino, che tramandano resti di una discussione su questioni di stereometria in stretto rapporto con il decimo e sedicesimo teorema del libro XIII degli *Elementi* euclidei.

Pochi anni fa, un matematico inglese cultore anche della storia della sua disciplina, David H. Fowler, con l'aiuto di Sir Eric G. Turner, ha presentato i primi risultati di una revisione delle testimonianze papirosee di Euclide.⁵

E' da queste pagine che bisogna, dunque, prendere l'avvio per una discussione di quei difficili frammenti non ancora chiariti in tutti i dettagli.⁶

2. Prima di passare a esaminare i singoli papiri, un rapidissimo accenno alla tradizione medievale degli *Elementi*. I codici dell'opera risalgono a due distinte "recensioni": la "vetus" e la "Theonina", così detta da Teone di Alessandria, che la preparò intorno al 370 d.C. Della prima "recensione" si conserva un solo manoscritto, il *Vaticanus Gr.* 190 (P) del IX sec.⁷ Della "recensione" di Teone è invece pervenuto un cospicuo numero di codici, tre dei quali integri: il

¹ **Abbreviazioni bibliografiche:** Angeli-Dorandi = A. Angeli - T. Dorandi, "Il pensiero matematico di Demetrio Lacone", *CErc* 17 (1987), 89-103; Fowler = D.H. Fowler, *The mathematics of Plato's Academy. A new reconstruction* (Oxford 1987); Heath = *Euclid, The thirteen books of the Elements*, transl. with intr. and comm. by Sir Th.L. Heath (New York 1956²), I-III; Heiberg = *Euclidis Elementa* ed. I.L. Heiberg (Lipsiae 1883-1888), I-V; Heiberg, *Papyrus* = J. L. Heiberg, "Quelques papyrus traitant de mathématiques" *Oversigt over det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger* (1900), 147-171; Heiberg, *Paralipomena* = J.L. Heiberg, "Paralipomena zu Euklid", *Hermes* 38 (1903), 46-74, 161-202, 320-356; Stamatis = *Euclidis Elementa* post I.L. Heiberg ed. E. S. Stamatis (Lipsiae 1969-1977), I-V.

² Heiberg, V, XXI-CXIII (= Stamatis, V 1, XVI-LXXXIX). I risultati sono riproposti, riassunti in inglese, da Heath, I, 46-74.

³ Heiberg, *Papyrus*, 147-171.

⁴ Cf. Fowler, 214 n. 44.

⁵ Fowler, 208-216. Cf. T. Dorandi, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988), 252 s.

⁶ Il testo dei P.Mich. III 143, P.Fay. 9 e P.Oxy. I 29 è ristampato, pur con qualche imprecisione (cf. Fowler, 212 n. 40), in: Stamatis, I, 187-190.

⁷ Per la datazione di P al IX sec. (X sec. Heiberg-Stamatis), cf., p. es., E. Follieri, "La minuscola libreria dei secoli IX e X", in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977), 139-153: 144.

Bodleianus d'Orville 301 (B) scritto nell'anno 888 per Areta di Cesarea, il *Laurentianus* XXVIII 3 (F) del X sec. e il *Vindobonensis Gr.* XXXI 13 (V) del XI-XII sec.⁸

3. Il piú antico testimone papiraceo degli *Elementi* risale al II sec. a.C.⁹ Nella col. IX del P.Herc. 1061, che restituisce la sezione conclusiva dell'opera *Sulla geometria* di Demetrio Lacone, leggiamo la definizione euclidea di cerchio (I Def. 15):¹⁰

κύκλος ἐστὶ σχῆμα ἐπίπεδον ὑπὸ μιᾶς γραμμῆς περιεχόμενον [ἢ καλεῖται περιφέρεια], πρὸς ἣν ἀφ' ἐνὸς σημείου τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ σχήματος κειμένων πᾶσαι αἱ προσπίπτουσαι εὐθεῖαι [πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρειαν] ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις εἰσίν.

Alle ll. 1-3 è mantenuto l'ordine delle parole dei mss.: κύκλος ἐστὶ σχῆμα ἐπίπεδον e non, come credeva Heiberg, κύκλος σχῆμά τι ἐστὶν ἐπίπεδον; alla l. 8 s. κύκλου del papiro è banalizzante rispetto a σχήματος dei mss.; alla l. 11 è omesso ἀλλήλαις tra ἴσαι e εἰσίν. Ben piú importante è tuttavia la conferma che il papiro apporta alla ipotesi di Heiberg che le parole ἢ καλεῖται περιφέρεια e πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρειαν sono due glosse maldestramente infiltratesi nel testo della Definizione.¹¹ Una giustificazione plausibile dell'origine delle due glosse è quella che esse furono aggiunte per spiegare la presenza del termine περιφέρεια nelle successive Definizioni 17 e 18. Ma che non ci fosse bisogno di spiegazione risulta evidente dal fatto che nelle due Definizioni 17 e 18 περιφέρεια è usato da Euclide, come già da Aristotele, nel senso generale di "contorno" e non in quello di "circonferenza".¹²

Nelle coll. X-XII, Demetrio discute *Elm.* I 9 (τὴν δοθεῖσαν γωνίαν εὐθύγραμμον δίχα τεμεῖν) con un accenno (col. X 13 ss.) a I 3 (δύο δοθεισῶν εὐθειῶν ἀνίσων ἀπὸ τῆς μείζονος τῆ ἐλάττω ἴσιν εὐθεῖαν ἀφελεῖν). Il riferimento a I 3 è spiegato da Heiberg a partire dal fatto che è appunto con l'aiuto di questa proposizione nonché di I 1 e I 8 che si può dimostrare I 9, il quale, a sua volta, è presupposto da I 10 su cui Demetrio si sofferma nelle coll. XIII-XV.¹³ In col. XI è riprodotta la figura relativa a I 9 con l'aggiunta, rispetto ai mss., delle lettere a indicare gli angoli.¹⁴ Qualche divergenza con il testo vulgato, alla fine della dimostrazione, è dovuta alla personale rielaborazione di Demetrio.¹⁵

Nelle coll. XIII-XV è considerato *Elm.* I 10 (τὴν δοθεῖσαν εὐθεῖαν πεπερασμένην δίχα τεμεῖν) la cui figura presenta piccole varianti rispetto alla tradizione: uso di lettere dell'alfabeto diverse, indicazione degli angoli, la perpendicolare che oltrepassa la base del triangolo.¹⁶

3.1. Non ostante la presenza di almeno due figure geometriche e di molti termini tecnici è impossibile determinare precisi riferimenti a libri degli *Elementi* nell'altra opera di Demetrio Lacone intitolata πρὸς τὰς Πολυαίνου ἀπορίας (*Le 'Aporie' di Polieno*).¹⁷

⁸ Le sigle sono quelle di Heiberg-Stamatis. Su questi codici, piú quattro mutili: **b** - *Bononiensis* 18-19 (XI sec.), **p** - *Parisinus Gr.* 2466 (XII sec.), **q** - *Parisinus Gr.* 2344 (XII sec.) e il palinsesto Brit. Mus. add. 17211 (L: VII/VIII sec.) è fondata l'edizione di Heiberg-Stamatis.

⁹ Per la datazione, cf. G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano*, I Suppl. a *CErc* 13 (Napoli 1983), 29, 45, 59 e tav. VIII.

¹⁰ P.Herc. 1061 col. IX 3-11 (92 Angeli-Dorandi).

¹¹ Cf. Angeli-Dorandi, 98.

¹² Così Heath, I, 184.

¹³ Heiberg, *Papyrus*, 163.

¹⁴ Cf. Heiberg, *Papyrus*, 165. Una riproduzione fotografica in: Fowler, tav. 1.

¹⁵ Cf. Angeli-Dorandi, 99 n. 83.

¹⁶ Cf. Heiberg, *Papyrus*, 169.

¹⁷ Angeli-Dorandi, 99-103. Cf. A. Tepedino Guerra, *Polieno. Frammenti* (Napoli 1991), 93-105, 124 (Frr. 31-38).

4. Veniamo alle testimonianze dall'Egitto greco-romano. I tre papiri che, piú da vicino, ci interessano si collocano tra il I/II e il III sec. d.C. Li discuto presentandoli in ordine cronologico.

4.1. P.Oxy. I 29 (Pack² 368) - Eucl., *Elm.* II 4-5.¹⁸

Il frammento, datato da Grenfell e Hunt al III/IV sec. d.C., è stato plausibilmente riportato al I/II sec. d.C. dal Turner sul fondamento di puntuali confronti paleografici.¹⁹ Si tratta di un pezzo di papiro (8.5 x 15.2 cm) di scadente qualità. Nelle ll. 2-8 è trascritta la *protasis* di *Elm.* II 5 accompagnata dalla relativa figura rozzamente tracciata, senza riga, e priva delle lettere. Precedono (l. 1) residui di scrittura che possono adattarsi sia alla *protasis* sia al *symperasma* di II 4 con accanto, a destra della l. 3, piú breve delle altre, minime tracce di una ulteriore figura geometrica. Significativa la presenza di un ϵ (= 5) sia a sinistra della l. 2 (a inizio di II 5) sia a destra della figura, in alto, a segnalare, in entrambi i casi, il numero della proposizione trascritta.

Una *kollesis* a metà della colonna di scrittura e la successione consecutiva delle due proposizioni II 4-5 ha fatto supporre al Turner che ci troviamo di fronte a un frammento di rotolo che conteneva, forse, originariamente, l'intero II libro degli *Elementi*. L'ampiezza dell'intercolumnio sulla sinistra e il largo margine inferiore (ca. 3 cm) sarebbero altresì caratteristiche che riporterebbero a un volume realizzato con generosità di mezzi.

Una interpretazione piú convincente del documento è presentata dal Fowler.²⁰ Lo studioso identifica le tracce delle ll. 1-3 con la *protasis* di II 4 e la corrispondente figura. Il perché, in entrambi i casi, le figure abbiamo trovato posto dopo le *protaseis* e non dopo le dimostrazioni, come nei manoscritti medievali, è spiegato dal Fowler presupponendo che il frammento non deriva da una "edizione" degli *Elementi*, ma è piuttosto residuo di una raccolta di appunti messa insieme da un privato che studiava il II libro dell'opera. Tale opinione è corroborata dal fatto stesso che la figura è priva di lettere e che la diagonale non è ripassata. Va notato, infatti, che la diagonale rientra nella costruzione della figura, ma non è necessaria alla dimostrazione; la mancanza di lettere impedisce inoltre una utilizzazione concreta della figura. Il foglietto fu dunque scritto da qualcuno che copiò per suo uso la *protasis* di II 5, disegnò la figura e poi lavorò mentalmente alla dimostrazione della proposizione ripassando i lati della figura che lo interessavano, ma non la diagonale, non indicò le lettere e, soprattutto, non riportò il testo della dimostrazione. Il medesimo ragionamento deve essere presupposto anche per II 4.

La nuova datazione al I/II sec. d.C., insieme con le suddette considerazioni, priva di fondamento anche la già di per sé dubbia ipotesi di Heiberg, che il P.Oxy. I 29 rientri nell'ambito della "recensio Theonina".²¹

4.2. P.Fay. 9 (Pack² 367) - Eucl., *Elm.* I 39 e 41.²²

Il frammento fu ritrovato frantumato in quattro pezzi, tre dei quali vennero ricomposti da Grenfell e Hunt (fr. a: 18.5 x 5.5). Problematica rimane ancora l'identificazione di un quarto frustulo (fr. b).²³ La scrittura è databile al II/III sec. d.C.²⁴ Il papiro conserva resti molto malconci di Euclide I 39 e 41 con la figura relativa a I 39, alla fine della dimostrazione.

¹⁸ **Bibliografia:** P.Oxy. I, 58; Fowler, 209-212. Una riproduzione fotografica in: Fowler, tav. 2.

¹⁹ Turner, in: Fowler, 210 n. 37.

²⁰ Fowler, 211 s.

²¹ Heiberg, *Paralipomena*, 48 seguito da F. Hultsch, *Eukleides* 7, *RE* VI 1 (1907), 1008.

²² **Bibliografia:** B.P. Grenfell - A.S. Hunt - D.G. Hogarth, *Fayûm towns and their papyri* (London 1900), 96-99; Heiberg, *Paralipomena*, 48-53; Fowler, 212-214. Una riproduzione fotografica in: Fowler, tav. 3.

²³ Heiberg, *Paralipomena*, 50 e Fowler, 212 n. 40.

²⁴ Cf. Turner, in: Fowler, 213.

Gli editori principi notarono le notevoli divergenze che una ricostruzione del testo metteva in evidenza rispetto alla tradizione medievale, parlarono di tendenza alla compressione e intravidero interessanti convergenze con un manoscritto della “recensio Theonina” (p). Dal tutto dedussero che il frammento non poteva derivare da una vera e propria “edizione” degli *Elementi*, ma che si trattava piuttosto di un esercizio gravemente sfigurato perché trascritto a memoria. La correttezza del dettato e la tipologia grafica li rendeva, comunque, non del tutto soddisfatti di questa ipotesi.²⁵

Heiberg rifiutò il suggerimento di Grenfell e Hunt. A partire dall’osservazione che con la l. 15, subito dopo la figura, aveva inizio la trascrizione di I 41, lo studioso calcolò che la lunghezza media di uno *stichos* doveva oscillare tra le 15 e le 16 sillabe, corrispondenti a ca. 34-38 lettere (la così detta “Normalzeile”) e azzardò una prima ricostruzione dell’intero frammento. Sebbene ne risultasse un testo che mostrava impressionanti punti di divergenza con la vulgata confermando ora lezioni della “recensio Theonina” ora della “vetus”, Heiberg si dimostrò convinto che P. Fay. 9 tramandava resti di una antica “edizione” degli *Elementi*.

Evito di trarre illazioni dalle parti troppo congetturalmente restituite e mi soffermo sui dati di più sicura evidenza.

La figura è disegnata con precisione e presenta ancora tracce di due lettere, scritte probabilmente dal medesimo scriba che copiò il testo, ma con un calamo diverso, forse quello usato per delineare la figura.²⁶ Indiscutibile e ricca di conseguenze è la mancanza di I 40, una proposizione trasmessa in maniera compatta da tutta quanta la tradizione diretta di Euclide e considerata da Proclo. Heiberg ha dimostrato con argomenti sufficienti, proprio a partire dalla testimonianza del P.Fay. 9, che I 40 è una sicura interpolazione di mano di uno studioso che aveva ritenuto fosse necessaria una proposizione che seguisse I 39 e fosse in connessione con questa come I 38 lo è con I 39 e I 36 con I 35. Si tratta di una interpolazione antica, la quale dimostra come già prima di Teone il *corpus* degli *Elementi* era andato soggetto a manipolazioni e aggiunte anche di intere proposizioni.²⁷

Più incerta è la conseguenza che Heiberg trasse relativamente al doppio *diorismos* di I 39. Nei manoscritti medievali leggiamo:

τὰ ἴσα τρίγωνα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βάσεως ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς παραλλήλοις ἔστιν.

ἔτω ἴσα τρίγωνα τὰ ΑΒΓ, ΔΒΓ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βάσεως ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη τῆς ΒΓ· λέγω ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς παραλλήλοις ἔστιν.

ἐπεξεύχθω γὰρ ἡ ΑΔ· λέγω ὅτι παράλληλός ἐστιν ἡ ΑΔ τῇ ΒΓ.

Lo studioso sosteneva, a partire dalla sua restituzione delle ll. 1-5 del papiro, che la frase: λέγω ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς παραλλήλοις ἔστιν è altresì una interpolazione dovuta a una persona che non si era resa conto che le successive parole ἐπεξεύχθω γὰρ ἡ ΑΔ, fanno parte della *ekthesis* e le aveva attribuite alla *kataskheue* trovandosi, in tal modo, costretto a inserire un precedente *diorismos* e a alterare in ἐπεξεύχθω γὰρ ἡ ΑΔ il genuino καὶ ἐπεξεύχθω ἡ ΑΔ.²⁸ Le tracce delle ll. 4-5 del papiro ἐπεξεύχθω ἡ ΑΔ [e παράλληλός ἐ]στιν ἡ ΑΔ τῇ [ΒΓ sembrerebbero orientare in questa direzione.

Le deduzioni e i risultati di Heiberg andarono ben oltre: il P.Fay. 9 tramanderebbe lezioni più antiche oscurate dalla “recensio Theonina”, confermerebbe l’esistenza di contaminazione tra la “vetus recensio” e la “Theonina” e rimetterebbe, pertanto, in discussione l’interpretazione

²⁵ Grenfell-Hunt, *Fayûm towns*, op. cit., 97.

²⁶ Così Turner, in: Fowler, 213.

²⁷ Heiberg, *Paralipomena*, 50 s.

²⁸ L’ipotesi è accolta da Heath, I, 51 e 337, C. Thaer, *Euklid, Die Elemente, Buch I-XIII* (Darmstadt 1969³), 27 e A. Frajese-L. Maccioni, *Gli Elementi di Euclide* (Torino 1970), 136 n. a. Sembra ignorarla Stamatis, I, 53.

globale della "Theonina" in rapporto con la "vetus". Tutto ciò, si intende, può essere preso in considerazione solo se si accetta la ricostruzione di quel testo tentata dallo studioso. Ma già una prima revisione del papiro mette in serio dubbio i presupposti e molte delle integrazioni di Heiberg. L'effettiva lunghezza delle linee, purtroppo non ancora definita, impedisce, per il momento, di avanzare suggerimenti alternativi.

Rimane, infine, da chiedersi: è veramente una "recensione" degli *Elementi* di Euclide quella trasmessa dal P.Fay. 9 ?

Se hanno ragione Heiberg e Turner a rifiutare il suggerimento di Grenfell e Hunt di un testo di Euclide turbato perché trascritto a memoria, la loro stessa idea che ci troviamo davanti a una "edizione" antica, pre-Teonina, è, a mio parere, non proprio convincente. Il Fowler resta, a ragione, perplesso di fronte all'evidenza che tale "edizione" si allontani tanto dalla vulgata.²⁹

Non escluderei la soluzione che il papiro conservi resti *non* di una vera e propria "edizione" di Euclide, ma piuttosto una scelta di *Elementi* rimaneggiati e riadattati consapevolmente, messa insieme a uso privato o per scopi di insegnamento. Intenderei una raccolta di genere manualistico nella quale, ferma restando la struttura e il contenuto delle singole proposizioni euclidee, il loro testo poteva essere anche "riscritto" al fine di raggiungere veri o presunti vantaggi da parte dell'utente.

La stessa sorte è capitata anche a altre opere di genere "paraletterario" come quelle di autori di medicina o grammatica.³⁰ In quanto considerate composizioni prive di una forma letteraria, ma ricche di contenuti utili nella loro applicazione pratica, esse poterono subire, a opera di insegnanti o di esperti, mutamenti di tal genere e essere così trasformate in prontuari la cui ragione prima era quella di offrire un testo di facile comprensione, consultazione e impiego.

Si potrebbe forse anche pensare che P.Fay. 9 conservi addirittura un brano di un anonimo manuale per l'apprendimento della geometria "euclidea" in una regione almeno dell'Egitto. In queste due categorie rientrano anche P.Oxy. I 29 e P.Mich. III 143.

Si tratta - lo ribadisco - solo di una ipotesi ancora da verificare e soggetta quindi a ripensamenti anche sostanziali. L'importante è cercare di aprire nuove prospettive nell'interpretazione di questo misterioso testo.

4.3. P.Mich. III 143 (Pack² 366) - Eucl., *Elm.* I Def. 1-10.³¹

Il papiro è stato, di recente, ripubblicato con commento dalle forze congiunte di Sir E.G. Turner, D.H. Fowler, L. Koenen e Louise C. Youtie. Ben difficilmente si può aggiungere qualcosa ai loro risultati.

Il papiro è vergato in una scrittura di modulo piccolo con peculiarità che riportano al III sec. d.C. Il confronto più cogente è con il P.Oxy. XLVII 3366, scritto da un *grammaticus* durante l'Impero di Valeriano e Gallieno (253-260 d.C.). Il testo di Euclide è copiato sul verso di un foglietto (5.5 x 19.2 cm) tagliato da una lettera ufficiale o d'affari attribuibile a qualche tempo prima. Si conserva il margine superiore (0.8 cm) e quello inferiore (5.5 cm); mancano accenti e segni diacritici; la scrittura va contro le fibre.

Sono tramandate le Definizioni 1-10 del I libro degli *Elementi*: la tipologia del reperto consente di dedurre che il documento consisteva di una singola pagina: un semplice *memorandum* e non un frammento di rotolo. Si tratta di appunti messi insieme da un maestro, un *grammaticus*, per organizzarsi un testo da dettare a uno studente o uno schema di lezione.

²⁹ Fowler, 214.

³⁰ Per i testi medici, cf. M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Genève 1981), per quelli grammaticali, A. Wouters, *The grammatical papyri from graeco-roman Egypt. Contributions to the study of the 'ars grammatica' in antiquity* (Brussel 1979).

³¹ **Bibliografia:** † Sir E.G. Turner-D.H. Fowler-L. Koenen-Louise C. Youtie, "Euclid, Elements I, Definitions 1-10 (P.Mich. III 143)", *YCIS* 28 (1985), 13-24 e tav. 4.

I pur numerosi errori non autorizzano a supporre che le dieci definizioni furono scritte a memoria: non c'è niente che contraddica l'ipotesi che l'antico maestro le abbia copiate da un esemplare con una certa attenzione. Le lezioni del papiro meritano pertanto grande considerazione. In particolare, nella definizione 10, il P.Mich. III 143, una volta si accorda in lezione corretta con **P** contro Teone (l. 25 s.); in un secondo caso (l. 27 s.), la lezione γραμμή del papiro è comune anche a alcuni codici della "recensio Theonina" (**BVf**¹) e a Proclo, mentre altri codici Teonini (**Fbpf**²) e **P** hanno εὐθεία. Tra le due varianti, γραμμή è probabilmente quella genuina che attraverso la "recensio Theonina" risale a un ramo tradizionale più antico. Dal tutto sembra venire conferma che **P** ha influenzato i codici **Fbpf**² della "recensio Theonina".

5. I sei *ostraca* di argomento matematico provenienti dagli scavi condotti da O. Rubensohn nel 1906/7 e 1907/8 nell'isola di Elefantina (Pack² 2323) e pubblicati solo di recente da W. Müller e J. Mau risalgono al III sec. a.C.³² Vi è conservata una discussione di stereometria in rapporto a quanto si legge in Euclide, *Elm.* XIII 10 (ἐὰν εἰς κύκλον πεντάγωνον ἰσόπλευρον ἐγγραφῆ, ἡ τοῦ πενταγώνου πλευρὰ δύναται τὴν τε τοῦ ἑξαγώνου καὶ τὴν τοῦ δεκαγώνου τῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κύκλον ἐγγραφομένων) e 16 (εἰκοσάεδρον συστήσασθαι καὶ σφαῖρα περιλαβεῖν, ἥ καὶ τὰ προειρημένα σχήματα, καὶ δεῖξαι ὅτι ἡ τοῦ εἰκοσάεδρου πλευρὰ ἄλογός ἐστίν ἢ καλουμένη ἐλάττων).

Gli *ostraca* non riproducono il testo di Euclide, ma ne presuppongono i risultati. Tale peculiarità e il fatto che siano stati trovati in una zona così remota dell'Egitto scritti su cocci, fa presupporre che siano esercizi personali finalizzati all'apprendimento di nozioni geometriche.

L'ipotesi invece di chi ha cercato di trovare negli *ostraca* di Elefantina una conferma alla cronologia di Euclide intorno al 300 a.C. urta con la difficoltà che molto del materiale che venne a costituire il XIII libro degli *Elementi* derivava da una tradizione più antica, probabilmente da Teeteto di Atene. Non è pertanto escluso che il testo degli *Elementi* che fu tenuto presente da chi ha scritto gli *ostraca* sia addirittura pre-euclideo.³³

6. A volere trarre qualche conclusione dallo studio dei papiri di Euclide risulta innanzitutto, più in generale, evidente che due di essi rientrano nella sfera dell'insegnamento o dell'apprendimento della matematica. Tale è il caso del P.Oxy. I 29 e del P.Mich. III 143. Di una vera e propria "edizione" si è parlato a proposito del P.Fay. 9, ma le pessime condizioni in cui è conservato e la necessità di partire da un testo troppo congetturalmente ricostruito lasciano sorgere dubbi fondati. Non si può escludere che anch'esso possa essere testimone non di una "recensione" antica degli *Elementi*, ma piuttosto di una rielaborazione a scopo manualistico di uno o più libri dell'opera euclidea. Le citazioni di Euclide nell'opera *Sulla geometria* di Demetrio Lacone riportano, invece, nell'ambito piuttosto della tradizione indiretta.

Più nei particolari, la documentazione papiracea consente, al di là di qualche gratuita speculazione, di restituire, in almeno due casi (I Def. 15 e I 40), un testo degli *Elementi* privo di interpolazioni e quindi più genuinamente euclideo. In ogni caso, il testo dei papiri si presenta in uno stato di fluidità non ancora ben fissato in una definitiva trasmissione nella quale si possano distinguere recensioni o famiglie.

³² **Bibliografia:** W. Müller - J. Mau, "Mathematische Ostraka aus der Berliner Sammlung", *APF* 17 (1960), 1-10 e tav. 1. Cf. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), II, 558 n. 43; Fowler, 208.

³³ Fowler, 208. Per il problema Teeteto e per l'esistenza di raccolte di *stoicheia* pre-euclidee approntate in ambiente pitagorico (Ippocrate di Chio) o accademico (Leone, Teudio di Magnesia, Ermotimo di Colofone), cf. M. Timpanaro Cardini, *Pitagorici: testimonianze e frammenti* (Firenze 1962), II, 35-37, W. Burkert, *Lore and science in ancient pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 420 ss., spec. 451 n. 20 e, più di recente, F. Lasserre, *De Léodamas de Thasos à Philippe d'Oponite. Témoignages et fragments* (Napoli 1987).

LITERATURGESCHICHTE UND KALLIMACHOS NACH DEN PAPYRUSFUNDEN

Klaus Fabian

Die Anzahl der Veröffentlichungen seit den großen Papyrusfunden von 1927 beweist zur Genüge, daß der kyrenäische Dichter sich endlich eine Sonderstellung in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte und nicht nur in der Bibliographie verdient.¹ Natürlich sind wir nicht so naiv, daß wir glauben, Kallimachos könnte auf ein breiteres Publikum wirken; allerhöchstens möchte man sich vorstellen, es gäbe über lange Umwege einen indirekten Einfluß, nämlich daß der eine oder der andere heutige *poeta doctus* es darauf ankommen ließe, sich an dem antiken Meister, vor allem von der Form her, ein Vorbild zu nehmen, um dann seinerseits wieder von anderen nachgeahmt zu werden und dies immer weiter in einer Kettenreaktion. Doch müssen wir uns wohl eingestehen, daß Kallimachos das Schicksal so vieler berühmter Naturwissenschaftler teilt: alle haben ihren Namen auf den Lippen und dennoch auf ewig dazu verdammt, unverstanden zu sein, da nur wenige in der Lage sind, deren Botschaft zu verstehen.²

Wenn wir uns heute also wieder intensiv mit dem Battiaden beschäftigen, dann geht es doch darum, einen neuen Standpunkt als Historiker der Literatur einzunehmen und sich der antiken Problematik bewußt zu werden, die, falls sie wie bislang einer gewissenhaften Überprüfung auch weiterhin standhält, sich als ebenso aktuell wie in ihrer Geburtsstunde erweisen würde. Selbst wenn es dazu kommen sollte, daß das künstlerische Maß der Antike sich nicht in jeder Hinsicht unseren Bedingungen anpassen will, was ja gewiß keinem neu klingt, so sind wir dennoch gezwungen, uns mit dem von der Rhetorik gedeckten Bereich literarischer Anwendungsmöglichkeiten zu befassen und dort kommen wir schon rein stofflich nicht ohne die griechisch-römische Antike aus.

Natürlich kommen wir nicht darum herum feststellen zu müssen, daß die bedeutenden Kulturströmungen seit der Renaissance (oder gar seit der planmäßigen Wiederentdeckung des Hellenismus im letzten Jahrhundert), die im Zeichen der gelehrten Tradition stehen, fast immer mit der in den Nationalsprachen verfaßten Dichtung in deutlichem Kontrast verhaften. Nur einem kleinen Kreis Eingeweihter sind die Bücher und Theorien der Bildung derart geläufig,

¹Dies ist nun auch tatsächlich geschehen, insofern Luigi Lehnus diese gewichtige Fleißaufgabe bewältigt hat. Seine verdienstvolle Arbeit (L. Lehnus, *Bibliografia callimachea 1489-1988* (Università di Genova. Facoltà di Lettere D. Ar. Fi. Cl. Et.), Genova 1989) sollte aber bald ein lebendiges Corpus werden, denn die modernen EDV-Instrumente machen es möglich eine solche ständig auf dem Laufenden zu halten. Es ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß die Dienstleistung der neuen Technologie gerade darin besteht, Bibliographien, Indices, Register, Tabellen, Karten, Illustrationen usw. aufzubauen; diese müssen dann weiterhin so beweglich wie möglich gehalten werden, das heißt, Fehler können ständig an der richtigen Stelle ausgemerzt, Ergänzungen dort angebracht werden, wo es ihrer wirklich bedarf. Auf diese Art und Weise wird einem jeden Fachbereiche die Straße in die Geschichte seiner selbst gebahnt.

²Veranschaulichte kulturelle Übergänge von Disziplin zu Disziplin oder durch die Epochen hin, sind es wert auch unserer Zeit als Maßstäbe zu dienen oder erlauben es wenigstens, die zukünftigen zu prüfen. Bei all dem Gegenstandslosen, daß erfahrungsgemäß dabei zur Sprache kommt, versteht es sich doch wie von selbst, daß man erst einmal festen Boden unter die philologischen Füße bekommen muß und dies geschieht doch vor allem durch die Kleinarbeit der einsamen Studierstube, die in nicht geringem Ausmaße ihren Beitrag zum Fortschritt der Wissenschaften geleistet hat. Insofern war es wohl kaum der vereinzelte Genius, sondern allein der Fleiß, der zum Beispiel durch eine vollständige und kritische Bibliographie, seinen gewichtigen Anteil an der Verwirklichung der entscheidenden Arbeitsinstrumente beitrug. Es ist wohl kaum berechtigt, über die Menge der heutigen schriftlichen Arbeiten zu stöhnen und über ihre Bewältigung zu nörgeln, wenn man nicht einmal bereit ist, die Nase in die tägliche Routine der Wissenschaft hineinzustecken, wobei man ja heute, wie immer schon, eben bei der Bibliographie beginnen muß. Die tägliche Erfahrung zeigt es ja, wie nur allzu häufig selbst Studenten fortgeschrittener Semester ängstlich vor der Büchermenge zurückschrecken und nicht einmal die einfachsten bibliographischen Hilfsmittel mit ausreichender Sicherheit handhaben können.

daß sie keine Schwierigkeiten haben, die Quellen mehr als nur an der Oberfläche verfolgen zu können und auch dann fehlt eine kritische Einstellung zugunsten einer oft gesellschaftlich einschlägigen Bewunderung. Aber darum wollen wir uns nicht besonders Sorgen machen. Die eigentlichen Fragen, die hier nicht einmal versuchsweise beantwortet werden können, lauten doch so: 1. gibt es eine Debatte im heutigen Kulturleben, bei der die Überlieferung eine Rolle als nachahmenswertes Modell spielt; 2. ist es vielleicht ratsamer nach jeder vollendeten Entwicklung unter veränderten Voraussetzungen rücksichtslos der Vergangenheit gegenüber ganz von vorn wieder anzufangen; 3. ist ein Mittelweg (wenn es ihn überhaupt gibt) irgendwie beschreibbar?³

Wenn wir uns nur für einen Augenblick unsere Schulerfahrungen vor Augen halten und an die immer noch andauernde Vermittlung hellenistischer Literatur durch die römischen Dichter denken, dann müssen wir wohl dieser leitenden Rolle des Lateins dankbar sein, es wäre wohl recht wahrscheinlich gewesen, daß ohne sie sogar die Namen der Alexandriner in Vergessenheit geraten möchten. Nicht einmal die Kreuzworträtsel haben Platz für sie, wie sollten wir uns dabei wundern, wenn selbst das humanistische Gymnasium seinen Schülern nur wenige etwas bekanntere Namen der kallimacheischen Nachfolge zur Auswahl anbieten kann? Noch weniger werden sie in einer (vom Original wage ich gar nicht zu sprechen) Gesamtübersetzung gelesen und verschwinden also aus der Vorstellungswelt des gebildeten Publikums; man könnte ein wenig boshaftig sogar behaupten: den geringen Ruhm, den die hellenistische Literatur noch sich zu eigen machen kann, bezieht sie vor allem von dem Gerücht, daß sie den Pennälern unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten auf ihrem so oder so schon bitteren Schulweg bereitet. Wie sollte es dabei möglich sein, daß sich Schüler und Lehrer ihre literarische Auffassung von der Poetik aristotelischer Nachfolge befruchten lassen oder daß sie wenigstens zu einer etwas gerechteren Beurteilung von Epoche und Persönlichkeiten durchdringen könnten, ja die Abhängigkeit ausmessen mögen, die uns mit dieser Vergangenheit verbindet? Es scheint, daß wir Berge versetzen müssen, um den kommenden Generationen den Unterschied zwischen Erbe und Überlieferung klarzumachen und völlig ausgeschlossen erscheint es, wenigstens in naher Zukunft, wieder einmal den ununterbrochenen Strang literarischer Bemühungen von der Antike bis zu uns sichtbar zu machen, zu zeigen, was eigentlich das Einheitsprinzip der europäischen Kultur ist und wie man den roten Faden (ein Strom geronnenen Bluts?) verfolgen kann. Kämen wir tatsächlich zu solch einem Verständnis, dann müßten wir also im Grunde genau so weitermachen, wie es über die Jahrhunderte immer geschehen ist.

Sollten wir uns, unsere philologische Ausbildung prädestiniert uns gerade dazu, nicht einmal fragen, welche Rolle die *mass-media* dabei spielen; befinden wir uns ihnen gegenüber in einer Abwehrposition oder sind wir in der Lage sie in unseren Dienst zu stellen? Sicherlich würde es äußerst schwerfallen, einen Dichter wie Kallimachos auf die Bühne des Fernsehens zu hieven, es muß ja nicht sein, auch wenn eines der erfolgreichsten Rezepte der Werbung in der Nutzung des Überraschungseffektes liegt und da käme uns also der Kyrenäer gerade recht!

Können wir denn nicht, vielleicht sogar ohne Beispiele aus der Literatur (oder der sich durch die politischen Aktivitäten wiederbelebenden Rhetorik), anhand Kallimachos poetischen Programmes, ebenso wie anhand der Ergebnisse seiner Organisationsarbeit am alexandrinischen Museum, zu einer Fragestellung gelangen, die sich auf die direkte und indirekte Wirkung des geschriebenen (genauso wie auf die des gesprochenen) Wortes bezieht? Wäre es nicht auch

³Nur um diese Problematik noch ein wenig besser einzukreisen, wollen wir auf gewisse Dichter unseres Jahrhunderts hinweisen: Stefan George, Paul Valéry, Ezra Pound, Eugenio Montale und Giorgos Seferis zum Beispiel. Es scheint jedoch auch, daß sich häufig mehr hinter der Praxis verbirgt, als in einer bewußten Poetik angeschnitten werden kann, man denke nur an Bertolt Brecht.

vermessen sich eine Kultur in einer einzigen Person konzentriert vor uns erscheinen lassen? Ich glaube, daß es trotz allem manchmal gelingt!

Zu wenige Personen - und da wären wir bei den Papyri angelangt - waren in der Lage zu beobachten, wie das Bild eines hellenistischen Dichters sich durch das Bekanntwerden neuer Dokumente verändern konnte. Kallimachos, obwohl sein Einfluß auf die römische Dichtung von Ennius zu den Klassikern und weit hinauf über die silberne Latinität, von der gelehrten Welt niemals unterschätzt worden war, hat doch der Nachwelt fast immer als ein Beispiel für die Existenz eines antiken Manierismus gegolten. Nur allzu häufig erlitt seine Persönlichkeit auch heftige Angriffe von seiten der Vertreter eines mehr oder weniger eingestandenen, romantischen (besser spätromantischen) Literaturbildes.⁴ Dies haben die Papyri, langsam vielleicht, aber dennoch endgültig beseitigt. Die neueren Literaturgeschichten (leider noch nicht die der Schule gewidmeten) sind endlich zu einem Bild gelangt, das einigen wenigen Wissenschaftlern der letzten Generationen schon seit langem vorschwebte. Die leider immer noch wenigen Fragmente der Hekale, immerhin eines der gefeiertesten Gedichte des Altertums, lassen allerdings erkennen, wie sehr die Kunst der Komposition dem Inhalt angepaßt ist, wie sehr dieser Inhalt (von der Form wissen wir das ja bereits) dem neuen Menschenbild, der ersten Generation nach Alexander entspricht, nur eben auf eine Art, die wir zu Recht dem großen Alexander selbst als Etiquette anheften können, nämlich, daß er in einer neuen Dimension vor uns steht und dennoch nicht seine eigenen Ansprüche, einer bedeutenden Vergangenheit gerecht zu werden, aufgibt und sie im Gegenteil auf eine solche Art und Weise verwirklicht, daß sie bis heute ihren Eindruck auf uns nicht verfehlen. Das gleiche gilt, selbstverständlich auf einer ganz anderen Ebene, von den Gelehrten ersten Ranges, wie zum Beispiel von Archimedes, Herophilos, Chrysispos oder eben auch von Kallimachos; wir wollen ganz einfach unsere Erinnerung bemühen und uns sagen, daß es die griechische Kultur ist, die zuerst Augen für die geistige Leistung hat und nicht nur Könige und Kaiser, Feldherrn und Einzelkämpfer preist. Auch in diesem Falle dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß das Problem, ob es besser ist, ein Achilles oder ein Homer zu sein, immer schon derart gelöst wurde, daß es wenig Sinn hat, die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit zu verleugnen, und es allein darauf ankommt, auf wessen Seite die Waage der Qualität ihre Schale gesenkt hat (Alexander hat eben keinen Homer bekommen). Qualität ist aber auch das große Schlagwort des Kallimachos, nur bei ihm geht sie bis ins letzte Detail der Form und des Inhaltes.

Die Papyri haben uns auch daran gewöhnt, daß Kallimachos Hymnen keine Einzelercheinung in seinem Werk sind, daß die Art, eine solche Dichtung zu komponieren, nicht von der Gattung abhängt, nein, ganz im Gegenteil, dies als das eigentliche Markenzeichen (*σφραγίς*) anzusehen ist. Besonders die *Aetia* erlauben es uns, fast überall seine Technik des Erzählens zu bewundern: da ist es immer Alltag, da kommen uns Götter und Menschen gemächlich entgegen, teilen uns Freud und Leid mit, eben alles, was das Leben bieten kann. Der Rahmen, in dem dieses Geschehen sich abwickelt, läßt nicht mehr erkennen, wo die Grenzen zwischen Realität und Fiktion sind, unsere kleine Menschenwelt ist dem Dichter eine Welt des Wortes, alle Handlung hat eine nur vorläufige Wirkung und wird bald von Wind und Wetter eingeholt. Es ist nur so schrecklich schwierig, dies ist die ernste Lektion, die uns Kallimachos angedeihen läßt, das alles auszusprechen, es so zu vermitteln, daß es Gemeingut werden kann, vielleicht sogar werden muß. Vor nicht langer Zeit hätte es den Mut Wilamowitzens bedurft, dies auszusprechen, dank der Papyri ist uns das nun sehr leicht gemacht worden. Und trotz alledem finden so viele nicht den Weg zu dieser Einfachheit der vielschichtigen Worte: denen könnte man antworten, daß die Welt halt nicht so ist, wie unsere geometrischen Vorstellungen sich dies vielleicht erwünschen, sondern sie ist wie die Nuklearphysik oder die Biologie es uns lehren, eher eine anspruchslose Versammlung ziemlicher

⁴Man denke nur an C. G. Cobet, 'Callimachea' *Mnemosyne* 10, 1861, pp. 389-458.

gleicher Phänomene, die es dann dazu bringen, sich in ihrem Existenzkampf so weit wie möglich zu individualisieren, um potentiellen Gegnern eine so geringe Angriffsfläche wie nur möglich zu bieten.

Denken wir nur einmal an die häufigen thematischen Wiederholungen, denen wir begegnen: Episoden aus den Hymnen, die sich in den *Aetia* wiederfinden, oder umgekehrt, Anspielungen in den Jamben auf eigene Werke (indem die gleiche Technik zur Anwendung gelangt, die er gegenüber den Dichtern der Vergangenheit nutzt), Herausheben der formalen Aspekte, des musikalischen Kolorits, wie er in den Rhythmen seiner raffinierten Metrik fast immer vorkommt. Gerade dieser in all seinen Werken herrschende hohe Ton oder das Bemühen, den formellen Aspekt in den Dienst des Inhalts zu stellen, zeigen ganz deutlich, daß es ihm nicht so sehr auf die Folgeerscheinungen seiner Geschichten ankommt, sondern auf die Vielschichtigkeit, die - seiner Meinung nach - weit mehr der Wirklichkeit entspricht, als das was uns ein Historiker lehren kann. In dieser Hinsicht entspricht seine Weltanschauung ganz und gar den Richtlinien, die Aristoteles in der *Poeti* vorträgt: das Allgemeine, wie es die große Dichtung ausdrückt, geht dem Besonderen der Geschichte vor.

Kallimachos ist, wie uns die Hymnen gezeigt haben ein Dichter des Festes, er weiß um die Bedeutung des Einmaligen und daher stellt er diese Gelegenheit als das Normale, das dem Menschen Notwendige dar (wie er es ganz besonders in den Rahmenerzählungen der *Aetia* darstellt).⁵ Wir müssen aber in seinem Werk gerade diesen Sinn erfassen, nämlich daß es das Verständnis um eine Wahrheit zu kleinen, aber doch konkreten Dingen ist, das uns weiterhilft, und nicht etwa die Wahrheit an sich. Wenn unser heutiges, sich so oft auf der Oberfläche bewegendes Leben, die bildenden Künste, die Musik und die Literatur oftmals nur in enzyklopädischer Vermittlung kennt, sich ihrer nur am Feierabend, Wochenende oder in den Ferien, der Zerstreuung halber, bedient, dann ist es doch ganz einleuchtend, welch klaffende Spalte sich zwischen der Wahrheit und ihrer Erkenntnis geöffnet hat. Da steht auf der einen Seite eine alte Kultur, die versuchte, ihre Ergebnisse in alle Erscheinungen des öffentlichen und des privaten Lebens einzubetten und auf der anderen Seite eine, die sich ständig neue Fluchtwege bahnt, und sich so von der Wirklichkeit einer bitteren Existenz abwendet: die unsere.

Dabei vergessen wir einfach zu schnell, auf welchem Kreuzwege sich antike und moderne Kultur eigentlich treffen. Es geht dabei nicht so sehr darum, daß wir die Alten als Materialsammlung betrachten und ab und zu auch einen Film über sie drehen, sondern darum, daß unsere gesamte Tradition, sich an den Fragestellungen der antiken Philosophie und Naturwissenschaft orientiert hat, daß jede Spur, auch die verneinende Stellungnahme gegenüber der Theorie der Künste und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Verwirklichung immer die Antike als geistige Voraussetzung ihrer Existenz kennt. Es ist nicht akzeptabel, diesen Treffpunkt zu ignorieren, so zu tun, als ob sich in der westlichen Kultur die Diagonalen nicht mehr überschneiden, ohne daß auch die Fragen, die wir an uns richten werden, einen gänzlich neuen Ausgangspunkt nehmen werden - welchen weiß ich nicht und kann ihn mir auch nicht vorstellen.

Kallimachos war gleichzeitig Dichter und Philologe (Künstler und Wissenschaftler also) in dem neuen Athen der Diadochenzeit, lebte sich also von der Polis Kyrene fort in eine völlig veränderte politische und soziale Wirklichkeit. Wie sehr das Werk und sicherlich auch die Persönlichkeit des Dichters von all dem beeinflusst ist, welche gewichtige Rolle er als Intellektueller dennoch zu spielen wußte, ist uns durch die Papyri nur noch klarer geworden. Sei es, daß ein Dichter wie er, der in all dem, was er begann, die absolute Präzision suchte und auch fast immer erreichte, sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sogar im Schulleben der ägyptischen Provinz gleich nach seinem Tode als einer der Klassiker wiederfand, oder sei es,

⁵Vgl. die Eröffnung des dritten Buches oder die Einleitung in das *Aition* von *Icus* (fr. 178-185 Pf.).

daß die Nachfolge der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit am Museum nicht mehr aus seinen Fußstapfen herauskam, immer wieder werden wir darauf hingewiesen, wie sehr Kallimachos Angelpunkt zwischen den Zeiten ist, wie er konsequent und folgerichtig den neuen Weg einweihet. Die Geschichte hat ihm nicht recht gegeben, wenigstens nicht bis heute, vielleicht ist sein Versuch, wie so viele andere wissenschaftliche Bemühungen zu früh gekommen, war zu sehr an ein zu enges geographisches Kompensorium geknüpft und als solches zu vielen Gefahren, wenn nicht Anfeindungen ausgesetzt; aber damit ist ja nicht gesagt, daß er auf die Dauer doch derjenige war, der die einzige Möglichkeit noch originell zu sein aufgezeigt hat.

Die Überbrückung der Grenzen zwischen Wissenschaft und Kunst scheint uns Modernen, wenigstens in der Praxis, ein *paradoxum* zu sein (auch wenn manchmal ein Maler und Bildhauer dazu einlädt), aber für Kallimachos, wie ja bereits für die meisten Vertreter der antiken Philosophenschulen, stellte sich hier kein Problem: die Einheit dieser beiden Welten wird ja schließlich schon durch das beiden Bereichen gemeinsame Wort *τέχνη* ausgedrückt und vielleicht sollten auch wir einmal ernsthaft darangehen, die Aufhebung dieser Trennungslinie zu diskutieren. Kallimachos geht es um etwas ganz anderes: er will sich die Mittel bereit stellen, mit denen er die Vielschichtigkeit, ja die Unbegreiflichkeit, die *δισσοὶ λόγοι*, zum Ausdruck bringen kann, nur was sich sagen läßt, kann man auch verstehen. So liegt das philologische Hauptgewicht auf der Bewahrung der besten Traditionen und ganz besonders des Einmaligen, denn in der Wirklichkeit der Ausnahmerecheinungen verstecken sich die Grenzen des Erfäßbaren.

An diese Beobachtungen sollten wir eine Mahnung knüpfen: es ist nicht die blinde Hochachtung vor allem Überlieferten, die der Moderne zur Gefahr werden könnte, noch ist umgekehrt die Moderne, trotz mancher Zerstörungswut, nicht drohender als von vornherein alle Vergänglichkeit; vielmehr sollten wir uns vor bewußten Fehlinterpretationen hüten, den Schaden, den in unserem Jahrhundert solche Mißgriffe (manchmal sogar absichtlich) aller Zivilisation angerichtet haben, erlitten und erleiden wir noch immer am eigenen Leibe. Diese Gefahr besteht nicht allein den Zeitgenossen, sie existiert auch für die Vergangenheit, insofern die falsch bewertete Vorzeit sich erneut an uns wendet und Hochmut und Dummheit als bevorzugte Waffen einsetzt. Daher dürfen wir Heutigen nicht so einfach die Geschichte nach einer einzigen ideologischen Richtschnur bewerten und unsere Maßstäbe einer anderen Welt anheften, und dies obwohl wir wissen, daß es nicht wenige Straßen gegeben hat und noch immer gibt, die nach Rom führen.

Aber um kurz zu bleiben, es ist schon des Erwägens wert, sich mit einem Kallimachos zu befassen, wenn man sich in die gleiche Position rückt und sich vergegenwärtigt, daß unser Dichter, genauso wie wahrscheinlich auch unsere Epoche, einen Übergangspunkt bedeutet, sicher zwischen anderen Zeiten und Welten als der unseren, aber doch immerhin einen solchen, den er sogar mit seinen Mitteln abgrenzt und dadurch eine Fragestellung aufrichtet; wir dagegen scheinen nicht dazu in der Lage zu sein, denn wir glauben, uns an zu vielen Angelpunkten ausrichten zu müssen: ein Grund mehr, darauf zu hoffen, daß die Papyri uns noch so manchen Text des Kallimachos bescheren mögen.

UN NOUVEAU PAPYRUS DU PREMIER HYMNE HOMÉRIQUE : LE PAPYRUS DE GENÈVE 432 (2ème - 1er siècle avant notre ère)

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Plates 27-28

En décembre 1989, un lot de papyri parvenait à la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève : cette acquisition avait été rendue possible grâce à un don généreux de la Société académique de Genève. Dans ce lot, provenant du cartonnage de deux masques de momies, se trouvent presque exclusivement des textes documentaires dont la publication a été entreprise désormais par les soins de Paul Schubert. Ce dernier m'a fait d'utiles remarques sur la première version de ce travail. Je remercie également le professeur Martin West (Oxford) : on trouvera son nom mentionné à propos des indications qu'il a bien voulu me faire parvenir par lettre (on verra que c'est à lui que revient le mérite d'avoir rapproché les lignes 10-13 de notre papyrus des vers 1199-1202 des *Argonautiques orphiques*).

Dans ce nouvel ensemble de textes documentaires, l'unique exception, comportant un texte littéraire, est constituée par le papyrus 432. Il s'agit d'un petit fragment de 15,5 cm/12,5 cm contenant une copie d'écolier: sur l'une des faces (fibres verticales) on trouve une table de multiplication (plate 28), sur l'autre (fibres horizontales) un texte en vers (plate 27), copie relativement soignée d'un poème qui nous est par ailleurs mal connu : le premier hymne homérique à Dionysos.

Disons d'emblée que nous sommes fortunés d'avoir une copie comportant l'un des rares passages de cet hymne qui nous soit connu déjà par la tradition indirecte (les lignes 2-9 correspondent à quelques exceptions près aux vers 1-9 de notre texte tel que nous le transmettent Diodore de Sicile et les *Scholies* d'Apollonios de Rhodes). Cette médaille a cependant son revers: le passage connu, et qui permet d'identifier le texte sans risque d'erreur, recouvre la partie la moins mutilée de notre nouveau document ; la partie véritablement nouvelle se trouve dans un état qui frustre très largement notre attente. C'est le résultat du geste qu'accomplit celui qui décida de jeter cette copie, ce brouillon devenu tout juste bon à faire du cartonnage.

Un rappel, tout d'abord, pour situer en termes brefs la question de tradition textuelle dans laquelle notre document vient jouer son rôle.

Les manuscrits des *Hymnes homériques*, on le sait, débutent tous par l'hymne (ou plutôt les deux hymnes) à Apollon. Une seule exception: le *Leidensis 33 H (Mosquensis)*. Ce manuscrit fut acheté en 1777 à Moscou par Christian Friedrich Matthaei, qui l'avait identifié à la Bibliothèque du Synode. Il le revendit à la Bibliothèque de Leiden. On le date du 14ème siècle. Copié sans doute au Mont Athos, ce manuscrit avait pour modèle un manuscrit qui devait, à l'origine, comporter tout le corpus homérique, mais qui avait dans le cours du temps perdu un certain nombre de cahiers. On peut établir que le manuscrit de Leiden constitue la seconde moitié d'un manuscrit dont la première moitié comportait un extrait de l'*Illiade* (du début à 8, 434) et le début de l'hymne à Dionysos. Comme le verso du dernier folio du manuscrit est vide, on est porté à penser que l'archétype devait être incomplet à la fin. (Sur l'ensemble de la question, on consultera *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. T.W. Allen, W.R. Halliday, E.E. Sikes, Oxford 1936, pp. XVIII-XXVIII).

La tradition papyrologique des *Hymnes homériques* n'est pas riche: le catalogue de Pack ne contient aucune rubrique, les divers instruments bibliographiques qui le complètent n'offrent guère mieux, et c'est tout récemment encore que R. Merkelbach a relancé la question de savoir si le papyrus d'Oxyrrhynque 670 (t.4, 1904) n'était pas, après tout, un morceau de

l'hymne homérique à Dionysos (cf. R. Merkelbach, 'Ein Fragment des homerischen Dionysos Hymnus' *ZPE* 12, 1973, pp. 212-215), sa conclusion n'étant d'ailleurs pas acceptée par F. Cassola dans son édition (*Inni omerici*, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 1975, p.15).

Cette pauvreté contraste avec le fait que les *Hymnes homériques*, dans l'*Editio princeps* de 1488 par Démétrios Chalcocondyles sont un des premiers textes grecs que l'on ait imprimés. Faveur du texte, rareté des copies (et l'on sait, pour avoir failli perdre l'hymne à Déméter, conservé par le seul manuscrit de Leiden, que ce qui disparaît n'est pas forcément négligeable) voilà le contexte dans lequel se situe notre papyrus: en effet, il vient prendre place dans une tradition papyrologique indigente, mais le fait qu'il s'agit d'un travail d'élève témoigne du succès de ce texte, puisqu'on allait jusqu'à en faire usage dans le système éducatif.

Le document peut être daté approximativement par les caractéristiques de l'écriture (ce qui risque parfois d'être délicat s'agissant d'une écriture d'élève), ainsi que par le fait que l'ensemble du lot provient du nome héracléopolite et que certains documents sont précisément datés du deuxième siècle avant notre ère, qui semble le *terminus post quem* de la confection du cartonnage. S'appliquant à la bilinéarité, avec des interlignes nettement inférieurs aux lignes (hauteur maximale des lettres: 5 mm (v), hauteur minimale : 3 mm (o), largeur maximale: 8 mm (ω), largeur minimale: 1 mm (ι), interligne de 2-3 mm) cette écriture comporte occasionnellement des hastes verticales recourbées (seconde haste du π, ou hastes du v) ainsi que des points "décoratifs" en bout de haste. On peut la rapprocher de l'écriture du papyrus d'Oxyrrhynque XV 1790 d'Ibycos (2ème ou premier siècle avant notre ère) reproduit chez E.G. Turner et P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* seconde édition, Londres 1987 pl. 20. La forme de certaines lettres comme η ou v fait songer au papyrus 7172 du Louvre (Posidippe, 160 avant notre ère, cf. *ibid.*, pl.45). Le professeur Guglielmo Cavallo (*privatim*) pencherait plutôt pour une datation au premier siècle avant notre ère. Le fragment comporte une marge inférieure dont la largeur varie entre 1,5 et 2 cm. Les deux faces du papyrus ont été utilisées tête-bêche.

La date de ce travail d'écolier explique peut-être jusqu'à un certain point le goût dont il est le témoin pour un hymne à Dionysos. En effet, l'intérêt des Ptolémées pour cette divinité est attestée dès la célèbre fête de Ptolémée Philadelphie dont Callixenos de Rhodes a donné une description en partie conservée chez Athénée (5, 196a sqq.), intérêt qui semble demeuré constant (Paul Schubert me signale à ce propos le πρόσταγμα de Ptolémée Philopator publié par Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *Corpus de ordonnances des Ptolémées*, Bruxelles 1980 (réimpression de l'édition princeps (1964) corrigée et mise à jour, pp. 68-71), et puisque notre passage de l'hymne comporte la mention de Nysé, "nourrice" de Dionysos dans le sens qu'il s'agit du pays où il a vu le jour, on rappellera que Nysé était représentée dans la fête de Ptolémée par un automate versant du lait (Athénée 5, 198f).

Quoi qu'il en soit, et en songeant aux pages d'Henri-Irénée Marrou sur l'éducation hellénistique, on peut se demander si cette "page d'écriture" a bien été copiée sur un exemplaire des *Hymnes homériques*, ou s'il ne faut pas plutôt considérer que l'élève a recopié (ou pris sous dictée) un extrait pris dans un ensemble de "morceaux choisis" à l'usage des maîtres (Cf. H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, nouvelle édition, Paris 1965, pp.234sqq). Compte tenu du fait que le verso de l'hymne est occupé par une table de multiplication conduite pour les nombres et leurs multiplicateurs jusqu'à dix, et que les spéculations sur la valeur de ce nombre allaient bon train dans l'éducation (Marrou, *ibid.*, pp 270-272), on est conduit à penser que le choix d'un hymne à Dionysos n'était pas le fait d'un hasard, mais devait correspondre à une tendance de l'époque.

Pap. Genève 432	Hymne selon la tradition indirecte
3	2
4	5
5	3

La séquence syntaxiquement moins bonne du texte de notre papyrus donne à penser qu'il s'agit d'étourderies de l'élève plutôt que d'une tradition différente du poème. On ne peut cependant pas l'exclure complètement: ce serait une tradition dans laquelle Sémélé aurait disparu, ce qui pourrait s'accorder avec le fait que Thèbes n'est pas mentionnée en fin de liste, immédiatement avant Nysé.

Le déroulement du texte au-delà de la partie qui nous était déjà connue semble consacré à la description du pays de Nysé, lieu de naissance de Dionysos (avec, sans doute, les jeux de mots étymologiques sur les deux noms du dieu et du pays de naissance qui seraient dans le goût du genre, - et la trace s'en trouve peut-être dans un texte comme Apollonios de Rhodes, *Arg.* 4, 1132: Διὸς Νυσηίου νῆα). On peut distinguer plus ou moins les traits suivants :

- 1/ le pays n'est pas habité par des humains cf. 10
- 2/ le pays n'est pas pourvu de ports cf. 11 et 17
- 3/ le pays est sans doute entouré de rochers cf. 12
- 4/ le pays produit des biens en abondance cf. 13

Il est relativement courant qu'un hymne fasse mention du lieu de naissance d'un dieu (voir les cas des hymnes homériques à Apollon (première partie) et à Hermès); le fait que le lieu fasse l'objet d'une dispute trouvera de l'écho, par exemple, dans l'*Hymne à Zeus* de Callimaque. Cependant, il y a plus dans notre cas: la localisation même de Nysé était l'objet de discussions. On situait la contrée diversement en Thrace (*Schol. Il.* 6, 133), en Ethiopie (*Hdt.* 2, 146 et 3, 97) ou ailleurs encore. L'enjeu était d'importance, car il s'agissait probablement de dire la provenance de la viticulture (cf. A. Herrmann, *art.* Nysa dans *RE* 17.2, 1937, 1628-1661). L'intérêt de l'*hymne homérique à Dionysos* devait en particulier résider dans sa prise de position sur ce point.

Dans la suite, il semble qu'il soit fait mention d'une fête (23)

Disons enfin que la dimension de la description du pays semble en accord avec la constatation de G.S. Kirk selon laquelle notre hymne entre dans la catégorie des hymnes longs (donc les plus anciens) (cf. *Greek Literature*, vol. 1 de *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, ed. P.E. Easterling, B.M.W. Knox, Cambridge 1985, p. 111). Cela signifie en particulier que l'hypothèse de Merkelbach sur l'appartenance du texte du P.Oxy. 4, 670 à notre hymne demeure parfaitement plausible

* * * * *

2 L'absence du pronom de la deuxième personne du singulier (σ') est sans doute à mettre sur le compte de la distraction de l'élève.

10-13 Restitution d'après l'imitation qu'on lit dans les *Argonautiques orphiques* 1199-1202 (suggestion de M. West. L'original aurait pu tenir mieux compte du digamma de οἰ).

10 μερόπων ἀνθρώπων cf. également *Il.* 1.250.

11 Cf. également *Od.* 5.404 (λιμένες νηῶν ὀχοί).

12 Pour la graphie du texte, il faut observer que l'élève semble avoir commencé par un π le mot περιδέδραμε et qu'il a inclus ensuite ce tracé dans le π initial.

Dans l'*Illiade*, 14, 413, Hector, frappé par la pierre que lui lance Ajax, "tournoie" sous l'effet du choc: *περὶ δ' ἔδραμε πάντη*. S'il fallait la reprendre telle quelle, la formule serait mal à sa place dans la description d'un pays. Après la mention de ports, on s'attendrait à celle des frontières qui marquent la contrée. On rencontre dans l'*Hymne homérique à Apollon*, v. 284, dans la forme *ὑποδέδρομε*, avec le sens de "s'étend au-dessous" (*δέδρομε* étant un doublet poétique bien connu de *δέδραμε*). On pourrait songer que *περιδέδραμε* signifie dans notre cas "court tout autour" s'agissant de rochers qui "entourent" le pays. Cette interprétation est confirmée par le tour qu'on lit au vers 1201 des *Argonautiques orphiques* (*περὶ πάντα πέφυκεν*).

13 *μενοεικέα πολλά* cf. *Il.* 9, 227 ; *Od.* 5, 267. Les *Argonautiques orphiques* (1202) ont *μενοεικέα δῶρα*. Le pays de Nysé est présenté comme un pays d'abondance également dans un fragment de Sophocle conservé par Strabon (15, 687 = Fr. 959 Radt dans *TrGF* ed. St. Radt, t. 4, Göttingen 1977).

14 M. West propose, après un premier dactyle, *πᾶν δέ τ' ὄρος] κατέχει βαθυ[.....ύ]λη*.

17 On pourrait lire *νόσφιν]ἀπὸ φλοίσ[βοιο* (Dionysos né "loin de la mer"?), en se souvenant de la manière dont Diodore de Sicile introduit sa citation de la partie de l'hymne qu'il nous a conservée (3.66.3: *παρισάγων αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Νύση*).

19-20 e.g. *τὴν πέρ[ι πᾶσαν*

ἀμπέχει Ὀκεανοῖ]ο ῥοάων μεί[λιχον ὕδωρ. (M. West)

21 Peut-être *παλάμη δ' ἔχε* (cf. *Od.* 1, 104). Le sujet est incertain: il pourrait s'agir de Zeus procédant à l'accouchement de Dionysos sortant de sa cuisse.

23 Le tour *κήρυκες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὑπὸ δρυὶ δαίτα πένοντο* (*Il.* 18, 558) incline à penser qu'il s'agit ici d'une fête, marquant peut-être la naissance du dieu au moment où Zeus est délivré de son étrange grossesse.

L' INVOCAZIONE DI CALLIMACO ALLE CARITI NEL PRIMO LIBRO DEGLI AITIA (FR. 7, 9-14 PF.)*

Giulio Massimilla

Ἰεὺ ἀνεΐμον[ε] ἰώϊε ἀπὸ κόλπου ἰ μητρὸς Ἐλειθυΐης ἤλθετε βιοιυλομένης, ἰ ἐν δὲ Πάρῳ κάλλη τε καὶ αἰόλα βεύδε' ἔχουσαι ἰ ἀπ' ὄκτλιγγῶν δ' αἰὲν ἄλειφα ῥέει, ἰ ἔλλατε νῦν, ἰ ἐλέγγοις ἰ δ' ἰ ἐνιψήσασθι εἰ λιλῶσας ἰ χεῖρας ἐμοῖς, ἰ να μοῖι πολὺ μὲν ὤϊν ἔτος.

All' inizio degli *Aitia*, Callimaco chiede alle Muse perché nell' isola di Paro i sacrifici alle Cariti siano compiuti senza flauti e ghirlande (fr. 3; cf. forse anche il fr. 710). La spiegazione gli è offerta da Clío.¹ Mentre Minosse, egemone delle Cicladi (fr. 4), sta celebrando in Paro un sacrificio alle Cariti (fr. 5), gli viene annunciata la morte del figlio Androgeo.² Minosse, senza interrompere il rito, depone flauti e ghirlande in segno di lutto, inaugurando così l' usanza. Da questo racconto Clío trae lo spunto per determinare l' esatta genealogia delle Cariti. Callimaco menziona tre opinioni diverse in proposito: secondo alcuni, esse sono figlie di Zeus ed Era, secondo altri di Zeus ed Eurinome, secondo altri di Zeus ed Evante (cf. fr. 6). Ma Clío dichiara che le Cariti sono nate da Dioniso e dalla Ninfa di Nasso Coronide (cf. forse il fr. 601 e SH 271-274). Infine, alle Cariti - che a Paro sono effigiate non nude, ma riccamente vestite - Callimaco rivolge la preghiera di dare rinomanza durevole alle sue elegie (fr. 7, 1-18).³

Come dimostra quest' invocazione, Callimaco collega strettamente il primo *aition* alla parte proemiale dell' opera. Esprimendo la sua devozione alle Cariti e facendo dipendere da loro la fama dei suoi versi, il poeta si rivela erede soprattutto di Pindaro,⁴ così come Teocrito nel sedicesimo Idillio (cf. specialmente v. 108 s. καλλείψω δ' οὐδ' ὕμνε· τί γὰρ Χαρίτων

* Nel testo e nelle note si fa uso delle seguenti abbreviazioni: EpGr. ... Kaibel = G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca e lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin 1878, rist. Hildesheim 1965); FGE = D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981); GDRK = E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Göttingen 1963-1964); GP = A. S. F. Gow - D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (Cambridge 1968); GVI = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I: Grab-Epigramme* (Berlin 1955); HE = A. S. F. Gow - D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965); PMG = D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962); SH = H. Lloyd-Jones - P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin - New York 1983).

¹ Gli Scholia Florentina 35 s. (vol. I p. 13 Pf.) informano che le fonti di Callimaco, per questo *aition*, sono Agia e Dercilo.

² Le cause della morte sono narrate in modo diverso dalle fonti: il giovane restò ucciso dopo uno scontro con il toro di Maratona (Apollod. III 15, 7, Paus. I 27, 10) o mentre si recava a Tebe per partecipare ai giochi funebri in onore di Laio (Apollod. ibid., Diod. IV 60, 5). Per il personaggio, cf. anche Call. Aet. fr. 103.

³ Che l' invocazione alle Cariti appartenesse all' inizio degli *Aitia* era stato supposto - prima che i papiri lo confermassero - da A. Hecker, *Commentationes Callimacheae* (Groningae 1842), p. 53. L' intuizione di Hecker fu poi accolta da C. Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa* (Lipsiae 1863), p. 75 n. 2, O. Schneider, *Callimachea II* (Lipsiae 1873), p. 116, A. Couat, *La poésie alexandrine sous les trois premiers Ptolémées (324-222 av. J.-C.)* (Paris 1882), p. 129, P. Maas, *DLZ* 49 NF 5 (1928), p. 129, A. Rostagni, *RFIC* 56 NS 6 (1928), p. 39 = *Scritti minori II* 1 (Torino 1956), p. 295, R. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* 63 (1928), p. 331 = *Ausgewählte Schriften* (München 1960), p. 124. Si veda in proposito G. Benedetto, *Il prologus Aetiorum di A. Hecker*, in corso di pubblicazione nei Proceedings del Workshop on Callimachus (Groningen 2-4 Settembre 1992). - A. Harder, *Prometheus* 14 (1988), p. 11 si chiede se la preghiera debba essere attribuita al poeta Callimaco che scrive o al personaggio Callimaco che sogna: ritengo più probabile la prima soluzione.

⁴ Ol. IX 27, XIV, Pyth. VI 2, IX 3, 89, Nem. IV 7, V 54, IX 54, X 1, Isthm. V 21, VI 63, VIII 16, Paean VI 3 = fr. 52 f, 3 Sn. - M., VII 10 = fr. 52 g, 10 Sn. - M.; cf. pure Bacch. V 9, IX 1.

ἀγαπατόν | ἀνθρώποις ἀπάνευθεν; ἀεὶ Χαρίτεσσιν ἄμ' εἶην).⁵ Ma anche accostando le Muse del sogno eliconio (fr. 2 e 2a) alle Cariti del primo *aition*, Callimaco si riallaccia ad una ricca tradizione che, a partire da Esiodo (Theog. 64), collega fra loro i due gruppi di divinità: le Muse rappresentano la sapienza, le Cariti la grazia e il successo del canto.⁶ Il medesimo accostamento ricorre alla fine degli *Aitia* (fr. 112), dove probabilmente il poeta celebra prima le Cariti e poi le Muse.

La preghiera di Callimaco alle Cariti (fr. 7, 9-14), che ci è nota sia per via indiretta⁷ sia per la concomitanza di tre diversi papiri,⁸ contiene immagini e motivi destinati ad avere un notevole influsso sui poeti ellenistici e romani.

Nei vv. 9-12, le dee sono invocate nell'aspetto da loro assunto a Paro, dove non appaiono nude, ma sontuosamente vestite di mantelli e tuniche;⁹ dai loro riccioli scorre sempre l'unguento. Callimaco attribuisce quest'ultima caratteristica anche ad Apollo (Hymn. II 38-41): αἱ δὲ κόμαι θυόεντα πέδῳ λείβουσιν ἔλαια· | οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν ἔθειραι, | ἀλλ' αὐτὴν πανάκειαν· ἐν ἄκτεϊ δ' ᾧ κεν ἐκεῖναι | πρῶκες ἔραζε πέσωιν, ἀκήρια πάντ' ἐγένοντο. E Tibullo applica la medesima immagine al Genio in due elegie che rivelano una notevole impronta callimachea: I 7, 51 *illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo*; II 2, 7 *illius puro destillent tempora nardo*.¹⁰

Ma la sezione più interessante della preghiera di Callimaco è costituita dai versi 13 e 14: «siate ora propizie e strofinate le mani scintillanti sulle mie elegie, affinché mi durino per molti anni». Se da un lato il verbo ἴληθι - così come l'aggettivo ἴλαος e il verbo ἴληκοι¹¹ - sono tipici delle invocazioni a partire dall'Odissea e dagli inni omerici,¹² l'invito a strofinare le

⁵ Per le Cariti nella poesia pindarica, cf. G. Lanata, *Poetica pre-platonica. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Firenze 1963), p. 75 s.

⁶ Cf. p. es. [Hom.] Hymn. XXVII 15, Sapph. fr. 103, 5; 128; 208 Voigt, [Theogn.] 15, Pind. Paean III 2 = fr. 52 c, 2 Sn. - M., Bacch. XIX 3-8, fr. adesp. PMG 937, 7, Eur. Herc. 673-675, Hel. 1341-1345, Aristoph. Av. 781 s., Eccl. 974, Theocr. XVI 104-107, Simm. Anth. Pal. VII 22, 6 = HE 3291, Alc. Mess. Anth. Pal. VII 1, 8 = HE 69, Crin. Anth. Pal. IX 513, 2 = GP 2061, anonym. Anth. Pal. VII 416, 2 = FGE 1251, anonym. Anth. Pal. IX 187, 2 s. = FGE 1239 s., Metrod. (?) Anth. Pal. XIV 48, 1 s., Metrod. Anth. Pal. XIV 120, 7 s., EpGr. 994, 6 Kaibel, GVI 127, 2; 1989, 16, Quint. Smyrn. IV 140 s., Greg. Naz. Anth. Pal. VIII 126, 3; 127, 1 s.; 128; 134, 3, Leont. App. Plan. 283, 4, Pall. Anth. Pal. X 52, 2, Dioscor. GDRK XLII 12 B, 3; 25, 4 s. Cf. anche anonym. Anth. Pal. VII 44, 4 = 'Ion' FGE 573 τὸν σοφίη Μουσέων μιξάμενον χάριτα (a proposito di Euripide). Si vedano E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn 1966), p. 44 s. e K. Deichgräber, *Charis und Chariten. Grazie und Grazien* (München 1971), pp. 21 ss.

⁷ Schol. T Hom. II. XXII 80 c (v. 9 s.), Et. Gen. AB s. v. βεῦδεα, Et. Sym. s. v. βεῦδεα, Et. M. s. v. βεῦδος (v. 11), Schol. Ap. Rh. I 1297, Et. Gen. AB, Et. Orion., Et. Sym. cod. V, Et. M. s. v. ὄκταλιγγες, Hesych. s. v. ὄκταλιγξ (v. 12), Schol. BDP Pind. Nem. IV 10 a (v. 13 s.).

⁸ PSI 1217 A fr. 1, 3-8 + POxy. 2167 fr. 2 col. I, 9-14 (vv. 9-14), PBerol. 17057 Verso 5-7 (vv. 9-11), PSI 1217 B fr. 1, 1 (v. 14). Il PBerol. pone un problema testuale nel v. 10, perché tramanda]μεγακ[] : come osservano Lloyd-Jones e Parsons nell'apparato critico a SH 249 A Verso 6, in queste tracce «βουλο]μενη[c legi non potest nisi aegre».

⁹ Cf. Pfeiffer ad loc.: «in Call. prob. β(εῦδεα) significant χιτῶνα longum et κ(άλλεα) ἱμάτιον».

¹⁰ Per l'elegia I 7, cf. l'annotazione di Pfeiffer al fr. 383, 16 (= Aet. SH 254, 16), A. W. Bulloch, *PCPhS* 199 NS 19 (1973), p. 77 e R. J. Ball, *Tibullus the Elegist. A Critical Survey* (Göttingen 1983), p. 122. Altri passi nei quali si parla dell'unguento stillante dal capo degli dèi sono raccolti da Allen - Halliday - Sikes nel commento all'Inno omerico XXIV 3. L'olio cosparsi sui capelli è del resto un elemento tipico del fascino femminile (cf. Mel. Anth. Pal. V 147, 5 = HE 4240, Marc. Arg. Anth. Pal. VI 201, 1 s. = GP 1379 s.), così come la bella chioma delle Cariti compare già nell'Iliade omerica (XVII 51), e poi spesso nella poesia successiva (Pind. Pyth. V 45, Menophil. Damasc. SH 558, 12-14, [Anacr.] Anth. Pal. VI 144, 2 = FGE 523, Quint. Smyrn. V 72, Colluth. 174 Livrea).

¹¹ Per la forma eolica ἔλλατε, cf. H. L. Ahrens, *Philologus* 38 (1879), p. 231 = *Kleine Schriften* I (Hannover 1891), p. 306 s. e l'annotazione di Pfeiffer ad loc.

¹² Od. III 380, XVI 184, Hymn. I 17, III 165, XX 8, XXIII 4, XXIX 10.

mani sulle elegie per renderle celebri è del tutto originale: come ha osservato Peter Bing,¹³ una simile richiesta dimostra che le elegie stesse sono intese come materiale scritto su tavolette o su rotoli.¹⁴

Come nota Pfeiffer, l'immagine della divinità che, strofinando le mani, dispensa il suo favore viene ripresa da Teocrito (XVII 36 s.) e Crinagora (App. Plan. 273, 1-3 = GP 2070-2072). Ma in nessuno dei due passi si parla di composizione poetica: nell'Idillio di Teocrito, Afrodite «strofinò le mani delicate sul grembo odoroso» di Berenice (τῆ μὲν Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κούρα | κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐεμάξατο χειράς); nell'epigramma di Crinagora, Asclepio «unse la sua mano di panacea e strofinò la scienza dell'arte curativa sul petto» del medico Prassagora di Cos (αὐτός κοι Φοίβοιο πάις λαθικηδέα τέχνης | ἰδμοσύνην, πανάκη χεῖρα λιπηνάμενος, | Πρηξαγόρη, στέρνοις ἐνεμάξατο).

Spostiamo invece il nostro campo di osservazione, più in generale, sul potere miracoloso attribuito alle mani divine. Si tratta di un motivo presente già nelle Storie di Erodoto (VI 61): nel santuario di Terapne la dea Elena carezzò il capo di una bambina molto brutta, dicendo che sarebbe diventata la donna più bella di Sparta, cosa che infatti avvenne (τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλλιτεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν).¹⁵ Ora, l'immagine viene ripresa da Teocrito ed applicata alle Muse, per bocca del mietitore Buceo innamorato di Bombica (X 24 s.): Μοῖσαι Πιερίδες, συναείατε τὰν ῥαδινὰν μοι | παῖδ' ὦν γάρ χ' ἄψησθε, θεαί, καλὰ πάντα ποεῖτε. Dato lo stretto legame che - come si è detto - unisce le Muse alle Cariti, il passo di Teocrito è molto vicino all'invocazione callimachea.

Anche il desiderio che le elegie riscuotano una fama durevole, così come viene formulato da Callimaco, influirà molto sulla poesia successiva. Pfeiffer cita un luogo di Antonio Tallo (Anth. Pal. VI 235, 5 s. = GP 3418 s.): ἀλλὰ σὺ παπῶοις ἐπὶ βήμασιν ἴχνος ἐρείδων | εὐχομένοισι ἡμῖν πουλὺ μένοις ἐπ' ἔτος. Qui la frase πουλὺ μένοις ἐπ' ἔτος nella seconda metà del pentametro riprende il πουλὺ μένωνσιν ἔτος callimacheo, ma si tratta solo di un'imitazione formale, visto che il contesto dell'epigramma è l'esaltazione di un Cesare (da identificare forse con Germanico), in occasione del suo compleanno: e, nel testo di Antonio, alcuni editori non accolgono μένοις, che si deve al correttore del codice palatino, bensì la lezione originaria μέλοις.¹⁶

Invece, i due passi ovidiani riportati da Pfeiffer dipendono da Callimaco anche contenutisticamente. Alla fine degli Amores (III 15, 19 s.) il poeta definisce le sue «elegie» un'«opera destinata a durare» (*inbelles elegi, genialis Musa, valete, | post mea mansurum fata superstes opus*): è chiaro il riferimento all'ἐλέγοις e al μένωνσιν callimachei. Nel quinto libro dei Fasti, poi, Ovidio conclude un *aition* rivolgendosi alla dea Flora (376-378): *mansit odor; posses scire fuisse deam. | floreat ut toto carmen Nasonis in aevo, | sparge, precor, donis pectora nostra tuis*. Qui *toto ... in aevo* richiama πουλὺ ... ἔτος e l'immagine della dea che sparge i suoi doni sul petto¹⁷ del poeta fa pensare alle Cariti che strofinano le mani sulle elegie di Callimaco.

¹³ P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse. Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen 1988), p. 18.

¹⁴ Si può inoltre osservare - con K. J. Dover, in E. Degani (ed.), *Poeti greci giambici ed elegiaci. Letture critiche* (Milano 1977), p. 59 n. 10 - che questo è «il più antico sicuro esempio di un'equivalenza ἔλεγοι = ἐλεγείαι». L'uso della parola ἔλεγοις come «composizione in distici elegiaci» si ritrova in Apollonid. Anth. Pal. X 19, 5 = GP 1277.

¹⁵ Il luogo erodoteo è accostato alla preghiera di Callimaco da C. Bonner, *CPh* 47 (1952), p. 203.

¹⁶ Beckby mette in testo μένοις, Gow e Page μέλοις. Questi ultimi commentano: «The resemblance to Call. fr. 7. 14 ... is presumably fortuitous».

¹⁷ Similmente Asclepio strofina la mano sul petto del medico Prassagora nell'epigramma di Crinagora citato più su.

Ma anche alla fine delle Argonautiche di Apollonio Rodio (IV 1773-1775) si può cogliere un parallelo alla preghiera callimachea.¹⁸ Apollonio si rivolge così agli Argonauti: ἴλατ' ἀριστηῶν μακάρων γένος· αἶδε δ' αἰοδαί | εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερότεροι εἶεν αἰεῖδεν | ἀνθρώποις. Come Callimaco, Apollonio chiede una fama duratura per la sua opera. Ma mentre Apollonio invoca gli effettivi protagonisti del suo poema, Callimaco si appella alle Cariti, simbolo di quella grazia raffinata che il poeta intende trasfondere in ogni singolo *aition* della sua raccolta.

¹⁸ L' affinità dei due passi - che Pfeiffer non rileva nell' annotazione - fu notata da A. Gercke, *RhM* NF 44 (1889), p. 249. Cf. ora A. Harder, *Aspects of the Structure of Callimachus' Aetia*, in corso di pubblicazione nei Proceedings del Workshop on Callimachus (Groningen 2-4 Settembre 1992).

SUR LES PREMIÈRES ANTHOLOGIES D'ÉPIGRAMMES SUR PAPYRUS*

Francisca Pordomingo

À la mémoire du Professeur M. Fernández Galiano.

L'idée que la *Couronne* de Méléagre a été la première anthologie de ce genre a dû être abandonnée à peu près dès les premières publications de papyrus, avec la parution de pièces très anciennes comme P.Lond. Lit. 60, P.Petr. II 49 b, BKT V 1, p. 77, P.Harr. 56, P.Petr. inv. 0(2). De même, l'idée qu'elle a été la seule à disparaître après la publication de ceux-ci et d'autres papyrus contemporains ou un peu postérieurs à la *Couronne*, comme P.Tebt. I 3, P.Oxy. 662, P.Freib. 4, BKT V 1, p. 75. Tous ces papyrus confirment les allusions de divers auteurs à un ancien processus d'anthologisation réalisé individuellement,¹ ou peut-être aussi parfois à plusieurs,² par les poètes de la période de splendeur de l'épigramme hellénistique.

La signification de certains de ces papyrus pour une meilleure connaissance de ce processus et des caractéristiques spécifiques de la *Couronne* de Méléagre a été mise en relief, entre autres, par les travaux de Wifstrand,³ Gow⁴ et Gow-Page,⁵ quoique paradoxalement certaines des nouvelles épigrammes transmises par ces papyrus, après leur *editio princeps*, n'aient pas pris place dans un *corpus* avant les éditions récentes de Lloyd-Jones - Parsons⁶ et Page.⁷ Nous avons maintenant des révisions paléographiques récentes et des études détaillées de la plupart des papyrus mentionnés; de nouveaux papyrus, certains d'un grand intérêt – P.Vindob. G 40611, P.Köln V 204, P.Oxy. 3324, P.Oxy. 3724 –, ont paru ces dernières années. Peut-être serait-il utile à présent de faire le point sur plusieurs aspects tels que : la présentation des épigrammes, l'affinité thématique dans les épigrammes adjointes, la présence de certains poètes qui pourrait montrer une association particulière entre eux attestée dans l'*Anthologie Grecque* (aspects qui impliqueraient un degré d'organisation); nouvelles épigrammes et lectures significatives; caractéristiques du format matériel et de l'écriture. Et tout cela, on peut le mettre en rapport avec certains caractères qu'on relève dans l'*Anthologie Grecque* et qui dérivent vraisemblablement de la *Couronne* de Méléagre; en même temps, ces faits vont peut-être nous permettre, peut-être, de tirer quelques conclusions sur les différents types d'anthologie.

Nous avons limité notre étude aux anthologies qui contiennent des épigrammes hellénistiques et qui se placent entre le III^e siècle av. J.C. et le I^{er} s. apr. J.C. Le concept

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¹ Vid. P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2 vols., Oxford 1972, p. 607 et n. 405.

² Nous songeons au Σωρός (*Sch. A ad Il. XI 101*). R. Reitzenstein (*Epigramm und Skolion*, Giessen 1893, p. 96 ss.) fut le premier à penser à une publication conjointe de Posidippe, Asclépiade et Hédyllos. C'est une question controversée sur laquelle la bibliographie est abondante : vid. une synthèse dans E. Fernández-Galiano, *Posidipo de Pela*, Madrid 1987, p. 33 ss.

³ A. Wifstrand, *Studien zur griechischen Anthologie*, Lund 1926 (reimpr. dans *The Greek Anthologie I* (ed. L.Tarán), New York-London 1987), p. 10 ss.; p. 30 ss.

⁴ A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthologie. Sources and Ascriptions*, London 1958, p.15 ss.

⁵ A. S. F. Gow - D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthologie. Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1965, p. XVII ss.

⁶ H. J. Loyd-Jones - P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin - New-York 1983.

⁷ D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981.

d'anthologie est pris ici dans son sens large, comme un groupement de plus d'un poème, afin de pouvoir comprendre la diversité des anthologies d'épigrammes et à cause de l'impossibilité, inhérente à leur caractère fragmentaire, de délimiter certaines d'entre elles dans leurs caractéristiques propres.

Voici une liste, dans l'ordre chronologique, des anthologies d'épigrammes sur papyrus et ostraka que nous avons pu localiser⁸ et que nous présentons avec une référence à Pack², au *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (SH), à Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, et, pour les papyrus récemment édités, à *l'editio princeps* :

III^a

- P.Lond. Lit. 60 (P.Brit. Mus. inv. 589) (Pack² 1593); c. 250 av. J. C.
- P.Petr. II 49 b (Pack² 1594; SH 985; Page, *Further...*, p. 500).
- BKT V 1, p. 77 (P.Berol. inv. 9812) (Pack² 1763; SH 974; Page, *Further...*, p.41); est en Pack² hors du chapitre "Anthologies".
- P.Vindob. G 40611 (H. Harrauer, "Epigrammincipit auf einem papyrus aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. P.Vindob. G 40611. Ein Vorbericht", *Proceedings of the XVI Int. Congr. of Papyrology*, Chico 1981, pp. 49-53).

II^a

- O. Wilck. II 1488 (Pack² 1596; SH 976).
- P.Harris 56 (Pack² 1602; SH 981; Page, *Further...*, p. 480).
- P.Köln V 204 (M. Gronewald, *Kölner Papyri* V, Opladen 1984 p. 22; milieu du II^e s. av. J. C.
- P.Petr. inv. O (2) (Pack² 1603; SH 986; Page, *Further...*, p. 481); c.100 av. J. C.

I^a

- P.Tebt. I 3 (Pack² 1601, SH 988); tôt au I^{er} s. av. J. C.
- P.Freib. 4 (Pack² 1600, SH 973; Page, *Further...*, p. 480) (ll. 8-11 = P.Berol. inv. 4757 (O. Wilck. 1148; BKT V 1 p. 78); II^e s. av.J.C.; épigramme sur la patrie d'Homère); fin du I^{er} s. av. J. C.
- P.Oxy. 662 (P.Lon.Lit. 61) (Pack² 1595; SH, "Amyntas", p. 17; Page, *Further...*, "Amyntes", p. 5); fin du I^{er} s. av. J. C. / début du I^{er} s. ap.

I^a / I

- P.Oxy. 3324 (vol. XLVII, 1980, ed. R. A. Coles).
- I
- BKT V 1, p.75 (P.Berol. inv. 10571) (Pack² 1598).
- P.Oxy. 3724 (vol. LIV, 1987, ed. P. Parsons); fin du I^{er} s.

Ce que nous appelons ici "anthologie" va de l'ostrakon de Thèbes, du II^e s. av. J. C (O. Wilck. 1488, Mertens 18⁹), avec incipit d'épigrammes, en passant par celles qui contiennent des épigrammes complètes ou fragmentaires, jusqu'aux gros papyrus, P.Vindob. G 40611 (seulement un "Vorbericht" a été donné par Harrauer en 1981) et P.Oxy. 3724, qui contiennent plusieurs colonnes avec incipit d'épigrammes aussi. Le premier d'entre eux a été inclus par

⁸ Je veux ici exprimer ma vive reconnaissance à Mme O. Bouquiaux-Simon pour son information puisée dans les fonds du CEDOPAL (Liège), qui a complété ma quête personnelle.

⁹ P. Mertens, "Les ostraca littéraires grecs", *Mélanges Vergote (=Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 1975-1976, n. 17)*, pp. 397-409.

Zalateo¹⁰ parmi les textes scolaires; peut-être les deux autres sont-ils “un plan d'une future anthologie”, quoique le caractère hybride du P.Oxy. 3724 permette d'autres interprétations.¹¹

En général le nombre d'épigrammes représentées dans chacun de ces papyrus est trop restreint pour tirer des conclusions définitives sur d'autres aspects et aussi pour distinguer les anthologies individuelles des anthologies collectives. Cependant quelques caractéristiques du P.Köln V 204 nous amènent à le considérer comme la copie d'une anthologie de Mnasalcès de Sicyone, poète de l'école dorio-péloponnésienne qui vécut au milieu du III^e siècle av. J. C.: par l'écriture, selon Gronewald,¹² le papyrus est un peu postérieur au milieu du II^e siècle av. J. C.; d'après le titre avec le nom M[v]ασάλλκου, à la ligne 1, on peut reconnaître les parties de six épigrammes qui se succèdent sans espace entre elles. Seule la troisième correspond à une des dix-huit transmises sous le nom de Mnasalcès (AP VII 488); la quatrième, avec de petites divergences, est transmise en AP VI 266 sous le nom de Hégésippos (ce que le papyrus paraît démentir!). Il y a un mélange d'épigrammes votives et funéraires et de motifs (Gronewald signale comme principe de connexion “assoziierende Übergänge”) et non pas une succession thématique qui paraît avoir été le principe organisateur dans la *Couronne* de Méléagre, mais nous le découvrons aussi dans d'autres anthologies sur papyrus. D'autre part, l'écriture de type cursif a conduit Gronewald à considérer le P.Köln V 204 comme une copie privée.

Cela est un point d'un grand intérêt, même s'il est notoirement difficile d'établir une distinction entre “copie privée” et “copie commerciale”,¹³ pour connaître la diffusion du genre¹⁴ et ses modes (école, lecture individuelle, cercles littéraires, banquets, etc.). Non seulement la cursivité de l'écriture, mais aussi l'irrégularité des caractères, le manque de signes de ponctuation et surtout les erreurs (phonétiques, substitution consonantique et vocalique, haplographie, dittographie, itacisme, etc.) pourraient indiquer qu'il s'agit d'une copie privée. Turner considérait le P.Petrie inv.O(2), presque sûrement, comme une copie de province, destinée à un particulier.¹⁵ Nous voudrions ajouter le verso de P.Harris 56, “crudely written and ill-spelt roll”, que Powell considérait comme une formule magique,¹⁶ et peut-être, avec son format en miniature, P.Freib. 4 (8,3 cm de hauteur) et BKT V 1, p. 75 (4-5 cm); la bonne écriture livresque de celui-ci (quoique avec tendance à la cursivité), le fait que le texte est sur le recto, la sélection, la succession et la présentation des épigrammes, ne sont pas selon nous un obstacle; peut-être, celui-ci est-il une copie professionnelle, commandée par un particulier.¹⁷ Il

¹⁰ G. Zalateo, “Papiri scolastici”, *Aegyptus* 41, 1961, pp. 160-235, n° 43.

¹¹ W. Luppe dans son compte rendu des P.Oxy. LIV, *CR* 39, 1989, pp. 124-126, a approfondi une des possibilités, signalée par Parsons, l'éditeur du papyrus, qui paraît pencher pour la thèse des “working papers”, à savoir que ces incipit seraient l'index d'une anthologie dont la fin serait représentée dans le papyrus par la première colonne. Dans cette dernière possibilité pourrait entrer l'hypothèse de Gigante d'une *Couronne* de Philodème, dans laquelle celui-ci serait le poète le plus récent, comme Méléagre dans la sienne (“Filodemo tra poesia e prosa (A proposito di P.Oxy. 3724)”, *SIFC* 82, 1989, pp. 129-151).

¹² C'est l'éditeur du papyrus en *Kölner Papyri* V, Opladen 1984, p. 22 ss.

¹³ Vid. W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, Berlin 1918, p. 57. T. Kleberg, “Commercio librario ed editoria nel mondo antico”, *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo, Roma-Bari 1989, p. 33, signale que dans quelques cas seulement il est possible d'assigner un fragment du papyrus à l'une ou l'autre catégorie.

¹⁴ P. Fraser, *op. cit.*, I, p. 608, dit : “The publication of the epigrams in roll form explains how such pieces written by poets in one part of the Greek world were imitated in other parts, for it is not likely that isolated poems would have travelled in the same way that complete rolls did”.

¹⁵ *JJP* 4, 1950, pp. 235-238; p. 235.

¹⁶ J. E. Powell, *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, Cambridge 1936, p. 38.

¹⁷ L'explication des éditeurs (Schubart et Wilamowitz): “Wir lernen ein Format kennen, geeignet für ein Poesiebuch, das eine elegante Dame rasch in dem Busen verbergen konnte” (BKT V 1 p. 75), ne pourrait pas s'appliquer au P.Freib. 4, avec épigrammes démonstratives. Un autre exemple de petit format nous est fourni par P.Oxy. 3723 (7,6 cm), du II^e siècle, avec une élégie sur les dieux et leurs jeunes amants sur le verso, à

est difficile d'aller plus loin : à notre avis, la plupart des anthologies que nous sommes en train d'étudier s'inscrivent dans ce vaste espace qui, d'après les paramètres fixés par Turner, sépare les textes écrits par des "slow writers" de ceux qui sont utilisés par des "professional scholars".¹⁸ Il n'y a pas de signes qui permettent de les situer dans ces deux catégories extrêmes. Elles sont sur le recto (pour la plupart) ou sur le verso; l'écriture est loin d'être calligraphique et n'est pas non plus, en général, une majuscule régulière; lorsqu'ils ne font pas totalement défaut, les signes de ponctuation et autres signes critiques sont rares et non systématiques.

De toute façon ces anthologies témoignent de ce qu'était la pratique habituelle dans la disposition de ces brefs poèmes à l'intérieur d'un corpus. Nous en venons maintenant aux titres et aux *lemmata*. Les épigrammes sont presque toujours précédées des noms des auteurs, placés, non, comme il est habituel dans l'*Anthologie Palatine* et constant dans l'*Anthologie de Planude*, dans la marge, mais au-dessus (P.Köln V 204, P.Tebt. I 3, P.Oxy. 662, BKT V 1, p. 75, et le blanc permet de le soupçonner pour P.Freib. 4, ll.16 et 25); peut-être en était-il ainsi dans les *Couronnes* de Méléagre et de Philippe; le titre ἀδέσποτον précède dans BKT V 1 p. 75, col. 3, l. 1, une épigramme (= AP IX 15), anonyme dans l'*Anthologie Grecque*. Quand les épigrammes sont du même auteur, au contraire, elles se succèdent sans espacement (P.Köln V 204, P.Oxy. 3324, P.Tebt. I 3), quoique la perte de la partie gauche de la colonne empêche dans tous ces papyrus de savoir s'il y avait un paragraphe. Seulement dans BKT V 1, p. 75, col.4, l. 4, trouvons-nous τοῦ αὐτοῦ¹⁹ au-dessus d'une épigramme (=AP V 152), de Méléagre comme la précédente (= AP XII 106). Le titre ἄλλο, qui est rare dans l'*Anthologie Palatine*, nous le trouvons encore dans P.Harris 56, col. II, l. 5 et dans P.Petr. inv. O (2), l. 1, mais le manque de contexte²⁰ nous empêche de résoudre l'ambiguïté du mot : "une autre épigramme du même poète ou sur le même thème ?" ²¹ Nous trouvons encore une faible lemmatisation thématique dans P.Petr. II 49 b, où chaque épigramme (sur un drame) est précédée par un titre qui décrit brièvement le contenu, par exemple ἐπ' Ἀχιλ]λέως τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, suivi d'un paragraphe.

Les conclusions de notre étude sur les contenus sont, aussi, fortement conditionnées par le caractère fragmentaire des textes. Nous observons que l'affinité thématique entre les épigrammes sur un papyrus, est prédominante : P.Petr. II 49 b, épigrammes sur plusieurs compositions littéraires (dramas); BKT V 1, p. 77, épigrammes votives; en O. Wilck. II 1488, les incipit d'épigrammes identifiés sont ceux de deux épigrammes votives de Léonidas de Tarente; P.Petr. O (2), funéraires; P.Tebt. I 3, épigrammes démonstratives et une funéraire; P.Oxy. 662, trois épigrammes funéraires successives, une démonstrative et deux votives; P.Freib.4, démonstratives; P.Oxy. 3324, épigrammes amoureuses de Méléagre; BKT V 1, p.

propos duquel Parsons commente: "The format, script and spelling of the manuscript suggest an amateur copyist. The style of the poem might well suggest an amateur poet"(vol. LIV, p. 59).

¹⁸ E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, Oxford 1982, p. 88 ss.; "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus", *Akten des VIII Internationalen Kongress für Papyrologie*, Wien 1955, pp. 141-146.

¹⁹ Ce titre et l'autre (col. II, l. 3), dont la lecture est aussi certaine, sont abrégés.

²⁰ Nous trouvons aussi ἄλλο précédant une épigramme unique, sur la patrie d'Homère, dans un ostrakon berlinois du II^e siècle av. J. C. (O. Wilck. 1148; BKT V 1 p. 78; Mertens 17); elle aurait été copiée, peut-être par un écolier (Zalateo n° 42), d'après une anthologie. Des restes de la même épigramme ont été reconnus par Wifstrand (*op. cit.* p. 31) en P.Freib. 4, col. I, ll. 8-10, dans lequel il ne faut pas voir, en dépit de certaines similitudes de contenu, l'anthologie d'où le scribe de l'ostrakon a tiré son modèle.

²¹ Nous trouvons souvent ce dernier sens dans les épigrammes dites "concurrentes", ou plus d'une épitaphe gravée pour un mort : *vid.* W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften. I. Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin 1955, nos 1965, 1968, 1981 s., 1996, 1999. Un exemple ancien, d'époque hellénistique, est fourni par les deux épitaphes, séparées par ἄλλο, pour Tauron, le chien de Zénon, P.Cair. Zen. 59532. *Vid.* aussi Fraser, *op. cit.*, n. 427.

75, épigrammes amoureuses; P.Oxy. 3724, à partir des incipit identifiés on peut dire, signale Parsons, qu'il y a une prédominance de thèmes amoureux et symposiaques.

D'un plus grand intérêt encore est le fait que dans certains de ces papyrus nous trouvons une variation des motifs : en BKT V 1, p. 75, dans les trois premières épigrammes, identifiées comme AP XII 76, 77 et 78, un garçon est comparé avec Eros, qui se présente chaque fois, avec des variantes, sous sa forme traditionnelle; la première est de Méléagre, la seconde d'Asclépiade (ou Posidippe), la troisième de Méléagre; en P.Oxy. 3324, dans deux épigrammes successives de Méléagre identifiées comme AP V 190 et AP XII 157, nous trouvons la variation de la métaphore nautique de l'âme et de l'amant au milieu de la tourmente de la passion. Dans P.Oxy. 662, une épitaphe pour une jeune femme, Prexo, qui est morte en couches, identifiée comme AP VII 163 de Léonidas, est suivie d'une étroite paraphrase de l'épigramme, identifiée comme AP VII 164, d'Antipater de Sidon, suivie à son tour d'une variation due au poète Amyntes, l'auteur de cette anthologie selon Wifstrand,²² non connu par l'*Anthologie Grecque*. On trouve ici des principes qui ont été à la base de la formation de la *Couronne* de Méléagre : un groupement d'épigrammes selon les mêmes thèmes ou des thèmes très proches, la variation sur un motif, l'alternance des auteurs.²³ L'association de poètes – Léonidas de Tarente et Antipater de Sidon, Asclépiade et Posidippe (P. Tebt. I 3), Asclépiade et Méléagre – que nous observons, est souvent attestée dans l'*Anthologie Grecque*. En partant de ces faits et de séquences d'épigrammes qui sont les mêmes que dans l'*Anthologie Grecque*, Wifstrand, d'une manière qui paraît définitive, étudia la relation de P. Freib. 4, P.Oxy. 662 et BKT V 1, p. 75, avec la *Couronne* de Méléagre : il ne s'agit pas là d'exemplaires de la *Couronne*, mais, surtout dans le dernier, des vestiges d'une anthologie d'épigrammes en étroite relation avec elle; c'est peut-être un *excerptum* (conclut-il).²⁴ Ces trois papyrus présentent aussi une lemmatisation plus complète.

Dans la publication, en 1980, de P.Oxy. 3324, avec des épigrammes amoureuses de Méléagre, Coles discute à nouveau cette question en laissant ouverte la possibilité que ce papyrus serait un exemplaire de la *Couronne*. Il y a beaucoup de points communs entre ce papyrus et le berlinois. Les deux contiennent des épigrammes des livres V, IX et XII. Quatre des épigrammes du papyrus berlinois sont de Méléagre et l'une d'entre elles, AP V 152, se trouve dans les deux; les deux ont deux épigrammes du livre IX (AP IX 15 dans BKT V 1, p. 75 et AP IX 16 dans P.Oxy. 3324) qui, par leur contenu amoureux, ne sont pas à leur place. Ce nouveau papyrus semble confirmer, de nouveau, l'idée de Wifstrand que, dans la *Couronne* de Méléagre, les épigrammes érotiques et pédérastiques n'étaient pas séparées comme dans l'*Anthologie Palatine* (livres V et XII, et certaines dispersées dans le livre IX).²⁵

Nous laissons pour un travail postérieur l'évaluation, en partie déjà élaborée, des nouvelles lectures et des nouvelles épigrammes inconnues par l'*Anthologie Palatine* et l'*Anthologie de Planude*. Nous nous contenterons pour conclure de mentionner deux papyrus : d'une part le P.Lond. Lit. 60, du III^e siècle av. J. C. (c. 250), qui ne conserve aucune épigramme (au recto, il y a les restes de ce qui paraît être un épithalame), mais qui présente au verso deux fois le titre Σύμμεικτα Ἐπιγράμματα ; on peut y lire clairement le nom de Posidippe, peut-être celui d'Hédylos, suivi d'autres (Anytê?, Léonidas?); d'autre part le P.Vindob. G 40611, aussi du

²² *Op. cit.* p. 36.

²³ *Vid. Gow-Page, op. cit.*, p. XVIII.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 10 ss.; 30 ss.; les éditeurs intitulaient le premier fragment publié en BKT V 1, p. 75 "Aus dem Stephanos des Meleagros". Dans *Sitz. der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 36, 1918, n. 8, à propos d'un second fragment du même papyrus, Wilamowitz dit : "Es ist ein kleiner Fetzen als zugehörig zu der Handschrift 10571 erkannt worden, die man wohl als ein Exemplar von Meleagers Stephanos bezeichnen darf".

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 13; Gow-Page, *op. cit.*, p. XIX s.

III^e siècle av. J. C., dans lequel un incipit a été identifié comme étant d'Asclépiade (AP XII 46) tandis que les autres, d'après quelques *loci similes*, pourraient être attribués à Asclépiade, Hédyllos, Posidippe et Callimaque. Si, dans le premier de ces papyrus, le titre a un rapport avec le contenu ²⁶, si dans le second les hypothétiques identifications sont confirmées, nous aurions ici des anthologies de grande ampleur, presque contemporaines de l'activité poétique des épigrammatistes représentés, et dont la première recueillerait des épigrammatistes des deux écoles les plus importantes de l'époque (dorio-péloponnésienne et alexandrine).

²⁶ C'est l'opinion de F. Lasserre dans son étude "Aux origines de l'Anthologie : I. Le papyrus P.Brit.Mus. inv. 589 (Pack 1121)", *RhM* 102, 1959, pp. 223-247; "II. Les Thalysies de Théocrite", *ibid.* pp. 307-330; F. Lasserre a par la suite recueilli dans un *postscriptum* (*RhM* 103, 1960, pp. 191-192) des objections communiquées oralement par Turner.

UN' IPOTESI SUL "PAPIRO DI ALCIBIADE" (P.Lit. Lond. 123)

Luisa Prandi

Una testimonianza apparentemente "minore" sull' operato di Alcibiade è offerta da un frammento di pergamena trovato a Ossirinco e databile al V secolo d.C.¹ Esso narra in modo scorrevole e rapido le vicende in cui fu coinvolto Alcibiade fra la mutilazione delle Erme (primavera 415) e la sua diserzione a favore degli Spartani (inverno 415/14). Questo testo merita un' attenzione maggiore di quella finora ricevuta dal punto di vista storiografico² e mi sembra costituisca un documento rilevante della fortuna di A. nell' antichità.³

Lo studioso che ne ha offerto finora l' unica trattazione d' insieme - I. Gallo⁴ - ritiene che il frammento appartenga a una biografia di A. composta in un' età non molto anteriore a quella della pergamena e avente 'carattere popolare e divulgativo'. Gli indizi di receniorità sarebbero fondamentalmente due:

a) la presenza, per indicare le parodie del 415 in cui fu coinvolto Alcibiade, dell' espressione ἐξορχήσασθαι τὰ μυστήρια (ll. 25-26);

b) la presenza di un' estesa spiegazione delle funzioni della nave di stato ateniese Salaminia (ll. 78-84).

A proposito di a), è senz' altro vero che il verbo si discosta da quelli impiegati, da Tucidide in poi, nella tradizione più nota su A., ma un' attenta analisi dell' uso di ἐξορχεόμαι⁵ suggerisce che l' evoluzione del significato originario di *danzare* a quello traslato di *organizzare una scena, parodiare* fosse un processo inarrestabile e indipendente dall' influenza di testi letterari (e resta da dimostrare che il nostro fosse autorevole); inoltre l' abbinamento ai misteri e ad una parodia, quella di Diagora di Melo, è già di età ellenistica⁶ e ritorna periodicamente, favorendo l' estensione anche all' altra e più nota parodia, quella del 415; infine, le attestazioni del verbo sono numerose già dal II secolo d.C.⁷ e quindi la sua presenza nella pergamena non risulta in realtà caratterizzante dal punto di vista cronologico per una collocazione in età tarda.

Dati questi presupposti, il fatto che il verbo si ritrovi in Proclo (*Ad Plat. Alc.* I.8.1 Westerink) e nella Suda (s.v. ἐξορχησάμην) - a proposito del 415 - non appare determinante in sé e, soprattutto, non può far trascurare due fatti: che il commentatore platonico riporta una tradizione affine a quella della pergamena, ma le è comunque posteriore, ed è difficile pensare

¹ Cfr. B.P. Grenfell-A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III, 1903, n. 411; *Pack*² 2077; E.G. Turner *Greek Manuscripts*, Oxford 1987², n. 71, con fot.; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla minuscola biblica*, Firenze 1967, 73.

² Bibliografia d' obbligo: F. Taeger, *Alkibiades*, Stuttgart 1925; J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, Paris 1951; E.F. Bloedow, *Alcibiades reexamined*, (*Historia Einz.* 21), Wiesbaden 1972; W.M. Ellis, *Alcibiades*, London-New-York 1989.

³ Per un esame più completo e dettagliato nei particolari, con approfondimento delle ipotesi qui presentate, cfr. L. Prandi 'Il P.Lit.Lond. 123 e la fortuna storiografica di Alcibiade', *Aegyptus* 1992, 3 - 21: ad esso rimando per ogni dimostrazione, come pure per ulteriore precisazione di fonti e bibliografia supplementare.

⁴ I. Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri. I. La biografia politica*, Roma 1975, 107-38. Gli editori individuavano nell' Anonimo un rivale di Plutarco.

⁵ Lavoro che ho fatto riutilizzando le testimonianze che I. Gallo stesso riporta (pgg. 118-119, con nn. 35-37), ma in modo disordinato e quindi infruttuoso.

⁶ L' autore è Aristarco, citato da *Schol. in Arisoph. Ran.* 320.

⁷ Cfr. Arr., *Diatr.* III.21.13 e 16; Lucian. *De salt.* 15 e *Piscat.* 33; Ael. Arist. frg. 34 Keil; Achill. Tat. IV.8.3; Sines. *Epist.* 137. 273 b.

che Proclo, potendo attingere ad una consolidata tradizione filosofica ostile ad Alcibiade,⁸ le abbia preferito una *pièce* così integralmente favorevole qual è la nostra; e, d'altro lato, che il lemma presenta differenze e aggiunte che pongono una seria ipoteca all'idea che esso dipenda dall'Anonimo della pergamena.

Per quanto riguarda b), senza dubbio nel testo viene destinato alla Salaminia uno spazio che sembra sproporzionato, ma bisogna notare che l'Anonimo parla della nave 'al presente' - εἴωθε ὑπηρετεῖν⁹ -; e che bisogna attribuire il giusto peso al fatto che con tutta probabilità la nave fu tolta dal servizio già a metà del IV secolo a.C.:¹⁰ questo non rende indispensabile la didattica spiegazione dell'Anonimo, ma le conferisce plausibilità e non costringe affatto a postulare per il testo una datazione molto tarda.

Queste riflessioni mostrano, a me sembra, che le prove addotte a sostegno della datazione al IV secolo d.C. sono malsicure e tutt'altro che vincolanti; se poi si aggiunge che anche il confronto fra le clausole del frammento e quelle dell'età di Temistio in poi rivela una radicale differenza di tipologia,¹¹ ne risulta che è necessario riconsiderare gli elementi utili per collocare il testo all'interno della tradizione antica su A.

La narrazione del frammento poggia su elementi desunti da fonti contemporanee ai fatti -Tucidide soprattutto, e le denunce ufficiali, o se si vuole l'orazione di Andocide, rielaborati in modo organico-¹² e contiene una notizia - l'esistenza di rapporti di ξενία fra A. e le città siceliote (ll. 57-61) - che è isolata, ma che non costituisce un fraintendimento tardo e banalizzante, dal momento che appare in realtà organica al proposito di rivalutare l'operato dell'Ateniense in Occidente. Il racconto presenta, come è stato già notato, una fedeltà sostanziale e verbale a quello di Tucidide, ma l'Anonimo mostra di aver fatto un uso ragionato¹³ - e non mediato - dello storico, di conoscere la sua opera in modo non settoriale e di aver compreso, e accolto, la sua visione degli eventi, ovviamente nello spirito di una *reductio ad unum*.

Piuttosto numerose sono le 'biografie' di A. giunte fino a noi: esse permettono di orientarci nell'ambito dell'interesse degli antichi nei confronti di quel personaggio e di tentare un confronto con la pergamena. I risultati più compiuti di questi tentativi di tracciare un

⁸ I Socratici si erano impegnati attivamente a dimostrare che il Maestro non aveva avuto responsabilità nella formazione e nelle iniziative politiche di Alcibiade. E Platone, proprio nell'*Alcibiade I*, era stato autorevole esponente di tale atteggiamento.

⁹ Gli Editori avevano suggerito di emendare εἴωθε in εἰώθει.

¹⁰ Cfr. la discussione in P.J. Rhodes, *A commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 687-88.

¹¹ Cfr. W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, (Wiener Byz. Studien 16), Wien 1981, schema di confronto a pg. 46.

¹² Per le notizie tucididee cfr. infra n.13. L'Anonimo riporta oltre ad esse due informazioni -che la parodia era avvenuta in casa di Pulizione (l. 25) e che tra gli arrestati figurava Andocide (l. 75)- che sono contenute nell'orazione *De mysteriis* di Andocide; e un'informazione sui successi diplomatici di Alcibiade in Occidente, che non trova puntuali riscontri.

¹³ In particolare, le ll. 7-12 corrispondono ad una combinazione di Thuc. VI.15.3, 27.3 (nella narrazione del 415) e 53.3; le ll. 15-22 contengono un'altra eco di VI.15.3; le ll. 106-107 corrispondono invece a V.43.2.

bilancio, quelli che destinavano più spazio alle sue scelte politiche, sono almeno 6: quelli di Isocrate, Demostene, Teopompo, Satiro, Nepote e Plutarco.¹⁴

Il frammento però non si apparta a nessuno di questi. Rispetto ai documenti del IV secolo a.C. manca la *vis* polemica nella sua presentazione positiva, mentre rispetto alle biografie vere e proprie appare eccezionalmente asciutto e avaro: anche il testo che gli è più simile come impostazione - la *Vita* di Nepote - risulta tuttavia assai diverso sia sul piano della narrazione, sia su quello dell' ampiezza e consistenza dei dettagli più specificamente biografici.

L'Anonimo punta l' obiettivo su A. e, all' interno del periodo primavera-inverno 415/14, ricorda soltanto le sue vicissitudini. La narrazione è lineare, sobria, distaccata e scevra da ogni polemica, ma in realtà apodittica; si caratterizza per una brevità che non è semplicemente frutto di un riassunto minimale, ma che scaturisce da una scelta all' interno del materiale. Il vaglio delle notizie mostra che una sola risulta isolata: poco per definire il frammento parte di una 'biografia ... senza preoccupazioni di esattezza e di rigore'. D'altro lato, l' uso complesso che l' Anonimo ha fatto di Tuciddide dovrebbe provare che è improprio parlare di 'intenti di sommaria informazione' (Gallo, pgg. 117 e 121).

Del resto non c' è nulla di accattivante nel modo in cui è scritto il testo, nessuna complicità con il lettore: anche le inserzioni extratucididee, diversamente da quanto accade per esempio in Plutarco, non modificano il livello svelto, ma serio della narrazione, non rettificano il tiro, non introducono concessioni alla curiosità pettegola o allo scandalo.

La caratterizzazione compiutamente favorevole ad A. che scaturisce dal nostro testo suggerisce una via diversa per tentare una collocazione più plausibile di quella finora proposta: individuare cioè, nell' evoluzione della fortuna storiografica di A., i momenti in cui una presentazione come quella della pergamena troverebbe convincente ambientazione e ragione di esistere.

Vorrei suggerire la possibilità che il frammento appartenga ad un' opera nata in ambiente attalide nel corso del III secolo a.C. .

Lo scultore Fiomaco (III-II sec. a.C.), artista di spicco vicino alla corte pergamena per la quale celebrò le vittorie sui Galati, realizzò anche un gruppo marmoreo raffigurante A. su una quadriga (Plin. *NH* XXXIV.80): opera che è suggestivo considerare come l' esito di una committenza attalide, intesa a celebrare la vittoria olimpica di A. , cioè un momento prestigioso dell' ascesa dell' uomo politico greco che aveva trovato la morte, e una degna sepoltura, proprio a Melissa in Frigia. Ulteriore tramite era costituito dal fatto che città microasiatiche come Efeso, Chio, Lesbo o Cizico avevano sovvenzionato A. per il suo soggiorno ad Olimpia e per i festeggiamenti.¹⁵ Che nel III secolo a.C. in Asia Minore la figura di A. fosse attuale, lo mostra anche il fatto che in Samo, dove Alcibiade aveva una statua (Paus. VI.3.15) vi era chi

¹⁴ Si tratta di Isocr. *De big.* (XVI); Demosth. *In Mid.* (XXI) 143-147; l' *excursus* nei *Philippika* di Teopompo cui rimanda Nepote; la biografia di Satiro (ap. Athen. XII 534b-535e); la *Vita Alcibiadis* di Cornelio Nepote; la *Vita Alcibiadis* di Plutarco.

¹⁵ Cfr. Andoc. *De Myst.* 30; Satiro ap. Athen. XII 534 d; Plut., *Alc.*, 12.

rivendicava, come titolo di vanto, la propria discendenza da lui: antesignano fu lo storico Duride,¹⁶ ma conosciamo attestazioni epigrafiche di un privato nella prima età imperiale.¹⁷

Non mi sembra del tutto improbabile che accanto all' onore del gruppo statuario, fosse stata curata la redazione di una 'scheda biografica' su A., impostata su criteri di organica tendenza favorevole, e di serietà documentaria, della quale il testo pergameneo sarebbe parte.

¹⁶ *FrGrHist.* 76F29, 68,69,70,73.

¹⁷ Cfr.IGRRP IV,981 + 1705 (età di Caligola) e 1729 (età flavia).

THE COMIC FRAGMENT IN PSI 1175: COMMENTARY AND LITERARY MOTIFS¹

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I. TEXT AND COMMENTARY

"τί οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν σ[ῶν μέ]λει;" φαίη τις ἄν
ὕμῶν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐρῶ [τ]ὸ Σοφοκλέους ἔπος·
X "πέπονθα δεινά". πάντα μοι γέρων Κρ[όνο]ς
X τὰ παιδί' ἐκπίνει τε καὶ κατεσθίει,
5 ἐμοὶ δὲ τούτων προσδίδωσιν οὐδὲ ἓν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔρδει χειρὶ καὶ Μεγαράδ' ἄγων
ὅ τι ἂν τέκω 'γὼ τοῦτο πωλῶν ἐσθίει.
δέδοικε γὰρ τὸν χρησμὸν ὡσπερ κυν[
ἔχρησε γὰρ Κρόνωι ποθ' Ἀπόλλων δραχ[μ]ήν,
10 κᾶιτ' οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ταῦτα δὴ θυμὸν πνέ[ω]ν
ἐτέραν ἔχρησε[ν οὐκέτι] δρα[χ]μῶ[ν ἀ]ξί[αν],
οὐ σκευάρια, μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐδὲ χρήματα,
ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας δ' ἐκπεσεῖν ὑπὸ π[αι]δίου.
τοῦ]τ' οὖν δεδοικῶς πάντα καταπί[ν]ει τέκνα.

1 τῶν σ[ῶν μέ]λει Norsa et Vitelli, prob. Platnauer, Page, Austin: [τούτων μέ]λει Körte, prob. Wüst: [ταῦτ' ἐκλα]λεῖ Gallavotti || 2 [τὸ] Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett. || 3 Κρ[όνο]ς Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett. || 8 ὡσπερ Π (ει exp. Norsa et Vitelli et prob. cett.): ὡσπερ οἱ κύνες (i.e. Cynici) Gallavotti | κύν' ['Ἐκάτην Norsa et Vitelli (sed cf. p. 144), prob. Platnauer: κύν[α κακὴν Körte, prob. Wüst: κύν' [ἄγριον Norsa et Vitelli: κύν[α λαγῶς Immisch ap. Körte², prob. Page: κύν[α γαλῆ K. Kalbfleisch ap. Norsa et Vitelli || 9 δραχ[μ]ήν Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett.: δραχ[μ]ῆς Handley mihi indicavit || 10 πνέ[ω]ν Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett. || 11 ἔχρησε[ν οὐκέτι] Pfeiffer, prob. Norsa et Vitelli, Austin, Page:

¹Ed. pr.: M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, 'Frammento della Commedia Antica', *BSAA* 25 suppl. (1930) = *PSI X* (1932) 1175, pp. 141–146. Ed.: D.L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri I (GLP I)*, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1950 (*The Loeb Classical Library*), n^o 47, J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, II, Leiden 1959, p. 8 f., C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta (CGFPR)*, Berlin 1973, n^o 215. References: A. Körte, 'Ein neues Komödienfragment', *Hermes* 65 (1930) 472–475 (abbr.: Körte₁), id. 'Philiskos(?) Διὸς γοναί', *APF* 10 (1932) 55–56 (n^o 730) (abbr.: Körte₂), id., *RE* XIX 2 (1938) 2381 f., s. v. Philiskos 5, C. Gallavotti, 'Un nuovo frammento della commedia di mezzo', *RFIC* 58 (1930) 209–215, E. Wüst, *JAW* 234 (1932) 118–119, ib. 263 (1939) 6–7, M. Platnauer, *Comedy*. In: J.U. Powell's, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd Series, Oxford 1933, pp. 164–166, M. Cervelli, *Annali dell' Istituto Superiore "S. Chiara" di Napoli (AISN)* 3 (1951) 195–274 (not accessible to me), R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*² (abbr.: Pack²), Ann Arbor 1965, n^o 1640, R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci (PCG)*, VII, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1989, p. 357, H.G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie, Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin – New York 1990 (= *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte*, Bd 36), pp. 229–233.

ἔχρησε[ν ἀντί] Körte₁, prob. Wüst: ἔχρησε[ν ἀντί γε] Körte₂, Platnauer: ἔχρησε[ν ἐννέα] Handley mihi indicavit; cf. Ar. *Th.* 637 | δρα[χ]μῶ[ν ἀ]ξι[ίαν], Pfeiffer, prob. Norsa et Vitelli, Austin, Page: δρα[χ]μῶ[ν ἀ]ξι[ίω], Platnauer, prob. Handley: δρα[χ]μῶ[ν ἐπικουρίαν (vel ἐξουσίαν)], Körte₁, prob. Wüst | ἔχρησε, [τῶν δε] δρα[χ]μῶ[ν ἀ]ξι[οῖ] W.Schmidt ap. Norsa et Vitelli || 13 π[αιδίου] Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett. || 14 [τοῦ]τ' Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett. | καταπί[νει τέκνα] Norsa et Vitelli, prob. cett.

1-2: "allocutio spectatorum" notes Austin. The phrasing is traced in Men. *Epit.* 49 τί οὖν ἐμοὶ μέλει; A clear apostrophe to the audience occurs in *Sam.* 5, while in v. 33 .ησθε the second person plural ending of a verb must be a further address to the audience. The allocution and reference to the spectators is explicitly formed in Ar. *Pax* 43 ff. and in V. 54 announcing the speaker's intention of making public some piece of information concerning the theme of the play, as in *Pax* 50. The address to the spectators occurring in all the above instances in the initial part of comedies strengthens the attribution of the text to the prologue of the play spoken by Rhea (cf. Körte₂, p. 55, and below, p. 4 f.).+ref

3. πέπονθα δεινά: the occurrence of the expression in S. *O.C.* 892 was thought to suggest the attribution to the *Cronus* of Phrynichus (Norsa et Vitelli, p. 141 f.). Nevertheless, this is a common tragic expression that makes clear the paratragic overtones. The commonness of the association in tragedy and in paratragic comic passages from 438 B.C. onwards weakens the supposed influence of Sophocles: E. *Alc.* 816, *Or.* 1616 (with West's n. *ad loc.* "a standard phrase of formal protest"), *Ba.* 642, *I.A.* 847, S. *O.C.* 595, 892, Ar. *Pl.* 967, *Av.* 1171, Men. fr.* 949 Körte. δεινά (or synonyms) πάσχειν is not uncommon in prose: D. 51.19; cf. D. 21.1.

3-4: the X *in marg.* is not unusual in comic papyri: Austin *CGFPR* nos 62.26, 85.464, 467 (with n. *ad loc.*), 157.49, 51, 228.35, 45. The sign is used to draw attention to any point of literary, esp. grammatical interest. Its meaning is summarized by J.W. White *ap.* E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, Oxford 1968, p. 116 f.: "χ, a sign of Aristarchus placed before a line to indicate something notable in the line, e.g. dissent from a reading, *Birds* 76; two duals 107; a figure 204; an inconsistency 301; gender 1309; a Homeric parallel 1178; a quotation 1372". The Scholia *ad loc.* offer explanations of X. According to this classification the sign X prefixed to v. 3 indicates a common tragic quotation (a similar case to Ar. *Av.* 1178, 1372, above) with many parallels, as shown by the commonness of πέπονθα δεινά (above v. 3). Before v. 4 X seems to show the metaphorical use of ἐκπίνει καὶ κατεσθίει (cf. Ar. *Av.* 204). A figure, obviously a metaphor, is also indicated by a X in *P Oxy* 212 II.15 = *CGFPR* 62.26 ὡσπερ [σ]ελήνη γ' ἠλίῳ attributed to Old Comedy (Aristophanes?).

4. ἐκπίνει καὶ κατεσθίει: metaphorical like the ἐσθίει (v. 7). The metaphorical sense is made clear by the following phrases (vv. 5-7), which point to Cronus' mythological travesty: he does not eat up his own children but he profits from selling them; he consumes (ἐσθίει) the money alone, without giving Rhea any share. For ἐκπίνει in such a metaphorical use cf. Ar. *Lys.* 113-14, where Wilamowitz (*Aristophanes Lysistrata*, Zürich / Berlin 1964, repr.) quoted *ad loc.*: Plato comicus *ap.* Ath. 10, 446 e ...ὅστις αὐτῆς ἐκπίεται τὰ χρήματα and E. *Hipp.* 626. Other parallels: Alciph. fr. 6.2, Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.122. κατεσθίει, in a common metaphorical meaning, 'he swallows everything', survives in Modern Greek, as well as the association ἐκπίνει τε καὶ κατεσθίει. A pun of the double meaning (literal and metaphorical) of the word is cleverly formed. κατεσθίω metaphorical, 'eat up, devour one's substance' (*LSJ* ⁹ s.v. 2), 'consume money, one's property', has many occurrences: Plut. *Mor.* 3. 526c, D. 38.27. The same meaning is frequently traceable in comedy: Ar. *Eq.* 258, Antiph. fr. 239.1 K., Anaxipp. fr. 1.32 K. For ἐσθίειν meaning ἀναλίσκειν cf. Hsch. s.v. ἔσθιε (ε 6205 Latte).

5: Rhea's moral vulgarization (below, II.1.c) 'Εμοί makes a strong contrast with αὐτός in the following verse. ἐμοί ... προσδίδωσιν οὐδὲ ἔν: in view of the following verses (6–7) προσδίδωσιν seems to mean 'in addition he gives no farthing compensation, a share of'; cf. *LSJ*⁹ v. προσδίδωμι I, with many later occurrences of this connotation.

6–7. ἔρδει χειρί: despite earlier views (Körte¹, p. 473, connecting the phrase with αὐτοχειρία, Platnauer, p. 165, Edmonds, p. 9, but cf. Page, p. 231 n. b), it does not mean 'he kills them', which would be inconsistent to Μεγαράδ' ἄγων, πωλῶν and ἐμοί ... προσδίδωσιν οὐδὲ ἔν; it seems to convey the meaning 'he does harm with his own hand' (cf. *S. Ph.* 683) or 'he does it so', i.e. Μεγαράδ' ἄγων ... πωλῶν ἐσθίει. Gallavotti, p. 212 and n. 2, obviously in view of the frequent connotation of ἔρδειν 'offer a sacrifice' (cf. ῥέζω and *Hes. Th.* 417, *Il.* 2.306 etc.), explained figuratively "ne fa sacrificio, e il sacrificio non è altro che la vendita". A similar interpretation – Cronus sells his children like slaves – is suggested by the first editors, *op. cit.*, p. 143. ἔρδει, not traceable in comedy except *Ar. V.* 1431 in a proverbial verse, seems to convey a paratragic meaning (cf. Norsa and Vitelli, *loc. cit.*). The fact that Cronus gets his children to Megara to sell them echoes in Körte's view (*loc. cit.*) Megareus in *Ar. Ach.* 729 ff. who leads his children to the market like pigs. Edmonds' suggestion (*loc. cit.*), that the date of the play would fall during the dearth of Megara fairly soon after 401, is uncertain. ὅ,τι ἂν τέκω ᾿γώ: an echo of the traditional myth effectively contrasted with πωλῶν ἐσθίει, the rationalistically vulgarized substitute for Cronus' mythological act of violence. This verse clearly involves the mixture of myth and its burlesque in terms of everyday activities attributed to mythological figures. ἐσθίει: metaphorical (cf. v. 4 ἐκπίνει τε καὶ κατεσθίει).

8. δέδοικε γὰρ τὸν χρησμόν: the mythological core of the story set up after the humanized everyday situation, as in vv. 13–14. According to the myth Ouranos and Gaia foretold Cronus' expulsion from his kingdom at a son's hands (P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*,⁴ Paris 1969, v. Cronos, p. 104 f., with the relevant sources and evidence). Similar mythological instances of oracles determining the destruction of the son threatening his father's throne: Oedipus – Laius, Alexander (Paris) – Priamus (cf. the plot of *E. Alexandros*: T.B.L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967, p. 165 ff.). Gallavotti's (p. 214) reading ὡσπερ οἱ κύνες, i.e. the Cynics, cannot be based on the preserved text. For the uncertain ὡσπερεῖ see Norsa et Vitelli, pp. 144, 145 n.8.

9–13: a typical pun of words on the double meaning of χρᾶν clearly pointing to the distortion of the legendary cause for Cronus' murder of his children. χρᾶν means both 'to lend money' and 'to give an oracle' (cf. Gallavotti, p. 213, G. Murray *ap.* Platnauer, p. 165 n.1). χρᾶν, 'lend money', is usually said in a friendly way: *Arist. EN* 8.13, 1162b 33, *Plut. Phil.* 13. Similarly χρήστης means both creditor, usurer and prophet: *LSJ*⁹ s.v. and *Hsch. s.v.* (χ 1734 Schmidt). For χρᾶν, 'to give an oracle', said of Apollo, cf. *E. Ph.* 409, *S. El.* 35, *A. Eu.* 202–203. Ἀπόλλων: on the crasis cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1184.

10. ταῦτα ... πνέ[ων· ταῦτα in such phrases means 'for this reason, that's why', *Pl. Lach.* 179c, *Ar. Nu.* 318, *Ach.* 90, *KG I* 310⁶. **θυμὸν πνέ[ων:** metaphorical use (c. acc. cogn.) meaning 'breathing forth', μένεα πνεύοντες (*Il.* 2. 536 etc.). The same association of words occurs in [*E.*] *Rh.* 786. In *Ar. Ra.* 1016–1017 πνέοντας θυμούς, occurs in a purely paratragic context with Aeschylus parodying of his own style. For Aeschylus using abundantly the expression cf. *Eu.* 840, 873, *Ag.* 1235 f., 1309, *Ch.* 33, 952. The comic poet of our text tries to add weight to the motive of Cronus' anger by using a stock Aeschylean phrase in a paratragic text.

11–13. ἔχρησε ... ἐκπεσεῖν ... : χρᾶν (or synonyms) + past infin. is commonly used in such contexts: *Ar. V.* 159–160, *Hdt.* 7. 220, *Th.* 3. 96 etc., *KG I* 195. The aorist infinitive (where future might have been expected) is common in oracular texts and expresses

the content of the oracle. ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ... παιδίου: the traditional content of the oracle, i.e. that Cronus would be dethroned by one of his sons. The alteration in the genealogical order – Apollo preexists his father Zeus – causes comic effects and adds to the mythological travesty of heroes and incidents. The comic tone is strengthened by the serious, paratragic effect created by the structure of the phrase.

14: the traditional myth is echoed in Hes. *Th.* 467 (Κρόνος) παίδας ἐοὺς κατέπεινε· ῥήην δ' ἔχε πένθος ἄλαστον (vv. 453–506 on Cronus' deceit and the birth of Zeus).

II. LITERARY MOTIFS

The papyrus text was assigned to Old Comedy and especially to the *Cronus* of Phrynichus by its first editors,² followed by E. G. Turner.³ The majority, however, of the scholars⁴ dealing with the text came to the conclusion that it belongs to Middle Comedy and most probably to the comic poet of the period Philiscus. Following the title of this communication, after the edition and the commentary, the examination of the text in its literary dimension focuses on language, imagery and style and especially on Middle Comedy literary motifs echoed in the form, the content and the specific subject-matter of our papyrus fragment.

II. 1. Phrasing and style

a. The lexical coincidence πέπονθα δεινά (v. 3) with S. *O.C.* thought to suggest the ascription to Old Comedy and the authorship of Phrynichus is too commonplace to show convincing dependence on Sophocles and occurs invariably in earlier plays than the *O.C.*⁵ Nevertheless, it could not exclude the attribution to Middle Comedy:⁶ S. *O.C.* was acted posthumously by the poet's grandson in 401 B.C. The date is thus too close to the early fourth century, i.e. the beginning of Middle Comedy and the flourishing of Philiscus himself at c. 380 B.C.⁷

b. πέπονθα δεινά, as well as ἔρδει χειρί, θυμὸν πνέων and ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπεσεῖν ὑπὸ παιδίου (vv. 3, 6, 10, 11)⁸ are paratragic expressions characteristic of the literary writing of post-classical comedy. Such an imitation of the serious style of tragedy, though not lacking from Old Comedy,⁹ provides a preeminent stylistic feature of fourth century and especially the later Menandrian Comedy.

c. The pun on the double meaning of words, such as ἐσθίω (vv. 4, 7) and χράω (vv. 9, 11), is a clear sign of the ambivalence in language which characterizes the post-classical dramatic poetry of the fourth and especially the third century B.C.¹⁰ The ambivalence in

²Norsa and Vitelli, mainly based on the lexical identity of πέπονθα δεινά with S. *O.C.* 892 (above v. 3 n.).

³*op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴Körte, Gallavotti, Platnauer, Austin, Nesselrath.

⁵See the commentary above on v. 3.

⁶Cf. Gallavotti, p. 210. The first editors, p. 141, argued that the *Cronus* of Phrynichus is closer to the age of Sophocles. But certainly not to that of the *O.C.*

⁷Flourished at c. C Olympiad, i. e. 380–377 B.C., on the basis of Pliny *H.N.* XXXV 70 "Parrhasius (1713 Overb.) ... pinxit Philiscum et Liberum patrem adstante Virtute", "Parrhasius painted Philiscus ...": cf. Meineke, *FCG* I, p. 424.

⁸See the commentary above.

⁹P. Rau, *Paratragodia. Untersuchungen einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, *Zetemata* 45, München 1967.

¹⁰Wording in the form of a riddle appealed particularly to Theodectes in fourth-century tragedy and to Antiphanes (fr. 194, 196 K.), Eubulus (fr. 106 K.-A.) and Alexis (fr. 240 K.) in Middle Comedy: G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy*, Athens 1980, p. 97 ff., W. Schulz, *RE* I A1 (1914) 99–101. In the third century, to cite one typical example, Lycophron in the *Alexandra* showed a proneness to tortuous language and riddling style.

language matches the ambiguity in content. Thus, in vv. 3-7 Rhea's deep grief and disappointment functions in a double way: she first gives the impression of despair for Cronus' eating all his children (vv. 3-5); and then she expresses her full discouragement for not having been given any farthing compensation and any share whatever in his profits from their children's sale (vv. 5-7). Similarly, vv. 9-14 expound the double function of χρῶν: the little-valued loan Apollo made to Cronus and Cronus' expulsion from his kingdom because of his unwillingness to return the loan to the god.

d. Stylistically speaking, in the main part of the text the narrative is set out in two semantic fields: that of mythological tradition and that of everyday life. The second one is seen from a secularized and rationalistic outlook. This mixture of myth parody and contemporary reality is expressed and shaped successively in vv. 4-14: v. 4 traditional myth, vv. 5-7 everyday life parody, vv. 8-9 myth parody, vv. 9 (from δραχ[μήν] -12 everyday life parody, vv. 13-14 traditional myth.

II. 2. Form

Adequate clues, such as the address to the audience (v. 1f.), convincingly suggest that the preserved part of the text belongs to a narrative prologue spoken by goddess Rhea,¹¹ who seems also to be a main character of the play. This structural element (with a deity often not appearing again in the course of the play) characterizes the Euripidean drama¹² from the *Hippolytus* onwards. Further developed in New Comedy, esp. Menander, on the steps of Euripides, it is not common in Old Comedy and Aristophanes,¹³ but it is sufficiently traceable in Middle Comedy:¹⁴ the *Aeolus* of Antiphanes (fr. 18 K.) involves in a narrative prologue a parody of the main theme of Euripides' *Aeolus* (a play which also included a narrative prologue on Aeolus' genealogy). The content and the structure of a well written fragment (168 K.) from Antiphanes' *Neottis* seem to point to an expository prologue as well.¹⁵ Antiphanes was an early fourth-century comic poet and a contemporary of Philiscus.

A god or goddess, as in our text, or a personified idea speaking the prologue provides a standard practice from Euripides to Menander and seems to have parallels in Middle Comedy: in the above cited fragment from Antiphanes' *Aeolus* clues, such as ὃς μόνος θνητῶν ἄγει (v. 4), suggest that a god is the speaker. A deity speaking the prologue became a stock motif in New Comedy. The plenty evidence of the divine prologue speeches in Menander¹⁶ helps to consider with certainty the function of the practice. Consequently, the divine prologue is a convenient way to set the scene, to introduce briefly but clearly the main characters and to reveal the situation from which the action begins, serving thus, as in Euripides, as a substitute

¹¹See also Gallavotti, pp. 211-215, Körte², p. 55, Austin, p. 201.

¹²See the basic treatments by: M. Imhof, *Bemerkungen zu den Prologen der sophokleischen und euripideischen Tragödien*, Winterthur 1957, G.M.A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides*, London 1973 (repr.), p. 63 ff.

¹³Kalligeneia in Ar. *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (fr. 331 K.-A.) and Dorpia in Philyllius' *Heracles* (fr. 7 K.-A.) provide the only recorded instances of divine prologue figures in Old Comedy structured on the model of Euripidean prologue speeches. Aristophanes fourth-century plays, the *Ecclesiazusae* and the *Plutus* contained introductory soliloquies.

¹⁴See Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy (SLGC)*,² Manchester 1970, p. 83, Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Parallel Developments in Post-classical Tragedy and Comedy*², Athens 1991, p. 21 f.

¹⁵Xanthakis-Karamanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and n. 4, 68 f., 94 f., *et passim*. F. Leo's (*Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie*², Berlin 1912, p. 192) suggestion that Alexis' *Kouris* fr. 108 K. belongs to a narrative prologue is not unlikely.

¹⁶E.g. Pan is the prologue figure in the *Dyscolus*: see E.W. Handley, *The Dyscolus of Menander*, London 1965, p. 127, A.W. Gomme and F.H. Sandbach, *Menander, A Commentary*, Oxford 1973, p. 133. For narrative speech prologues in Menander see also: Webster, *Studies in Menander*², Manchester 1960, p. 185 f., *id.*, *An Introduction to Menander*, Manchester 1974, p. 49 ff., *SLGC*², p. 194 f. and n. 1.

for a programme. In the play to which the papyrus fragment belongs, the action takes place in divine levels and Rhea was the only appropriate person to expose Cronus' peculiarities.

II. 3. Content: travesty of myth and of mythological figures

In the period of Middle Comedy, mythological burlesque can be seen in two related types: 1) a direct travesty of a myth with the *dramatis personae* redrawn as contemporary, rather vulgar, Greeks and barbarians; and 2) parody of currently popular tragedies, especially those of Euripides.¹⁷

According to the first kind of mythological parody the traditional myth of Cronus and Rhea is transferred to the lowest level of everyday life in the seeking for probable and realistic dramatic plot and character drawing. Myth is thus distorted and the mythological characters, though approaching everyday manners, are depicted with pompous and grotesque overtones. Such an adaptation of well known myths and mythological heroes to everyday situations and ordinary middle-classed people convincingly justify Scaliger's characterization of Middle Comedy as a "period of transition".¹⁸ The transitive character of Middle Comedy as a between fifth-century drama and New Comedy dramatic technique can be clearly seen in the progress from satirical portrait in the early fourth century, such as that of Cronus and Rhea, to the typology of characters in the later part of that century onwards.¹⁹ Mythological burlesque in earlier Middle Comedy is modelled on the scenes of parody in Aristophanes' plays, such as the *Acharnians* and the *Thesmophoriazusae*,²⁰ since there is no extant play of Aristophanes structured entirely as a myth parody. Nevertheless, it mainly followed on the steps of Old Comedy burlesques like Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, whose plot is preserved on a papyrus-scrap. In this play Dionysus acting as a substitute of Paris-Alexander, takes over the judgement from Paris and wins Helen.²¹

The comic vulgarization in plot and the character portrayal of Cronus and Rhea provides a further instance of mythological burlesques regarding divine figures which are recorded in the scattered fragments of Middle Comedy. In the long fragment from the *Phaon* of Plato the comic, belonging to the very early fourth century,²² contemporary and myth are, as in our text, inextricably mixed: Aphrodite is turned to be a bawd advertizing the many costs for the services of her boy-friend Phaon. The text involves a lot of obscene allusions as the goddess acts as *lena*. Plato seems to have favoured gods' travesty: the Ζεὺς κακούμενος, Ξάντριάη ἢ Κέρκωπες, Νὺξ μακρά, all three parodied the myth of Heracles. This hero, as Cronus in our text, is traditionally associated with endless gluttony and drunkenness in Old, Middle and New Comedy texts and artistic representations.²³ The lack of known Euripidean or other plays on the story of Cronus and Rhea and the birth of Zeus excludes the possibility of suggesting a tragic parody for our papyrus text, i.e. the second kind of Middle Comedy burlesque.

¹⁷See W.G. Arnott, 'From Aristophanes to Menander', *G&R* 19 (1972) 71 ff., Xanthakis-Karamanos, pp. 34 ff., 37 ff.

¹⁸J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, Lugdunum 1561, i. 7, p. 12.

¹⁹In P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox's, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, Cambridge 1985, p. 410 f., it is aptly pointed out that this progress was not regular or uniform. For Middle Comedy fixed character types see Arnott, *op. cit.*, p. 77 ff., Webster, *SLGC*², p. 63 ff.

²⁰A basic study by G. Schiassi, 'Parodia e travestimento mitico nella commedia attica di mezzo', *RIL* 88 (1955) 99-120; cf. Rau, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff., 42 ff., 53 ff.

²¹*P Oxy* 663 = *CGFP* 70 = *PCG* IV 38, col.i (1-25) + ii (26-48).

²²fr. 188 K.-A. The *Phaon* is dated in 391 B.C.: Webster, 'Chronological Notes on Middle Comedy', *CQ* N.S. 2 (1952) 13.

²³For a good treatment of Heracles as a comic hero see G.Karl Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme*, Oxford 1972, pp. 81-100.

Plot travesty and character travesty form the two types of myth travesty in the papyrus text. Plot travesty is made evident in the change of the genealogical order (v. 9), the parody of the traditional oracle (vv. 8–12) and the substitution of Cronus' ὠμοφαγία theme by the sale of his children. The mythological genealogy of Cronus – Zeus – Apollo is entirely altered and reversed: Apollo, the son of Zeus, preexists his father and gives his grandfather Cronus the ambiguous oracle. Effective comic impressions come out from such anachronisms which naturally are not lacking from Middle Comedy.²⁴ The mockery of the traditional oracle – Apollo lent Cronus a drachma and never got it back, so he claimed his dethronement by his own son – is associated with the moral vulgarization of both Cronus and Apollo. Concerning the absence of the traditional ὠμοφαγία theme,²⁵ the most plausible explanation seems to be that such a depiction could not be admitted in view of the era's advanced level of civilization. Interestingly, the civilized moral code of that period is also echoed in fourth-century deviations in plot and character drawing from fifth-century well known tragedies: the era's growing humanity, strengthened by the development of moral philosophy and the postulates of laws, spurred to variations of tragic myths avoiding any μισάνθρωπος.²⁶

Character travesty seems to be the most characteristic comic feature of the text. Cronus is depicted as a selfish, extravagant ordinary merchant selling his own children while Rhea is a money lover, 'amoral' and cynic everyday woman. To this contemporary middle class couple of low morality Apollo is added as a furious self-interested, avaricious creditor, doubtless a common social type of the financially flourishing early fourth century.

II. 4. Subject-matter: theogonic burlesque

In addition to the literary elements which support the ascription to Middle Comedy, the authorship of Philiscus specifically is mainly suggested by the theme of the text itself. This early fourth-century comic poet is the only one attested to have written a play titled Διὸς γοναί – Ζηνὸς γοναί was written by Timesitheus, a tragedian of uncertain date –,²⁷ that coincides with the subject-matter of our fragment. Similar plays of theogonic burlesque are also attributed to Philiscus by the Suda (f 357 Adler), such as "Πανὸς γοναί, Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γοναί, Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος (γοναί)".²⁸ There is, moreover, adequate evidence for such titles in Middle Comedy: Araros' Πανὸς γοναί, Antiphanes' Ἀφροδίτης γοναί, Anaxandrides' Διονύσου γοναί. Earlier similar treatments in the late fifth and very early fourth century, such as Hermippus' Ἀθηναῖος γοναί, Polyzelus' Διονύσου γοναί, Ἀφροδίτης γοναί, Μουσῶν γοναί, and Nicophon's Ἀφροδίτης γοναί show clearly that this trend for theogonic burlesque was gradually increasing from the very last part of the fifth century onwards.

In conclusion, it can be safely suggested that the ascription of our papyrus text to Old Comedy, and more specifically to the *Cronus* of Phrynichus, is singularly wanting in evidence. The case in favour of attributing the fragment to Middle Comedy in general is strong, in view of the main coincidences in theme, literary treatment and style. The ascription to Philiscus' play in particular is mainly favoured by the coincidence in subject-matter but it

²⁴They mainly consist of mixing mythology with historical events or with figures of contemporary everyday life: Antiph. *Oenomaus* or *Pelops* fr. 172 K., Anaxandr. *Protesilaus* fr. 4 K., Alex. *Agonis* fr. 3 K., Timocl. *Orestautocleides* fr. 27 K.-A.: Webster, *SLGC*², p. 82 ff., Xanthakis–Karamanos, pp. 34 ff., 72 ff.

²⁵Cf. P. O. 1.82 (on the legend of Pelops) ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι· where γαστρίμαργον means 'cannibal'.

²⁶Xanthakis–Karamanos, 'Deviations from Classical Treatments in Fourth-Century Tragedy', *BICS* 26 (1979) 99–103.

²⁷B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², I, Göttingen 1986, 214, E. Diehl, *RE* VI A1 (1936) 1251.

²⁸γοναί add. Bernhardt. There are no adequate reasons for denying the lemma: Körte, *RE* XIX 2 (1938) 2381 f.

cannot still be decisively supported. Whatever its authorship may be, the text provides one of the most charming instances of explicit mythological parody of action and character.

RÉSULTATS ET PERSPECTIVES

Introduction à la table ronde HERCULANEUM

Marcello Gigante

Depuis vingt ans, les papyrus d'Herculaneum ont trouvé leur véritable physionomie et occupent la place qui leur revient de droit dans le cadre de l'étude de l'antiquité classique.

L'intense activité du Centre international pour l'étude des papyrus d'Herculaneum est à l'origine de ce regain d'intérêt.

Depuis 1968 – alors que se tint à Paris le VIII^e Congrès de l'Ass. Budé sur l'épicurisme grec et romain – ce centre, à travers toute une série d'initiatives, a insufflé à ces textes une nouvelle vie. On a publié le premier catalogue scientifique de l'ensemble de ces papyrus auquel il importe d'adjoindre l'indispensable *Glossarium Epicureum* de H. Usener, les *Cronache Ercolanesi* (Chroniques Herculanéennes), bulletin dont le vingt-deuxième volume est paru cette année, et que le Centre s'emploie à publier sous forme d'articles consacrés à la papyrologie et à l'archéologie d'Herculaneum : deux pôles de préoccupation que l'on retrouve dans les deux premiers Suppléments consacrés à la paléographie des papyrus d'Herculaneum et à la Villa des Papyrus.

Je me permettrai de rappeler ici la synthèse que j'ai écrite *La bibliothèque de Philodème et l'épicurisme romain* (éditée à Paris en 1987), ainsi que la bibliographie à la fois riche et précise portant sur la civilisation herculanéenne : I.C. McIlwaine, *Herculaneum. A Guide to Printed Sources*, publiée par notre Centre à Naples en 1988.

Outre les *Cronache Ercolanesi*, je signalerai surtout les publications de *La scuola di Epicuro* qui en est à son treizième volume et qui a le mérite de présenter une édition moderne et fiable de textes herculanéens, avec traductions et commentaires.

D'autres initiatives en vue de l'édition se succèdent : les textes sont tous soumis à une autopsie rigoureuse, de nouvelles méthodes de déroulement sont expérimentées dans l'attente d'un avenir très proche où l'on pourra mener à terme la réexploration de la Villa, et obtenir ainsi que de nouveaux papyrus soient exhumés.

Nous pouvons nous faire une idée du renouveau dans les études sur les textes herculanéens d'Épicure et des Épicuriens par la revue que fournit Hans Joachim Mette *Lustrum* 21/1978, qui fait suite à l'Habilitation-Schrift inédite de Bernhard Haesler (1963) : *Die epikureischen Texte aus Herculaneum in der Forschung zweier Jahrhunderte*, et les plus récents comptes rendus de T. Dorandi et E. Asmis in *Aufstieg und Niedergang* (1990).

Il m'est impossible de commencer autrement qu'avec Épicure. *Ab Epicuro principium*. Nous avons publié dans les *Cronache Ercolanesi* de nouvelles éditions partielles de l'œuvre capitale d'Épicure. C'est ainsi que le livre incertain *De la nature* dont l'argument concerne le problème du temps a été édité par Raffaele Cantarella et Graziano Arrighetti.

L'édition par D. Sedley du livre XXVIII du Περὶ φύσεως d'Épicure apporte encore plus de nouveautés : ce livre affronte les questions épistémologiques du langage et précise la théorie et les catégories épicuriennes du processus logique, les incluant parmi les autres témoignages sur le même problème.

La nouvelle édition du livre XV du Περὶ φύσεως faite par Claire Millot a pu révéler son contenu avec une plus grande clarté.

Le caractère polémique du livre XIV est confirmé par la fin dans laquelle, selon G. Leone (1987), Épicure accuse ses adversaires d'utiliser de manière incorrecte le langage philosophique.

Mme Leone vient de terminer sa thèse de doctorat, actuellement en cours d'édition, sur le livre II du *Peri Physeos*, conservé dans les PHerc. 1149 / 993 et 1010 à l'Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi di Napoli et à la British Library de Londres. L'autopsie de ces papyrus a permis de reconnaître une plus grande articulation à la structure du livre II.

Simon Laursen s'est mis sur les traces du livre XXV du *Peri Physeos* (CErc 1987 et 1988), apportant des contributions textuelles et exégétiques importantes.

Mme Adele Tepedino a découvert dans le PHerc. 998 des fragments du livre XXXIV (CErc 1987), Enzo Puglia a reconnu dans le PHerc. 1039 un autre livre du *Peri Physeos*.

Rien de surprenant s'il existait dans la Villa des Pisons plus d'un exemplaire du Περὶ φύσεως et, surtout, nous sommes certains que les 37 livres de l'œuvre fondamentale d'Épicure que nous ne connaissons qu'à travers nos papyrus, se trouvaient à Herculaneum.

Ces nouvelles éditions marquent un progrès remarquable par rapport aux éditions précédentes d'Achille Vogliano et de Graziano Arrighetti (qui sont restées d'une très grande importance), mais elles n'épuisent pas notre tâche : elles constituent le fondement d'un commentaire complet du *Peri Physeos* et permettent de pénétrer dans le processus créatif de cette œuvre qu'Épicure, comme le montra Arrighetti (contre Sedley), augmentait et retouchait en tenant compte des contributions de ses élèves et des positions de ses adversaires.

Même l'œuvre d'un disciple d'Épicure parfaitement inconnu, portant le nom de Carneiscos a suscité un nouvel intérêt chez M. Capasso, qui a publié une édition commentée du *Filista*, livre I.

Dans le volume XI de CErc, Mme Angeli a publié un recueil des fragments d'Idoménée de Lampsaque. Cette publication se veut une première tentative pour comprendre la figure de cet épicurien d'Asie Mineure dont on peut situer l'acmé entre la fin du IV^e et le début du III^e siècle avant Jésus Christ.

Le troisième disciple de l'École épicurienne, Polystrate, a fait l'objet d'une étude, que ce soit à travers son œuvre propre qui nous est parvenue dans de bonnes conditions, *Du mépris irrationnel des opinions populaires* par G. Indelli, ou à travers les restes d'un écrit protreptique, *De la Philosophie*, par M. Capasso.

Polystrate guida avec succès l'école au cours des décennies difficiles qui vinrent après les disciples immédiats d'Épicure, les *Katheghemones* ; parmi ceux-ci, Hermarque et Poliène, dont les fragments subsistants ont récemment bénéficié d'une excellente édition due à Mmes F. Longo et A. Tepedino dans la série que je dirige, *La scuola di Epicuro*. Après l'édition de Krohn (1921), Mme Longo a établi la première édition systématique des fragments du premier successeur d'Épicure à la direction du Jardin. La plupart des témoignages dérivent des papyrus herculanéens et renouvellent la figure d'Hermarque, auquel ils restituent un rôle de premier plan au sein de l'école. Les textes portant sur la vie et sur les œuvres sont accompagnés d'une traduction et d'un commentaire. Il en va de même pour l'édition des fragments de Poliène établie par Mme Tepedino, qui constitue le volume XI de *La scuola di Epicuro*. Nous projetons, en effet, de publier tout ce qui reste des œuvres des *Katheghemones* : aux éditions dont je viens de parler, succéderont celles de Métrodore et de Colotès, dont les livres polémiques et antiplatoniciens, *Contre le Lysis* et *Contre l'Euthydème*, ont déjà suscité de nouvelles recherches.

L'œuvre complète de Démétrius Lacon, dont l'acmé se situe entre la fin du II^e siècle et le début du I^{er} siècle avant J.-C. et qui n'a fait l'objet d'aucune étude depuis le livre d'ensemble de De Falco en 1923, a été soumise à une révision attentive en ce qui concerne les papyrus de la poétique, de la géométrie, de la mathématique et de la gnoséologie.

La révision des livres *Sur la poésie* de Démétrius Lacon, dont s'est chargée Mme Costantina Romeo, fonde une estimation fiable des mérites de ce philosophe épicurien, jusqu'ici insuffisamment reconnu.

D'importants résultats ont été obtenus après une étude renouvelée des PHerc. 1012 et 1055 attribués à Démétrius et du PHerc. 831 qui contient un protreptique anonyme épicurien. Le PHerc. 1012 contribue à définir quelques aspects de la philologie des épicuriens, tandis que le PHerc. 1055 permet de reconstruire des particularités remarquables de la pensée théologique épicurienne.

Le livre contenu dans le PHerc. 1012 a été édité et commenté avec le plus grand soin par Enzo Puglia dans notre série *La scuola di Epicuro* (Vol. VIII, 1988).

Quant à la contribution de Démétrius pour une meilleure connaissance de la théologie épicurienne, elle ne fut pas moins importante, ainsi qu'on peut en juger par le PHerc. 1055, qui est sur le point de paraître dans une nouvelle édition complète due à Enrico Renna.

Il est évident qu'aujourd'hui nous sommes en mesure d'écrire un chapitre complet sur la contribution de Démétrius Lacon à l'histoire de l'épicurisme.

Dans le IX^e volume des *Cronache Ercolanesi*, Angeli-Colaizzo édite, pour la première fois, les fragments de Zénon de Sidon, maître de Philodème. Cette édition est la première tentative de reconstruction organique de la figure de Zénon dans le cadre de la tradition et de l'histoire de l'épicurisme à Athènes, avant que la doctrine d'Épicure ne reflorisse en Italie.

Moi-même, je me suis occupé de la première édition (1990) des *Fragments* de Siron, le maître napolitain de Virgile et de ses amis.

Mais, comme on le sait, dans la bibliothèque d'Herculanum, on conserve essentiellement les œuvres du polygraphe Philodème : le niveau de notre connaissance sur cet éminent représentant de l'épicurisme en vogue à Rome au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C., à l'époque de Lucrèce et Cicéron, puis de Virgile (dont nous avons lu récemment le nom avec celui de ses amis à la fin d'un livre de Philodème) et d'Horace, est encore inférieur à l'attente des chercheurs qui, jusqu'à présent, perçoivent la grandeur du rôle de Philodème dans la culture romaine sans avoir pu disposer d'une preuve irréfutable.

Pour arriver à ce but, on a étudié des papyrus relatifs au thème de l'adulation, de la providence, de la liberté de parole : thèmes que Philodème traita dans le cadre de vastes œuvres concernant les vices et les vertus ou les modes de vie, comme s'il avait voulu disputer aux œuvres analogues de l'école péripatéticienne la systématisation et la divulgation de tels concepts. L'édition de documents de la communauté épicurienne, connus sous le nom de *pragmateiai*, que les études de Vogliano et de Diano n'ont révélés que partiellement dans toute leur authenticité, a suscité un nouvel intérêt : l'École des mathématiciens de Cyzène, libérée de toute incertitude, a renoué avec les Épicuriens.

L'unique ouvrage épicurien de logique, le *De signis* de Philodème, a été édité par Phillip et Estelle de Lacy (1978) : ce texte, fort apprécié et maintes fois étudié par les deux chercheurs américains, fut revu sur l'original par notre équipe, amélioré et rénové de façon critique. Il fut traduit en anglais, reçut un commentaire adéquat, et il lui revient d'inaugurer dignement *La scuola di Epicuro*.

Par ailleurs, dans le domaine de la *Poétique* de Philodème, l'étude de quelques papyrus a apporté du nouveau, bien qu'ils ne fussent pas aussi remarquables que le livre V de la célèbre édition de Christian Jensen datant de 1923 ; ils se révélèrent toutefois utiles pour la définition des concepts de base de poétique et poésie, de poème et poète, utiles également pour l'histoire de la critique littéraire, soit dans l'École de Platon ou dans celle d'Aristote, soit encore dans la confrontation la plus courante avec les positions stoïciennes. Un autre ouvrage suggestif et moderne comme la *Parrhesia* de Philodème a dégagé des fondements d'origine épicurienne, des implications pédagogiques et des liens avec le moment politique où il a été conçu : elle se propose comme un moment fondamental de la spéculation philosophique de Philodème, sur qui pèse depuis longtemps, à cause du blâme de quelques érudits, la réputation de répétiteur inerte de la doctrine du maître.

L'ouvrage *Sur la mort* a été considéré comme une diatribe, mais certaines pages – même si de temps en temps elles reflètent des topoi qui, d'ailleurs, ne sont pas étrangers à la poésie horacienne – ont un souffle presque humain et un accent si personnel qu'il est impossible de les confondre avec un matériel courant et vil d'empreinte scolastique.

Même les études biographiques et doxographiques de Philodème ont suscité un nouvel intérêt.

Les bases pour une nouvelle révision du texte de Philodème *Sur les dieux* furent posées par K. Kleve ; Hermann Diels le reconstruisit génialement sans le support nécessaire de l'autopsie des papyrus.

Le livre de Philodème *Sur la religiosité* trouva en Théodor Gomperz, homme doué d'un esprit pénétrant, son premier grand interprète, et, en partie seulement, dans une dissertation d'un élève de Jensen, Adolf Schober, un nouvel éditeur : c'est cette édition que nous avons rendue publique en 1988. L'œuvre de Philodème constitue actuellement pour Albert Henrichs, Diskin Clay et Wolfgang Luppe un terrain de recherche très riche tant pour l'histoire des religions et de la poésie théologique des Grecs que pour la reconstruction moins approximative de la pensée théologique épicurienne.

L'ouvrage *Sur la musique* n'est pas encore entré complètement dans l'histoire de la recherche sur la musicologie antique et sur la conception épicurienne de la musique : en 1986 A.J. Neubecker a publié une nouvelle édition du livre IV, de même que D. Delattre s'est occupé, dans les *Cronache Ercolanesi* 19/1989, de l'édition de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le troisième livre (selon le chercheur français, on ne doit parler que de restes du quatrième livre). Mais on a aussi jeté les bases pour une révision d'une autre grande œuvre de Philodème, éditée par Sudhaus : dans ce secteur, la recherche ne fait que commencer – avec les travaux de F. Longo, M. Ferrario, G. Cappelluzzo, J. Hammerstaedt – mais on nourit surtout l'ambition de pouvoir obtenir une vision claire de la rhétorique telle que la concevait l'école épicurienne.

Un ouvrage de Philodème, dont le titre seul pose des problèmes d'interprétation, le Περὶ ὁμιλίας, s'est révélé faire partie de la conception pédagogique de l'épicurisme, en ce sens que la signification de *homilia* comme “conversation” a pu s'y vérifier : une telle notion est apparue semblable à celle de “liberté de parole” dans le cadre du *Kêpos*.

Dans le volume XII des *Cronache Ercolanesi*, T. Dorandi a publié la première édition complète d'un petit ouvrage polémique de Philodème, *Les Stoïciens*, destiné à défendre les épicuriens contre des accusations malveillantes qui leur furent adressées par des adversaires stoïciens inconnus.

Étant donné que Philodème fut aussi un critique littéraire, attentif toutefois à la vie politique et sociale de son temps, une révision de son livre *Du bon roi selon Homère* s'imposait pour plus d'une raison. Dorandi a publié une édition complète du *De bono rege secundum Homerum* que j'ai moi-même, dans un article de la “Parola del Passato”, interprété comme un Protreptique. Il s'agit du troisième volume de notre collection *La scuola di Epicuro*.

Une édition complète de ce qui reste du livre de Philodème, écrit après le livre *Sur l'économie*, nous livre la pensée épicurienne sur la richesse.

Le traité éthique contenu dans le PHerc. 346, que Vogliano attribue à Polystrate, est aujourd'hui à attribuer avec raison, selon M. Capasso, à Philodème.

L'*Histoire des philosophes* de Philodème a suscité un intérêt nouveau et, en particulier, l'*Index Academicorum*. Nous devons aujourd'hui à Dorandi une édition complète après la première édition de Mekler (1902) et une édition partielle de Gaiser (“Philodems Academica”, 1988). On n'y trouve aucune trace de polémique anti-platonicienne et Philodème, en tant qu'historien des philosophes antiques, suit la voie des *Diadochai*.

Il est utile de rappeler que vient d'être publié le volume XIII de *La scuola di Epicuro*, première collection de Témoignages socratiques dans l'œuvre de Philodème : nouvel exemple

de collaboration internationale (entre le professeur E. Acosta-Mendez de Madrid et A. Angeli de notre Centre), le volume constitue une autre contribution d'historiographie philosophique épicurienne : l'attitude des Épicuriens – polémique ou pas – selon les périodes de l'histoire de leur pensée, est enfin éclaircie.

Un document biographique, dont on ignore l'auteur, mais qui pourrait être attribué à Philodème, *La vie de Philonides*, a été revu par notre équipe.

Est fort intéressante également une œuvre de petite dimension, *De la colère*, texte important pour l'étude de la théorie des passions dans l'antiquité et qui a trouvé en 1986 un éditeur prudent et sagace en la personne de G. Indelli.

Une autre œuvre de Philodème, *De la gratitude*, bien que nous étant parvenue dans des conditions précaires, nous a toutefois permis d'accéder à la définition de ce concept.

Nous devons à Anna Angeli une nouvelle édition (1988) du PHerc. 1005, qui remplace celle de Sbordone (1947). Cette recherche conclut à la thèse selon laquelle le livre de Philodème n'est pas dirigé contre les stoïciens ou les épicuriens dissidents, mais s'adresse aux amis de l'École.

Un autre problème fascinant est celui de la présence dans la bibliothèque d'Herculanum de papyrus de doctrine stoïcienne : mentionnons à cet égard le PHerc. 307 avec les *Λογικὰ Ζητήματα* de Chrysippe, étudié par Livia Marrone qui est sur le point de publier, après de longues recherches préliminaires, une édition remise à jour après celle d'Arnim, et comportant un commentaire complet.

Je laisserai de côté d'autres résultats et je n'ajouterai que quelques autres données pour clarifier le rôle de nos papyrus.

Les papyrus d'Herculanum fournissent aussi du matériel pour mieux définir le rapport de l'Épicurisme avec les autres systèmes philosophiques. C'est ainsi par exemple que j'ai publié en 1981 un livre sur le rapport complexe entre scepticisme et épicurisme et, en juillet 1991, au cours d'un Congrès à Paris sur le Cynisme ancien, j'ai tracé l'histoire du rapport entre la doctrine épicurienne et le mouvement qui commence avec Diogène de Sinope, en passant par Épicure, à travers Colotès et Polystrate, jusqu'à Philodème.

Bref, dans les vingt-deux premiers volumes des *Cronache Ercolanesi* ont été traités, en entier ou partiellement, environ deux cents papyrus d'Épicure, Carneiscos, Colotès, Métrodore, Polystrate, Démétrius Lacon, Philodème, Chrysippe; il y a aussi des papyrus latins, mais très peu nombreux, dont le plus connu est le 817, petit poème qui chante la bataille d'Actium et que je pense pouvoir attribuer à Lucius Varius Rufus dont nous avons récemment lu le nom, avec ceux du grand poète Virgile et des critiques littéraires Plotius Tucce et Quintilius Varus, à la fin du livre de Philodème *Sur la calomnie*. À toute cette problématique j'ai consacré un long rapport dans les Actes de l'«Accademia Virgiliana» de Mantoue (1991) : *Virgilio e i suoi amici tra Napoli e Ercolano*.

Des vers du *De rerum natura* de Lucrèce et des *Annales* d'Ennius ont été récemment découverts par Kleve.

Pour conclure, je me contenterai de ces données :

premièrement : après que l'archéologue Gullini dans le XIV volume des *Cronache Ercolanesi* eut proposé un plan d'exploration de la Villa des Pisons, en avril 1986, l'actuel Surintendant de Pompei et d'Herculanum, B. Conticello, a exposé un nouveau programme de fouille, qui vient à peine d'être mis en train.

Les premiers résultats ont été publiés dans les *Cronache Ercolanesi* (1987). La réexploration de la Villa des Papyrus est actuellement en plein essor, et nous pouvons compter sur d'autres résultats, notamment en ce qui concerne la bibliothèque et l'ornementation sculptée de la Villa. En effet, après les campagnes de fouilles de janvier 1986, mars 1987, février-mars 1990, et du 7 au 30 juillet 1992, les travaux se sont orientés vers la Bibliothèque de la Villa ;

les premiers résultats ne sont pas encore connus. La redécouverte du Belvédère de la Villa que j'ai pu visiter le 17 février 1988 a été particulièrement émouvante : il s'agit de l'endroit où se réunissaient Philodème et ses amis à proximité d'un jardin, qui indique la résurrection du *Képos* athénien à Herculaneum.

deuxièmement : la méthode de déroulement des papyrus tel que l'a pratiqué Kleve et ses collaborateurs norvégiens a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives. Grâce à cette nouvelle méthode, basée essentiellement sur la dissolution de la gélatine dans l'acide acétique, nous avons pu récemment récupérer le contenu de certains fragments négligés à ce jour.

troisièmement : aux perspectives archéologiques et techniques nous ajoutons les perspectives papyrologiques:

a) un nouveau recueil épicurien avec les textes d'Épicure et les témoignages complets sur l'épicurisme grec et romain;

b) un congrès international du 19 au 26 mai 1993 à Naples-Anacapri sur l'épicurisme grec et romain;

c) collaboration avec les amis américains pour une traduction anglaise des *Poèmes* et de la *Rhétorique* de Philodème;

d) nouvelles éditions de Philodème, *Poétique*, livre V, par Cecilia Mangoni ; Philodème, *Poétique*, livre III, par Costantina Romeo ; Philodème, *Ethique Comparetti*, par G.Indelli – V. Tsouna McKirahan.

KOLLEMATA E KOLLESEIS : PER L' ANATOMIA DEL ROTOLO ERCOLANESE

Mario Capasso

Solo da qualche anno la testimonianza dei papiri ercolanesi viene presa seriamente in considerazione nella ricostruzione della tipologia libraria antica; in precedenza essa era o valutata in maniera sommaria ed imprecisa, perché non verificata sugli originali, o addirittura ignorata. Nel 1989 ho cercato di dimostrare in quale misura questi materiali ci aiutino a delineare i sistemi di apertura, lettura, chiusura e conservazione del libro in Grecia e a Roma.

In questa occasione vorrei comunicare alcuni risultati di una indagine che dal 1988 sto effettuando su *kollemata* e *kolleseis* nei rotoli ercolanesi. Finora è mancata una qualsiasi ricerca su questo aspetto della loro tipologia essenzialmente perché è molto difficile, anche se ci si serve del microscopio binoculare, individuare le linee di giuntura tra i fogli. Le difficoltà derivano sia dalla buona qualità della carta, che solitamente ne ostacola l' identificazione, sia dalla notevole irregolarità stratigrafica e dalla presenza delle piegature verticali provocate sulla superficie del papiro dal peso del fango lavico, che, come è facile intuire, traggono in inganno l' osservatore, sia, infine, dall' elevato stato di carbonizzazione.

Nella spiegazione delle cause della carbonizzazione fino a pochissimo tempo fa era prevalsa la tesi risalente al chimico Humphry Davy che tra il 1819 e il 1821 indicò nell' umidità la causa principale del processo di decomposizione di questi materiali. Secondo altre ricerche condotte recentemente da Corrado Basile del Museo del Papiro di Siracusa e basate sostanzialmente su analisi termogravimetriche, l' umidità ha avuto un ruolo minimo in tale processo, che sarebbe invece dovuto al calore del fango lavico che invase la Villa ercolanese. Non è questa la sede per una valutazione approfondita dei due filoni di ricerca. Mi limito a dire che le analisi termogravimetriche ci consentono di stabilire con esattezza il grado di temperatura alla quale fu sottoposta la biblioteca della lussuosa *domus* campana nel corso dell' eruzione vesuviana del 79 d. C.: 310° C. Possiamo inoltre affermare con sufficiente certezza che la diversa colorazione acquisita dai materiali è legata alle tecniche originarie di manifattura dei fogli, in particolare al loro trattamento con sostanze antisettiche ed antiparassitarie e con pigmenti.

In ogni caso il processo di carbonizzazione ha variamente estenuato la carta occultando ulteriormente le linee di sutura. Eppure l' ispezione attenta e paziente di ogni angolo della superficie del papiro permette quasi sempre di riconoscerle; solo in due casi l' esame non approda ad alcun risultato: quando la superficie è continuamente ed estremamente lacera e quando - ma si tratta di casi assai poco frequenti - la fusione dei vari *kollemata* originariamente è stata eseguita in maniera estremamente accurata.

Fino ad oggi, pur non disponendo in proposito di uno studio sistematico, conoscevamo la larghezza più normale dei *kollemata* dei rotoli greco-egizi, che oscilla tra i 16 e i 18 cm, e quella di epoca faraonica, che va da un minimo di 38 cm ad un massimo di 42 cm nei materiali del Medio Regno e da un minimo di 16 cm ad un massimo di 20 cm in quelli del Nuovo Regno. L' insieme dei dati in nostro possesso ritengo possa ora essere arricchito da quelli forniti dalla raccolta ercolanese.

Qualche esempio. Nel PHerc. 1065 (Philodemi *De signis*) è stato possibile individuare dalla cornice (= cr.) 3 alla cr. 10, gli ultimi 29 *kollemata*. Le *kolleseis* si presentano verticali e prive di sbavature. In qualche caso si nota una certa inclinazione, verso l' alto o verso il basso, della parte terminale di gruppi di fibre del *kollema* che precede. Si tratta di un fenomeno che è possibile riscontrare spesso nei papiri ercolanesi. Esso potrebbe essere dovuto al fatto che in

sede di fabbricazione il taglio della parte terminale del foglio non fosse eseguito in maniera accurata, ma venissero lasciate sporgere le estremità delle strisce orizzontali: queste, prive del supporto delle strisce inferiori, una volta incollate sul foglio che seguiva, assumevano facilmente l'inclinazione. Come vedremo più avanti, è possibile pensare anche ad un'altra spiegazione. La presenza di tale inclinazione, comunque, anticipa quella della *kollesis*. Un taglio non estremamente accurato dell'orlo destro del *kollema* è la probabile causa di un altro fenomeno che si nota sia nel PHerc. 1065 sia in altri rotoli ercolanesi: la presenza lungo questo stesso orlo di lievi sbavature e smangiature oppure un andamento non rettilineo ma piuttosto irregolare e talora zigzagante dell'orlo stesso.

Molto più rara la presenza, alla fine del *kollema* di sinistra, di singole fibre inclinate, vale a dire fuori posto; si tratta di fibre che si sono staccate dal resto del fascio in sede di lavorazione, verosimilmente nella fase della pressione, e che poi, sfuggendo al controllo del fabbricante, si sono per dir così riattaccate in maniera errata. In generale, comunque, la tessitura della carta ercolanese è nella parte perifibrile alquanto fluida e regolare.

Dei 29 *kollemata* da me individuati nel PHerc. 1065 quindici sono larghi cm 9 ca.; cinque sono larghi 10 cm ca.; due sono larghi cm 9, 5 ca.; due sono larghi cm 8 ca.; uno è largo cm 13 ca.; uno cm 9, 3 ca.; uno cm 8, 5 ca. uno cm 6, 5 ca.; l'ultimo, il XXIX, si estende per cm 8 ca., tuttavia la parte terminale è ancora avvolta su se stessa, quindi l'ampiezza di questo foglio era certamente maggiore. La larghezza dei *kollemata* del PHerc. 1065 oscilla quindi tra i cm 6, 5 e i cm 13 ca.; l'ampiezza più frequentemente riscontrabile è quella di cm 9 ca.

Il fatto che i rotoli ercolanesi siano incollati dalla parte del *verso* sul cartoncino di base impedisce in pratica di misurare l'area di sovrapposizione tra due *kollemata* consecutivi. Tuttavia in molti casi è possibile misurare la parte sottoposta del foglio di destra grazie a lacerazioni presenti sul foglio di sinistra sovrapposto, che appunto lasciano intravedere fin dove si estende verso sinistra il foglio successivo: attraverso la lacerazione si distinguono le fibre orizzontali, appartenenti al *recto* del *kollema* inferiore, che si incontrano con le fibre verticali del *verso* del *kollema* superiore. La circostanza consente di misurare l'area sovrapposta nel PHerc. 1424 (Philodemi *De oeconomia*), che è circa di cm 1, 5 ca. e nel PHerc. 336/1150 (Polystrati *De contemptu*), che oscilla tra cm 1 ca. e cm 1, 6, nel PHerc. 1056 (Epicuri *De natura* XXV), che è di circa cm 1, 5. Ci aspetteremmo, in realtà, di scorgere in tutta la lacerazione solo le fibre verticali del *verso* del *kollema* superiore e non anche quelle orizzontali della parte interna del *kollema* inferiore; due le possibili spiegazioni del fenomeno: o la lacerazione ha portato alla distruzione, a sinistra, del solo *recto* del foglio superiore e, a destra, di entrambe le sue facce; oppure il *glutinator* (o qualcun altro), prima di fissare il foglio di sinistra su quello di destra, ha provveduto a privarlo della striscia terminale del *verso*, per evitare che la sutura portasse in quel punto all'incontro di quattro strati di papiro (*recto* e *verso* del foglio superiore più *recto* e *verso* del foglio inferiore) e quindi ad un eccessivo e perciò fastidioso spessore della superficie destinata alla scrittura; con questo espediente si sarebbero sovrapposti solo tre strati (*recto* del foglio superiore più *recto* e *verso* del foglio inferiore) e la superficie in quel punto sarebbe stata meno spessa. Secondo quanto mi assicurano Peter Parsons e Corrado Basile (che ringrazio) esistono moltissimi esempi simili, uno dei quali John Rea ho scorto in *POxy.* ined. 40 5B 110/B (5-6) a (cf. E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, p. 20). Se effettivamente nei papiri di Ercolano si è ricorso a tale espediente, avremmo un'altra possibile spiegazione della presenza di ondulazioni alla fine di gruppi di fibre del *kollema* superiore: l'eliminazione della striscia del *verso* avrebbe privato le fibre orizzontali di un adeguato supporto, causandone l'inclinazione.

In altri casi aiutano a misurare l'area di sovrapposizione leggere piegature verticali che qualche volta precedono di poco le *kolleseis* e che sono provocate dalla pressione del foglio di

sinistra sul lembo estremo del foglio di destra. Tali piegature non sono da confondere con quelle che delimitano le così dette "sezioni" e che si ripetono ad un intervallo più o meno regolarmente degradante: anzi la loro presenza all' interno dello spazio delle "sezioni" costituisce un segnale della presenza delle *kolleseis*. Servendomi di esse ho potuto rilevare la misura dell' area di sovrapposizione nel PHerc. 1065, che oscilla tra cm 1 ca., 1, 2 ca. e 1, 5 ca. Nel PHerc. 1027 (Carneisci *Philistas* II) mi sono avvalso sia di lacerazioni sia di piegature, riuscendo ad accertare che l' area di sovrapposizione si aggira in media intorno a cm 1, 5 ca.

Nel PHerc. 1424 mi è stato possibile individuare, dalla cr. 3 alla cr. 8, gli ultimi 19 *kollemata*. Le *kolleseis* si presentano sostanzialmente verticali, tuttavia il taglio dell' orlo destro dei fogli sovente non è stato accuratissimo, essendo l' andamento delle linee di sutura irregolare e zigzagante. Di questi 19 *kollemata* nove sono larghi cm 9 ca.; due sono larghi cm 8, 5 ca.; uno è largo cm 12, 5 ca., uno cm 9, 5 ca.; uno cm 8, 5 ca.; uno cm 8 ca.; uno cm 7 ca.; uno cm 6, 5 ca.; uno cm 6 ca.; dell' ultimo, il XIX, si è conservata solo la parte iniziale, che si estende per cm 1, 5 ca.; l' ampiezza originaria, tuttavia, doveva essere molto maggiore, come si deduce dalla notevole larghezza che le "sezioni" hanno in questo punto. La larghezza dei *kollemata* individuabili nel PHerc. 1424 va da un minimo di cm 6 ca. ad un massimo di cm 12, 5 ca. L' ampiezza più frequentemente rilevabile anche qui è di cm 9 ca.

Gli ultimi 18 *kollemata* ho individuati nel PHerc. 336/1150, dalla cr. 3 alla cr. 9. Le *kolleseis* si presentano piuttosto regolari e verticali, tranne in un caso, dove l' orlo del *kollema* ha un andamento irregolare e zigzagante. Dei 18 *kollemata* tre sono larghi cm 11, 5 ca.; tre sono larghi cm 11 ca.; due cm 13, 5 ca.; due cm 10 ca.; uno cm 14 ca.; uno cm 13, 3 ca.; uno cm 12 ca.; uno cm 10, 5 ca.; uno cm 9, 5 ca.; uno cm 9 ca.; uno cm 8 ca. Dell' ultimo, il XVIII, si è conservata solo la parte iniziale, che si estende per cm 0, 5 ca.; anche in questo caso l' ampiezza originaria doveva essere molto maggiore, come si deduce dalla notevole ampiezza delle "sezioni" estreme. La larghezza oscilla quindi tra cm 8 ca. e cm 14 ca.; i valori più comuni appaiono essere cm 11, 5 ca. e cm 11 ca.

Nel PHerc. 1056, dalla cr. 3 alla cr. 7, si possono contare, con qualche difficoltà dal momento che le suture non sempre sono evidenti, 9 *kollemata* successivi; le *kolleseis*, quando sono chiaramente individuabili, appaiono piuttosto regolari e verticali. Dei fogli tre sono larghi cm 11 ca.; due sono larghi cm 12, 5 ca.; due cm 12 ca.; uno cm 11, 5. Incerta l' estensione del *kollema* comprendente l' ultima parte del pezzo conservato nella cr. 4 e la prima parte del pezzo di cr. 5; tra l' ultima sutura individuabile nella cr. 4 (all' altezza della col. 13) e la prima rintracciabile nella cr. 5 (all' altezza della col. 15) c' è uno spazio di cm 17 ca.; due le possibilità: o siamo in presenza di un foglio che effettivamente ha una tale ampiezza oppure, ipotesi non meno probabile, in fase di svolgimento del *volumen* il taglio tra i due pezzi è stato eseguito più o meno in corrispondenza di una *kollesis* che oggi, di conseguenza, non è più possibile scorgere; in quest' ultimo caso dovremmo parlare di due fogli larghi complessivamente cm 17 ca. La larghezza dei fogli sicuramente individuati oscilla comunque tra cm 11 ca. e cm 12, 5 ca.; quella più frequentemente rilevabile è di cm 11 ca.

Nel PHerc. 1425 (Philodemi *De poematis* V) ho distinto, dalla cr. 3 alla cr. 7, gli ultimi 18 *kollemata*. Anche in questo caso l' orlo destro dei fogli è alquanto regolare e verticale: presenti, comunque, lievi deviazioni e ondulazioni. Dei 18 *kollemata* sette sono ampi cm 8, 5 ca.; cinque sono ampi cm 9 ca.; tre cm 8 ca.; uno probabilmente cm 8, 8 ca. uno cm 7, 5 ca.; dell' ultimo foglio, il XVIII, si è conservata solo la parte iniziale, che si estende per cm 3, 5 ca.; l' ampiezza originaria doveva essere, anche qui, molto maggiore, come si intuisce dalla larghezza delle "sezioni". L' ampiezza dei fogli va dunque da un minimo di cm 7, 5 ca. ad un massimo di cm 9 ca.; la misura più frequente è di cm 8, 5 ca.

Nel PHerc. 1027 ho individuato, dalla cr. 7 alla cr. 8, gli ultimi 7 *kollemata*, le cui suture sono eseguite alquanto accuratamente. Due sono larghi cm 8 ca.; due sono larghi cm 7, 5 ca.;

uno è largo cm 13 ca.; uno cm 9, 5 ca.; uno cm 9 ca. L' ampiezza oscilla dunque tra cm 7, 5 ca. e cm 13 ca.; più frequenti quelle di cm 7, 5 ca. e cm 8 ca.

I dati fin qui riportati, insieme con altri precedentemente acquisiti, consentono di trarre alcune conclusioni di carattere generale:

1. I rotoli ercolanesi, che rappresentano esemplari librari di livello medio-alto risalenti ad un arco di tempo che va dal III sec. a. C. ai primi anni del I sec. d. C., sono costituiti da *kollemata* aventi nell' ambito di ciascun *volumen* un' ampiezza diversa. È, questa, una caratteristica che si riscontra anche nei materiali librari greco-egizi.

2. La fusione dei *kollemata* appare essere eseguita con cura: la presenza di qualche lieve smangiatura ed ondulazione lungo il profilo destro rientra nella norma.

3. Ad onta delle difficili condizioni ambientali in cui per secoli si sono trovati i materiali, la sutura, nei casi in cui la si riesce a individuare, si presenta ancora perfettamente integra. La circostanza conferma che la parte più robusta dei rotoli antichi era proprio il punto di sutura.

4. L' area di sovrapposizione di un *kollema* sull' altro oscilla tra cm 1 ca. e cm 1, 5 ca. La misura più comune sembra essere cm 1, 5 ca. Anche questi sono valori che ritroviamo normalmente nei rotoli greco-egizi, dove la parte sovrapposta è larga per lo più cm 1 o cm 2, ma raggiunge talvolta anche i 4-5 cm.

5. La larghezza dei *kollemata* va da un minimo di cm 6 ca. ad un massimo di cm 19 ca.: quella più comune si aggira intorno agli 8-9 cm ca. È, questo, un dato notevole, se si considera che, come si è visto, la larghezza più normale dei *kollemata* nei materiali greco-egizi oscilla tra i 16 e i 18 cm: esattamente il doppio rispetto a quella degli ercolanesi. Ma su questo aspetto ritorno fra poco.

6. Considerato che l' altezza 'standard' dei rotoli ercolanesi oscilla tra i 19-20 e i 23-24 cm, va osservato che il rapporto altezza/ lunghezza dei *kollemata* di cui essi sono costituiti è sempre sbilanciato a favore della prima: circostanza che, a parte qualche eccezione, riscontriamo di norma anche nei rotoli greco-egizi.

7. È possibile a questo punto contribuire a risolvere il problema, alquanto dibattuto specialmente negli ultimi tempi, della *subscriptio* del PHerc. 1414, che è l' unico papiro ercolanese nel quale è registrato il numero dei *kollemata*. Essa si articola in due parti. Nella prima lo scriba che ha copiato il testo ha segnato nome dell' autore, titolo dell' opera e numero degli *stichoi* : ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣΙ ΑΡΙΘ Χ[.]ΗΗ[.]ΗΠΑ. Subito dopo forse una mano diversa ha tracciato una sigla che segnala l' intervento di un correttore o una correzione e, in caratteri più corsivi, le seguenti due linee:

ΚΟΛΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΓΕ
ΣΕΛΙΔΕΣ ΡΑΖ

Non mi soffermo, per motivi di spazio, sulle discussioni provocate da questa *subscriptio*. Mi limito a segnalare che la sua lettura è stata recentemente migliorata da Tiziano Dorandi, il quale, confermato che la cifra relativa ai *kollemata* è GE, come videro il Bassi, per primo, e successivamente altri, ha scritto che si tratta comunque di una lezione che "rimane problematica in rapporto all' indicazione di 137 colonne, se *kollemata* anche qui ha il significato di singoli

fogli di papiro di cui era composto il rotolo". Lo studioso avanza due ipotesi: la registrazione si riferisce "al pagamento della mano d' opera prestata nel copiare il rotolo 1414" oppure "al lavoro complessivo del nostro scriba che ha copiato insieme al PHerc. 1414 parte di un altro *volumen* per un totale di 137 colonne su 95 fogli".

Sul problema è intervenuto Enzo Puglia, il quale, individuato nel papiro un *kollema* di cm 9, 8 ca., ha potuto "ribadire che nei ca. 9 m del papiro c' erano 95 *kollemata*, come è riportato nella *subscriptio*, larghi ca. 10 cm ognuno".

Sull' argomento è tornato il Dorandi, il quale "pure ammettendo che tutti i *kollemata* del PHerc. 1414 avessero mantenuto la medesima lunghezza di ca. 10 cm" propende a ritenere "che questo rotolo, insieme con il PHerc. 1027, costituissero un caso eccezionale, che non può certo essere generalizzato". Egli ricorda che i *volumina* greco-egizi erano formati da fogli larghi da cm 16 a cm 18 e non vede "un valido motivo per cui si debba presupporre, per l' area ercolanese, un diverso impiego di materiale nella costruzione dei rotoli". Di conseguenza, per lui "il rapporto tra i 95 *kollemata* e le 137 *selides* continua a essere . . . misterioso".

Sono in grado di confermare che il PHerc. 1414 si articolava in fogli larghi mediamente 8/9 cm. Pur nell' estrema frammentarietà del rotolo sono riuscito infatti ad individuare, nella cr. 10, altri due *kollemata* successivi a quello già segnalato dal Puglia: di conseguenza i *kollemata* distinguibili adesso sono tre, larghi rispettivamente cm 9, cm 8 e cm 9.

D' altra parte abbiamo visto sopra che è proprio questa la larghezza media dei fogli ercolanesi. Mi pare, quindi, che si possa dire che l' ampiezza dei fogli del PHerc. 1414 non costituisca un caso eccezionale. Non vedo motivi, perciò, per non riferire l' annotazione supplementare della sottoscrizione *unicamente* a questo papiro: registrazione della trascrizione di 137 colonne di testo compreso nel rotolo 1414, composto da 95 fogli.

Il fatto che il numero delle colonne sia accompagnato, e anzi preceduto, da quello dei fogli mi pare dimostri che il primo da solo, quale referente bibliologico e/o catalogico oppure computo della mano d' opera prestata, avrebbe rappresentato, almeno nel caso di questo papiro, dato non sufficiente: proprio la presenza del secondo sta ad indicare che l' unità di misura dell' estensione dei *volumina* già costituiti come tali e scritti continuava ad essere, in qualche modo, il singolo foglio.

8. Considerate la lunghezza media dei rotoli ercolanesi, che oscillava tra i m 6 e i m 9, e l' ampiezza dei singoli fogli da cui essi erano formati, deduciamo che di norma tali *volumina* erano il risultato della fusione di un notevole numero di *kollemata*, almeno diverse decine. Il dato coerisce con l' ipotesi, oggi comunemente accolta, dello Skeat, che per spiegare la nota e discussa testimonianza di Plinio il Vecchio, secondo il quale (*NH* XIII 77) nella manifattura di un rotolo non erano mai impiegati più di 20 fogli, ritiene che lo scrittore latino si riferisca ai materiali così come erano prodotti nelle officine di origine: successivamente intermediari o dettaglianti prima di metterli in commercio univano insieme rotoli o parti di rotoli per soddisfare le varie richieste.

9. Per conoscere l' ampiezza originaria dei *kollemata* ercolanesi bisogna naturalmente tenere presente la parte di ciascuno di essi che attualmente è nascosta dal *kollema* di sinistra che lo precede e che, come si è detto, è larga da cm 1 ca. a cm 1, 5 ca. È possibile allora constatare che i fogli ercolanesi prima di essere uniti insieme avevano una larghezza oscillante tra i cm 7/7, 5 ca. e i cm 20/20, 5 ca. e più comunemente aggirantesi intorno ai cm 9/9, 5 ca.-10/10, 5 ca. Si tratta di un dato oggettivo, che contrasta sia con quello fornitoci, come si è visto, dai rotoli greco-egizi di età romana sia con la testimonianza di Plinio il Vecchio (*NH* XIII 78), secondo il quale l' ampiezza della carta oscillava tra i cm 24 del tipo migliore e i cm 11 del tipo meno pregiato, che però non veniva utilizzato per la scrittura. Ora è vero che la carta

veniva prodotta solamente in Egitto; evidentemente, tuttavia, nelle officine egiziane oppure nel percorso dalle officine egiziane ai mercati occidentali i fogli utilizzati per dare vita ai rotoli acquisivano una gamma di formati più articolata di quanto sia i reperti di provenienza egiziana sia il testo di Plinio (che verosimilmente, comunque, disponeva di fonti 'limitate' e aveva una conoscenza diretta in materia altrettanto angusta) lasciano supporre.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A ROLL OF PHILODEMUS. *RHET.* III FROM SEPARATELY REGISTERED POPYRI.

Jürgen Hammerstaedt

The last editor of Philodemus, *De Mus.* IV, Delattre,¹ recomposed the separately registered fragments and the copies (*disegni*) of lost texts on music into a single roll. In order to render his reconstruction as complete as possible, he developed theories about the original shape of the roll, the applied methods of opening it and the numeration of copies of lost fragments.² His conjectures gained plausibility from the soundness of the reconstructed Greek text. But its large lacunae do not always allow such a verification.

Other Herculanean rolls which were equally scattered in separately registered fragments and copies³ should therefore be of some interest, especially if a continuously preserved parallel version allows us to fix the position of the fragments of a roll beyond doubt, as in Phld. *Rhet.* III.⁴ This book is transmitted in a provisional 32 frames long redaction (ὑπομνηματικόν) in PHerc. 1506 and in a final version, whose end, PHerc. 1426, is glued on four frames. Some shorter fragments, namely PHerc. 240 and 1633, show parallels with parts of *Rhet.* III, which are continuously preserved in the provisional redaction.⁵ They had been opened by *scorzatura*: the uppermost readable layer was copied and then removed, thus uncovering the layers beneath it.⁶ In this way the copy remained, but the removed layer was lost for ever. Sudhaus attributed these and some other copies to the book recently identified as *Rhet.* III.⁷ In view of their script he believed that they were part of the same roll whose end was PHerc. 1426.⁸

The list of papyri assigned to this book was modified by Crönert,⁹ Cavallo¹⁰ and finally by Dorandi,¹¹ who on considering neglected rests (called *scorze*, that is: crusts) of the drawn and destroyed papyri¹² came to the conclusion that all the copies of destroyed papyri he had assigned to *Rhet.* III belonged to the same roll as PHerc. 1426.¹³ In order to unroll the inner

¹D. Delattre, 'Philodème, De la musique: Livre IV, colonnes 40* à 109*', *CErc* 19 (1989) 49-143.

²Delattre's method of reconstruction was much appreciated by R. Janko, *CErc* 22 (1992) 123f. He mentioned there a similar attempt made by D. Obbink in his still unpublished dissertation on Phld. *Piet.* I (diss. Stanford University 1986).

³A list of examples is offered by M. Capasso, *CErc* 19 (1989) 211.

⁴For the two redactions of Phld. *Rhet.* III cp. J. Hammerstaedt, *CErc* 22 (1992) 9-15.

⁵Cp. S. Sudhaus, *Philodemi volumina rhetorica* II (Leipzig 1896) p. VIII.

⁶On *scorzatura* cp. F. Longo Auricchio / M. Capasso, 'Nuove accessioni al dossier Piaggio', *Contributi alla storia dell' Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi* I (Napoli 1980) 41 n. 97.

⁷Sudh. II 273-295 (PHerc. 240), 295-298 (PHerc. 468), 298-300 (PHerc. 1114), 300-302 (PHerc. 1633), 302f (PHerc. 473). For the identification as Phld. *Rhet.* III cp. Hammerstaedt, *CErc* 22 (1992) 11f.

⁸Sudh. II p. IX.

⁹W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculensis*, Leipzig 1903, 5 attributed PHerc. 240, 455, 467, 468, 469, 473, 1099, 1101, 1114, 1633 and 1646 to the same scribe as PHerc. 1426.

¹⁰G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano* = *CErc* Suppl. I (1983) 40 assigned PHerc. 240, 421, 467, 1095, 1101, und 1633 to the same scribe but not explicitly to the same book as PHerc. 1426.

¹¹T. Dorandi, 'Per una ricomposizione dello scritto di Filodemo sulla Retorica', *ZPE* 82 (1990) 79-82 attributed to *Rhet.* III the PHerc. 240, 421, 455, 467, 468, 1095, 1096, 1101, 1426, 1633, 1646, and with a minor degree of probability PHerc. 1099.

¹²Dorandi 62.

¹³He let intend this loc. cit. 64f.

part, now PHerc. 1426, the more resistant outer parts had been taken away and were later opened by *scorzatura*.¹⁴

The following observations give us a clearer idea of the original state of the roll.

1) PHerc. 240 consists of 23 copies of lost fragments. Three pieces of *scorza* still preserved are also registered as PHerc. 240. There is further proof that the 23 copies and the three pieces of papyrus really belong to the same PHerc. 240: in his notes written in the margins of the copies in October 1908, Bassi observed the identity of PHerc. 240 fr. 13 with the middle piece on the frame and of fr. 22 with the piece on the right. I have also seen that the rest of a higher layer of the same piece contained some letters of the text which is preserved more completely in the copy fr. 18 of PHerc. 240. This upper layer was first copied as fr. 18 and then removed in order to uncover the layer beneath, which was copied in fr. 22 and is still nearly completely extant on the papyrus.

2) Further parallels with the parts of *Rhet.* III which are continuously transmitted in the provisional redaction can be found in the fragments of PHerc. 1633. Yet unpublished texts of the *scorza* of PHerc. 240 and the exact localisation of two copies of lost fragments of PHerc. 1633 with the help of the continuous parallel text of the provisional version show that PHerc. 1633 belongs to the same roll as PHerc. 240: in three places fragments of PHerc. 1633 fit in the same column as fragments of PHerc. 240.

3) Using all known textual coincidences we are able to reconstruct to some extent many columns of the original roll of the definitive redaction. The fragments of PHerc. 240 and 1633 form regular intervals. The fragments of PHerc. 1633 are joined on the right by pieces of PHerc. 240. On the right of the fragments of PHerc. 240 there follows a lacuna: 1633, 240, lacuna, 1633, 240, lacuna etc. Since all the layers of the left piece of *scorza* of PHerc. 240 return in the recomposed roll at regular intervals, all the other segments positioned in the same interval once lay one upon the other. We can conclude that the crust of the roll had been cut in three vertical segments which were opened separately by *scorzatura* and registered as single papyri, while only the last 18 columns (PHerc. 1426) were continuously unrolled. Since all localised fragments of PHerc. 240 originally lay one upon the other, the three pieces of *scorza* were detached successively from the same segment of the roll, opening the way to the inner parts of the roll until it was fit to be unrolled using Piaggio's method.¹⁵

Some observations might be useful for the reconstruction of other Herculanean rolls:

1) Not all the detached segments of a roll were equally well conserved. Some of them consist only in a superior or inferior half or in a different division. Delattre believed that the roll of Phld. *Mus.* IV, badly crumpled during the eruption of the volcano, fell into differently shaped pieces during its excavation. A simpler explanation could be that the various segments were damaged to different degrees during the opening of the roll when they were detached and stored separately.

¹⁴The same idea lies behind Delattres recomposition of *Mus.* IV from various papyri which had been opened by such a *scorzatura parziale*. Cp. T. Dorandi, 'Papiri ercolanesi tra «scorzatura» e «svolgimento»', *CErc* 22 (1992) 179f; C. Romeo, *CErc* 22 (1992) 164.

¹⁵The knowledge we have regarding the original composition of the roll allows us to concentrate the search for further parallels between the copies of PHerc. 240 and 1633 and the provisional redaction in PHerc. 1506 on a limited number of places. For example, PHerc. 240 fr. 7 cannot have the position given by Sudhaus because the segment there is that of the fragments of PHerc. 1633. Between PHerc. 1633 fr. 6 sup. and fr. 1 sup. three layers are missing. But we cannot insert further copies of fragments of PHerc. 1633 there. Since fr. 1 inf. is the copy of the layer directly above fr. 6 inf., the two halves of this fragment were drawn immediately after the removal of the text reproduced in fr. 1. This *scorzatura* destroyed not only the layer which had just been copied, but also the three beneath it in the upper half. The search for copies of the lost layers between PHerc. 1633 fr 3 inf. and fr. 1 inf., or between fr. 2 sup. and 3 sup. would be equally senseless.

2) In his reconstruction of *Mus. IV* Delattre thought that the lacuna between the outer parts opened by *scorzatura* and the unrolled end was only one or two columns long.¹⁶ This is without parallel:

– We know the number of both the στίχοι (3272) and the columns (204) of the final version of *Rhet. III*¹⁷ and are able to correlate them roughly.¹⁸ In the *scorza* of PHerc. 240 the number of 2200 στίχοι (χ) appears. PHerc. 240 fr. 1 sup., the last localised fragment, belonged therefore to col. 165 of the entire roll, that is to say more than 20 columns before the beginning of the continuously unrolled end.

– In Phld. *Rhet. II* the lost text of the final version¹⁹ in the lacuna between the last localised fragment opened by *scorzatura*, PHerc. 408 fr. 1, and the unrolled end in PHerc. 1674 runs in the corresponding provisional version²⁰ from col. 19 to col. 48.

3) Delattre used the numeration of the copies of lost fragments as a criterion for his reconstruction of *Mus. IV*.²¹ However, in the final version of *Rhet. III* the succession of numbers of the localised fragments is irregular and confused.²²

Obviously, the results of the partial reconstruction of *Rhet. III* should not be regarded as entirely valid for the recomposition of other Herculanean rolls, for example *Mus. IV*. My observations should merely serve as a further point of reference for similar endeavours.

Appendices:

I. Textual coincidences with PHerc. 1506²³

240 fr. 1 sup.	↔	<u>1506 col. XXV 16-9 from below</u>	
240 fr 3 sup.	↔	<u>1506 fr. 16 (S 3; vol. II p. 201 Sudhaus)</u> ²⁴	
240 fr. 3 inf.	↔	1506 fr. 17 (S 4; II 201 Sudh.)	
240 fr. 5 sin./dex.	↔	1506 col. XVIII 22 - XIX 25	
240 fr. 6 sin. sup.	↔	1506 col. XVI 29-32	
240 fr. 6 dex. inf.	↔	1506 col. XVIII 16-21	(on the left 1633 fr. 2 sup.)
240 fr. 7 sup.	↔	1506 fr. 13 (R 3; II 200 Sudh.)	
[240 fr. 7 inf	↔	<u>1506 VII 10-15]</u> ²⁵	
240 fr. 8	↔	1506 XXIV 1-23	
240 fr. 9 sup.	↔	1506 XXII 4-14f	(doubtful)
240 fr. 11 sup.	↔	1506 IX 3-7	
240 fr. 11 inf.	↔	1506 VII 23-29	

¹⁶Delattre 71.

¹⁷Cp. Hammerstaedt 14.

¹⁸See appendix No. 6.

¹⁹Cf. Dorandi 77.

²⁰Cf. Dorandi 76.

²¹In his reconstruction he followed as closely as possible the – at times inverted (Delattre 66) – succession of the registration numbers of the copies (see also Delattre 51), explaining nearly all forms of irregularities (Delattre 69f).

²²Cp. appendix No. 5. The confused succession of the *disegni* of PHerc. 1081 and 1074 (Phld. *Poet.*) was observed by C. Romeo, *CErc* 22 (1992) 165.

²³Yet unpublished parallels are underscored, dotted those handed over to Dorandi (cp. *ZPE* 82 [1990] 79 n. 111).

²⁴Frames indicated by letters, columns by numbers.

²⁵See above n. 15.

240 fr. 12	↔	1506 XIV 6-31	
240 fr. 13	↔		(= <i>PHerc.</i> 240 <i>scorza pz.</i> 2)
240 fr. 14	↔	1506 XVI 4-27	
240 fr. 15	↔	1506 XI 17-21	
240 fr. 16 (sup.)	↔	1506 fr. 4 (L 4; II 197 Sudh.)	
240 fr. 18 (sup.)	↔		(= 240 <i>scorza pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 3)
240 fr. 20 sin. (sup.)	↔	1506 IV 32 - V 10	(<i>doubtful</i>)
240 fr. 20 dex. (sup.)	↔	1506 V 28-31	
240 fr. 22 (sup.)	↔	?	(<i>scorza</i> 240 <i>pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 1)
240 fr. 23 sin./dex. (sup.)	↔	1506 fr. 6 (N 1; II 198 Sudh.)	
240 <i>pezzo</i> 1 <i>strato</i> 1	↔	1506 I 21 - II 15	(<i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 79 <i>with n.</i> 113)
240 <i>pz.</i> 1 <i>str.</i> 2	↔	1506 III 33 - IV 4	(<i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 79 <i>with n.</i> 113)
240 <i>pz.</i> 1 <i>str.</i> 3	↔	1506 V	(<i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 79 <i>with n.</i> 113)
240 <i>pz.</i> 2	↔		(= 240 <i>fr.</i> 13)
240 <i>pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 1	↔		(240 <i>fr.</i> 22)
240 <i>pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 2	↔	1506 Q 3	(= 240 <i>fr.</i> 18) (<i>on the left</i> 1633 <i>fr.</i> 5 <i>dex.</i>)
1099 fr. 3	↔	1506 fr. 15	(<i>doubtful</i> ; Sudh., <i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 80)
1633 fr. 1 sup.	↔	1506 IX 27-30	
1633 fr. 1 inf.	↔	1506 V 19-25f	
1633 fr. 2 sup.	↔	1506 XVI 28-32	(<i>on the right</i> 240 <i>fr.</i> 6 <i>sin.</i>)
1633 fr. 2 inf.	↔	1506 XII 9-17	
1633 fr. 3 sup.	↔	1506 XI 22-28	
1633 fr. 3 inf.	↔	1506 X 17-21f	
1633 fr. 5 dex.	↔	1506 fr. 11 (Q 2-3; II 200 Sudh.)	(<i>on the right</i> 240 <i>pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 2)
1633 fr. 6 sup./inf.	↔	1506 III 15 - IV 4	

II. Parts of the same column.

240 <i>pz.</i> 3 <i>str.</i> 2	+	1633 fr. 5	(<i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 82)
240 <i>pz.</i> 1 <i>b</i>	+	1633 fr. 6 inf.	(<i>cp.</i> <i>Dorandi</i> 81)
240 fr. 6 sup.	+	1633 fr. 2 sup.	

III. Links between the end of a column and the beginning of the next.

240 fr. 6 sup.	(<i>on its left</i> 1633 <i>fr.</i> 2 <i>sup.</i>)	←	240 fr. 14 inf.
240 fr. 14 inf.		→	1633 fr. 2 sup. + 240 fr. 6 sup.
240 fr. 15 sup.		←	1633 fr. 3 inf.
240 fr. 15 inf.		→	1633 fr. 3 sup.
240 fr. 20		←	1633 fr. 1
1633 fr. 1		→	240 fr. 20
1633 fr. 2 sup.	(<i>on its right</i> 240 <i>fr.</i> 6 <i>sup.</i>)	←	240 fr. 14 inf.
1633 fr. 3 inf.		→	240 fr. 15 sup.
1633 fr. 3 sup.		←	240 fr. 15 inf.

IV. *Scorze* identified in the copies.

240 pz. 2 str. 1 (dex.)=		fr. 13	
240 pz. 3 str. 1	=	fr. 22	(Bassi)
<u>240 pz. 3 str. 3</u>	=	<u>fr. 18</u>	
1101	=	fr. 5	
1633	=	fr. 7	(doubtful)

V. Succession of the text of the localised fragments.²⁶

PHerc. 240 fr.: 22 – 18 – 20 – 11 inf. – 11 sup. / 15 – 12 / 14 / 6 / 5 – 9 sup. (?) / 8 / 1 sup.

PHerc. 1633 fr.: 5 – fr. 6 / fr. 1 inf. – fr. 1 sup. / fr. 3 inf. / fr. 3 sup. / fr. 2 inf. – fr. 2 sup.

VI. The probable position of stichometric marks in the final version of *Rhet.* III

A	↔	col. VII	P	↔	col. CVI	
B	↔	col. XIII	Σ	↔	col. CXIII	
Γ	↔	col. XIX	T	↔	col. CXIX	
Δ	↔	col. XXV	Y	↔	col. CXXV	
E	↔	col. XXXII	Φ	↔	col. CXXXI	
Z	↔	col. XXXVIII	X	↔	col. CXXXVIII	PHerc. 240 pz. 1 str. 1
H	↔	col. XLIV	Ψ	↔	col. CXLIV	
Θ	↔	col. L	Ω	↔	col. CL	
I	↔	col. LVII	A´	↔	col. CLVI	
K	↔	col. LXIII	B´	↔	col. CLXIII	
Λ	↔	col. LXIX	Γ´	↔	col. CLXIX	
M	↔	col. LXXV	Δ´	↔	col. CLXXV	
N	↔	col. LXXXII	E´	↔	col. CLXXXI	
Ξ	↔	col. LXXXVIII	Z´	↔	col. CLXXXVIII	(PHerc. 1426 col. A)
O	↔	col. XCIV	H´	↔	col. CXCIV	PHerc. 1426 col. V
Π	↔	col. C	Θ´	↔	col. CC	(PHerc. 1426 col. XI)

²⁶Immediate successions without the possibility to insert further fragments are indicated by oblique strokes, the others by dashes.

REFERENCES TO ISOCRATES IN PHERC. 1007 (PHILODEMUS, *RHETORICA* IV)

Giovanni Indelli

In a paper read at the 19th International Congress of Papyrology,¹ in Cairo three years ago, I examined some Philodemean references to Aeschines. In view of a collection of all the references to orators which are in Philodemus' works I now wish to draw your attention to Isocrates, who is, among the orators included in the 'canon', the one most referred to by Philodemus' in his *Rhetorica*,² together with Demosthenes;³ references concern Isocrates' biography and his activity as an orator.

I shall linger briefly on four passages in PHerc. 1007, which preserves the second part of *Rhetorica* book IV, as we read in its *subscriptio* (Φιλοδήμου | Περὶ ῥητορικῆς | δ | τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ δεύτερον): this is one of the papyri which induced G. Cavallo⁴ to establish that a Herculanean roll contains no more than a book (or a part of it, if it was too large).⁵ PHerc. 1007 was partly unrolled perhaps in 1782, certainly before 1798; in 1806 the remaining part was unrolled and was numbered 1673 (only afterwards was it recognized as a part of PHerc. 1007).⁶ After Spengel's⁷ and Gros'⁸ editions, the posthumous edition by A.A. Scotti was published in the last volume of the so-called *Collectio Prior*;⁹ the last edition was published by S. Sudhaus:¹⁰ I follow it and point out my different readings and conjectures.

For palaeographical reasons and for its content book IV seems to be the beginning of a new section of *Rhetorica*,¹¹ in which Philodemus criticizes some aspects of rhetoric, with reference to λέξις and ὑπόκρισις.

I. In cols. XI^a 12 - XX^a 12 Philodemus discusses the claim of the rhetoricians to teaching ὑπόκρισις: this is not possible, because not all men have got the natural qualities which are required; Philodemus cites the example of Isocrates, who had to renounce political activity for this reason and dedicate himself to a different rhetoric genre.

a. In cols. XIV^a 18 - XV^a 13¹² we read: τινὰ δ' ὧν παραγγέλλουσιν οὗτοι καὶ φυσικῆς εὐκ²⁰κλη[ρί]ας¹³ δεῖται, κ[α]θ' ἄπερ | εὐμέλεια, φωνῆς καὶ μειγέθη καὶ τόνοι καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ προσώπου καὶ [χ]ειρῶν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ[ν] σώμα²⁵τος ἀξίωμα τε καὶ ῥυθμοὶ | καὶ τόλμα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἄλλα, δι' ἅ' καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην εἰκότως | φασὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀποστῆναι ('Some of the characteristics recommended by them [i.e., by the

¹ *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. I (Cairo 1992), pp. 203-212.

² See S. Sudhaus, *Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica*, vol. II (Lipsiae 1896), p. 333 f., s.v. Ἰσοκράτης. On Isocrates and the Epicureans see H.M. Hubbell, *CPh* 11 (1916), pp. 405 - 418.

³ In the Villa dei Papiri, at Herculaneum, marble statues of Demosthenes, Isocrates, Aeschines and Demetrius of Phalerum (four orators) were found (see I. Sgobbo, *RAAN* 47/1972, pp. 241 - 305; M.R. Wojcik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano*, Roma 1986, pp. 39 - 50, 262 - 264).

⁴ *Libri scritte scribe a Ercolano* (Napoli 1983), p. 14.

⁵ Also the roll which contains the first part of *Rhetorica* book IV (PHerc. 1423) was found, with its *subscriptio*: Φιλοδήμου | Περὶ ῥητορικῆς | δ | τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ πρότερον.

⁶ In a number of cases rolls with different numbers were subsequently recognized as parts of the same roll.

⁷ *Abhandl. Bayer. Akad. Wiss., philol.-philol.* Kl. III 1 (1837), pp. 207 - 303.

⁸ *Philodemi Rhetorica* (Parisiis 1840).

⁹ *Herculaneusium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio Prior*, vol. XI^b (Neapoli 1855). Scotti did not finish his work, and in the foreword of the volume we read that the last six pages were edited by G. Genovesi.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. I (Lipsiae 1892), pp. 162 - 225.

¹¹ Cf. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 64, and T. DORANDI, *ZPE* 82 (1990), p. 70.

¹² P. 196 Sudhaus.

¹³ So Spengel, Scotti ('bona constitutione') and Sudhaus; Gros writes εὐκ[α]τ[ρί]ας and translates 'commodis'.

sophists] need also natural endowment,¹⁴ like harmony, volume, pitch and liveliness of voice, grace of face, hands and the rest of the body, rhythms, boldness and other such qualities: it is said that because of them [i.e., by the lack of them] also Isocrates refrained suitably from political activity’).

More than once, in his works Isocrates himself recalls not only his physical faults, but also those of character. In *Philippus*¹⁵ he writes: ‘I am the most naturally unsuited of all my fellow-citizens to public activity, because I was given neither a sufficient voice (*φωνήν*) nor boldness (*τόλμαν*) to enable me to deal with the masses’; in *Panathenaicus*, after he has acknowledged that his nature is ‘too weak and not vigorous enough for action and is not accomplished nor altogether useful for words’,¹⁶ he adds:¹⁷ ‘I was born more lacking in the two qualities which have the greatest power for us —a sufficient voice (*φωνή*) and boldness (*τόλμα*)— than any of my fellow-citizens, as far as I know’; in the *Letter to the rulers of Mytilene*¹⁸ he confirms: ‘I have refrained from political activity (*ἐγὼ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι ἀπέστην*) and from practising oratory because I had neither a sufficient voice (*φωνήν*) nor boldness (*τόλμαν*)’.¹⁹

These faults of Isocrates are recorded also by several authors: in pseudo-Plutarch’s *Vita*²⁰ we read that Isocrates *ισχνόφωνος καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον* (also Photius²¹ says that *τὴν φωνὴν ἰσχνὸς ἦν καὶ τὸν τρόπον εὐλαβῆς*); in the anonymous *Vita* (attributed to Zosimus of Ascalon), which is preserved in many Isocratean manuscripts, we read²² that he was *δειλὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς τῇ φωνῇ*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus²³ writes that he lacked *τόλμα καὶ φωνῆς μέγεθος*; Lucia²⁴ writes that he did not go to courts *διὰ δειλίαν* and because he lacked *τὴν φωνὴν διὰ τοῦτο*; according to Philostratus,²⁵ he refrained from political activity *διὰ τὸ ἔλλιπες τοῦ φθέγματος*; Suidas²⁶ attributes to Isocrates *ἡ τῆς φωνῆς ἀτονία καὶ τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον*.

Compared to other authors, Philodemus (who is neglected also by the most recent editors of Isocrates)²⁷ makes a larger list of qualities which Isocrates lacks, since the relative pronoun *ἃ* (col. XV^a 1) seems to refer to all previously mentioned nouns;²⁸ Philodemus’ list repeats what Aristotle had already partly said about *ὑπόκρισις*:²⁹ one ought to be able to use different kinds of voice (*φωνή*) —loud (*μεγάλη*), low or intermediate—, different pitches (*τόνοι*) —shrill, deep or intermediate—, rhythms (*ῥυθμοί*) which are adapted to each subject, because *μέγεθος*, *ἄρμονία* and *ῥυθμός* are the aims to be pursued as regards the voice: those who attain them carry off the prizes in political contests.

b. Isocrates’ orations show that the speeches of the sophists are not suitable for public delivery. In cols. XVI^a 5 - XVIII^a 8³⁰ we read: *οἱ ἴδ’ οὖν πολλοὶ τ[ῶν] σοφισ[τῶν] ἢ εὐκασι[ν, ἐ]ξ ὧ[ν γ]εγράφασι, ἀθλίως ὑποκεκρίσ[θ]αι· ἢ πονηρ[ὸν] γὰρ εἶς*

¹⁴ For this meaning of *εὐκληρία* cf. D.H., *Ant. Rom.* III 14; Ael., *N.A.* I 54.

¹⁵ § 81.

¹⁶ § 9.

¹⁷ § 10.

¹⁸ § 7.

¹⁹ Cf. also the *Letter to Dionysius* 9.

²⁰ 837A.

²¹ *Biblioth.*, cod. 260 (see Fozio, *Biblioteca*, ed. by N. Wilson, transl. by C. Beveggi, Milano 1992, p. 435).

²² *Isocrate. Discours*, ed. by G. Mathieu - É. Brémond, vol. I (Paris 1963), p. XXXIV.

²³ *Isocr.* 1.

²⁴ *Paras.* 42.

²⁵ *Vitae soph.* I 17.

²⁶ No. 652, I 2, p. 670 Adler.

²⁷ Mathieu-Brémond cit.; M. Marzi (Torino 1991).

²⁸ On the contrary, according to Scotti (p. 78), «haec praecipue referenda sunt ad praecedentem *τόλμαν* de qua Isocrates ipse, dum suae a reip. administratione abstinentiae rationem redderet, sic scripserat»; he cites the above mentioned passage from *Philippus*.

²⁹ *Rhet.* III 1, 1403b 26 - 34.

³⁰ Pp. 197 - 200 Sudhaus.

ὑπόκ[ρ]ι¹⁰σιν αἱ μ[α]κρὰι περίοδοι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ [Δη]μητρίωι [κ]εῖται περὶ τῶν [Ἰ]σοκρά¹⁰τουζ. Ἱερών[υμο]ς δὲ φησιν ἀναγνῶνα[ι μ]ὲν αὐ¹⁵ τοὺς λόγου[ς] καλῶς | δυνήσεσθαι τιν[α], δη[μ]ηγορῆσαι δὲ τὴν τε φ[ω]νὴν | καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπαίροντα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατ[α]²⁰σκευῇ[ι μετ]ὰ τῆ[ς] ἀρμοττο[ύ]σης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν | οὐ παντελῶς· τὸ γὰρ μέ[γ]ιστον καὶ κεινητικώτατον παρῆσθαι τῶν ²⁵ ὄχλων — ἄψυχον γὰρ αὐτοῦ | καὶ ἀνυπάκο[υσ]τον εἶναι || τὴν λέξιν καὶ οἶονεῖ πρ[ὸ]ς ἔνα | τόνον πεποιημένην—, τὸ δὲ | κεκλασμένον καὶ παντοῖδα[πὸ]ν καὶ ἐπιτάσει τε καὶ ⁵ ἀνέσει καὶ ταῖς παθητικαῖς | ὑπερθέ[σ]εσιν διειλ[η]μῆνον ἀπο[β]εβληκέναι, τῇ [δ]ὲ | λειότητι διὰ³¹ παντὸς | δουλεύειν. τοιγα[ρο]ῦν εὐ¹⁰ ἀνάγνωστον μὲν εἶναι [τ]ῆς | φων[ῆ]ς ὑφειμένης, ἐπα[ρ]θείσης δὲ μ[η]λίαν,³² ταῖς περὶ[ό]δ[ο]ις καὶ π[ν]εῖγουσαν τὸν | λέγοντα, καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρι¹⁵σιν ἀφαιρου[μ]ένου, καὶ σχεῖδὸν ἐναντίαν τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν· [τὸ]ν δὲ πολιτευομένων ἐπιστατήσοντα | πολιτικὴν δεῖν καὶ δημη²⁰γορικὴν κατ[α]κεχύσθαι | λέξιν καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐπιδίφριον καὶ καταψιθυρίζουσαν τὸν λόγον. ὅμοιον | γοῦν εἶναι τῷ δασὺ καὶ ²⁵ μέγα περιθέμενον πρόσωπο[ν] παιδίου φωνὴν ἀφιέν[αι καὶ] τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλ[η]σιν συμβουλεύοντα καὶ | πλάσμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καίτασκευὴν δημηγόρου περιβαλλόμενον ἐπ’ ἀ[ναγ]νῶσι⁵του παιδὸς φωνὴν ἀπο[δ]εδ[ρα]κέναι μήτε τόνον | [μ]ήτε πάθος μήθ’ ὑπόκρισιν δυναμένου φέρειν (‘Judging from their writings, it seems that most sophists delivered speeches wretchedly: indeed long periods are bad for delivery, as we read also in Demetrius about those of Isocrates. And Hieronymus says that Isocrates’ speeches can be read easily, but they cannot be delivered at all in public in a loud voice and pitch; and they cannot be delivered suitably in this structure: indeed he neglected the most important characteristic, which most highly excites the masses—since his style is lifeless and not suited for being heard, as if it were arranged for only one pitch—, and he rejected the broken style, varied in intensity and relaxation, marked by transpositions which can arouse emotions, but he is always a slave to smoothness. So the style of his writings enables them to be read easily in a low voice and when the voice is not too raised; his style even chokes the speaker by its periods—because he eliminates delivery— and is almost the opposite to the style of the politicians; on the contrary, whoever is in charge of government affairs must pour out a style which is suited for public speaking, not a subdued style, which whispers words. Isocrates is like a man who sends forth a child’s voice after he has put on a big hairy mask, because, even if he advises the Greeks and has a suitable rhetoric form and other technical resources, he has escaped to the voice of a child trained to read, who cannot produce pitch, emotion and delivery’).

In col. XVII^a 13 I conjectured καὶ π[ν]εῖγουσαν, instead of κα[τεπ]εῖγουσαν by Sudhaus, because in the papyrus I read καίπ.εἰγουσαν (so also in the Naples drawing):³³ I think that πνεῖγω can suit Isocrates’ style well, as it is characterized by μακρὰι περίοδοι.³⁴ In the final passage (cols. XVII^a 23 - XVIII^a 8) reference to Isocrates seems to be confirmed by τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν συμβουλεύοντα (cols. XVII^a 27 - XVIII^a 1): συμβουλεύειν was one of his chief aims which he points out in his writings.

Philodemus criticizes Isocrates’ style by the judgements of two Peripatetic philosophers, Demetrius of Phalerum³⁵ and especially Hieronymus of Rhodes:³⁶ he reports the former’s charge that the periods of Isocrates are too long and therefore they cannot be delivered, so he is not able to excite his audience; the latter’s judgement is fully reported and, like Wehrli says,³⁷ “it rests on Aristotle’s distinction between γραφικὴ and ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις with their different

³¹ In the papyrus, after δια there is a horizontal line (—) which takes up the room of about three letters.

³² Sudhaus puts the comma after μῆ.

³³ εἰ instead of ι is common in Herculanean Papyri; it occurs more than once also in this passage (κεινητικώτατον, col. XVI^a 23 f.; πολιτικῶν, col. XVII^a 16 f.; πολιτευομένων, col. XVII^a 17 f.; πολιτικῆν, col. XVII^a 19).

³⁴ Col. XVI^a 9 - 13.

³⁵ Fr. 169 Wehrli.

³⁶ Fr. 52a Wehrli.

³⁷ *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 10 (Basel - Stuttgart 1969²), p. 43.

stylistic laws, which we read in *Rhetorica* III 12, 1413b 3 ff.: according to Hieronymus, Isocrates is feeble because he has only one stylistic form”.³⁸

The Hieronymus-passage (even if less amply and more freely) is also quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the section of his *Ancient orators* which concerns Isocrates;³⁹ this was recognized by F. Dübner,⁴⁰ L. Spengel (who first acknowledged that Dionysius depends on Philodemus⁴¹), G. Aujac.⁴² In Dionysius’ text⁴³ there are some variants: the first part of the quotation from Hieronymus (Philod., col. XVI^a 13 - 25 ~ Dion. 13, 3 - 4 [beginning]) is identical,⁴⁴ except for the disposition of some words and for verbal forms δυνήσεσθαι (col. XVI^a 16) —in the manuscripts of Dionysius δυνηθῆναι—, ἐπαίροντα (col. XVI^a 18) —in the manuscripts of Dionysius ἐπάραντα (only Aujac corrects Dionysius following Philodemus)— and παρείσθαι (col. XVI^a 24) —instead of Dionysius’ παρατείσθαι, which editors correct following Philodemus;⁴⁵ Philodemus’ cols. XVI^a 25 - XVII^a 2 are summarized by Dionysius’ τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον; instead of κεκλασμένον (col. XVII^a 3) in the manuscripts of Dionysius there is κεκραμένον,⁴⁶ which Dübner strangely suggests to write in Philodemus too as “the genuine reading”;⁴⁷ in Dionysius there is not καί before ἐπιτάσει (Philod., col. XVII^a 4) and there is τό before ταῖς παθητικαῖς, which is not in Philodemus (col. XVII^a 5); instead of ὑπερθέσεσιν ... ἀποβεβληκέναι (col. XVII^a 6 f.) in the manuscripts of Dionysius we read ὑποθέσεσι ... ὑπερβεβληκέναι, which only Aujac preserves; Philodemus’ cols. XVII^a 9 - XVIII^a 8 are summarized by Dionysius (§ 5), who seems to report only col. XVIII^a 4 - 8: καθόλου δέ φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναγνώστον παιδὸς φωνὴν καταδύντα⁴⁸ μήτε τόνον μήτε πάθος μήτε ὑπόκρισιν δύνασθαι φέρειν.

According to R. Gaines,⁴⁹ Philodemus thinks that a language and a style which can be delivered in a loud voice are two components of the appropriateness of expression, both to the subject and to the speaker: the judgement of Hieronymus on Isocrates, reported by Philodemus, serves to show that Isocrates’ style is not appropriate for political speeches, because it is subdued and belonging to daily life (col. XVI^a 9 - 23) and cannot convey the speaker’s emotions (πάθη, cols. XVII^a 23 - XVIII^a 8). In a previous passage⁵⁰ Dionysius himself points out that Isocrates’ style is more suitable for reading than for delivery, it is useless in public discussions and in courts.

Besides, Isocrates himself (apart from acknowledging his lack of some qualities) says that there is an undeniable difference between a delivered and a read speech (in the latter there is not

³⁸ According to Hubbell (art. cit., p. 414, n. 1), «a similar criticism is found in PHerc. 1674 (Philodemus’ *Rhetorica* book II), col. XI 13 ff. (Sudhaus I, p. 33 = *Supplementum*, Lipsiae 1895, p. 18.12 ff.), and in PHerc. 1426 (Philodemus’ *Rhetorica* book III, definitive version [?]), col. IV^a 20 ff. (Sudhaus II, p. 257 f.), without mention of Isocrates but with evident reference to his style».

³⁹ Chapter 13, 2 - 5.

⁴⁰ *RPh* 1 (1845), p. 312.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 273: «Illustrem hunc Hieronymi locum fere integrum, fortasse ex ipso Philodemo, dedit Dionysius». Also P. Costil (*L’esthétique littéraire de Denys d’Halicarnasse*, Thèse dactyl., Paris 1949, p. 369) points out that «the doctrinal context confirms that Dionysius looked up Philodemus’ *Rhetorica* for his criticisms to Isocrates’ lack of rhetorical warmth and took from it Hieronymus’ quotation». On (perhaps direct) relations between Dionysius and Philodemus, which H. Usener first suggested (H. Usener - L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei opuscula*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1899, p. XXXV), many scholars agree.

⁴² *Denys d’Halicarnasse, Opuscules rhétoriques*, vol. I (Paris 1978), p. 195. Not correctly, on this subject T. Dorandi (*CErc* 21/1991, p. 106) speaks of «an evidence never pointed out before».

⁴³ Editions: Usener - Radermacher, Aujac (already cited), S. Usher (London - Cambridge, Mass. 1974).

⁴⁴ Thanks to Dionysius Spengel conjectured καλῶς in col. XVI^a 15.

⁴⁵ It is not true (as Dorandi writes, art. cit., p. 107) that Usener does not accept Philodemus’ reading.

⁴⁶ Except for *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, where we read κεκραμμένον.

⁴⁷ Art. cit., p. 418.

⁴⁸ In Philodemus we read ἀποδεδρακέναι.

⁴⁹ *Qualities of Rhetorical Expression in Philodemus* (Diss., Iowa City 1982), pp. 105-108.

⁵⁰ Chapters 2 - 3.

a speaker who can make his audience interested), but, unlike Hieronymus, he attributes the weakness of his orations not to himself, but to the way people delivered them.⁵¹

2. In cols. XXX^a 19 - XLII^a 4, after he has enumerated the three genres of rhetoric—forensic, deliberative⁵² and (with a special reference to writings *περὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ ψόγους*) epideictic—, Philodemus deals only with the last and criticizes “*retorum arrogantiam, qui omnem laudandi et vituperandi rationem poetis, philosophis aliisque extorquere studeant.*”⁵³

In col. XXXV^a 14 - 26⁵⁴ we read: ἄνθρωποι δὲ προτρέπονται¹⁵ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σπουδαῖον ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ ἰ τῶν κακῶν ἀφίστανται ἰ διὰ τινὰς ψόγους. ἀλλ’ οἱ ῥητορικοὶ σοφισταὶ Βουσιρίδας καὶ Πολυφήμους ἰ καὶ τοιοῦτους ἄλλους ἐγκωμιάζοντες τὰ τῶν ἰ ἀγαθῶν ἔπαθλα κοινοποιοῦσι καὶ πολλοὺς εἰ²⁵ναὶ πονηροὺς προτρέπονται (‘Men are impelled to honesty by some encomia and stand away from bad actions by some censures. But the sophists, when they praise Busiris, Polyphemus and other such characters, make common [i.e., diminish] the rewards good men deserve and impel a lot of people to be wicked’).

Philodemus disputes the claim of the sophists that they attribute moral value to epideictic rhetoric, so to praises and censures, pointing out that, if it were like they say, morals would be perverted by their encomia of bad men.

Of the two characters who were praised even if they were unworthy, Busiris is the legendary and very cruel king of Egypt, who was killed by Heracles and was changed into a benefactor of mankind by the sophists, for the sake of paradox. He is the chief character not only of a satyr play by Euripides and of a comedy by Epicharmus, but, above all, of a work by Isocrates, bearing the same name, and of Βουσίριδος ἀπολογία by Polycrates, an Athenian sophist a little older than Isocrates; Polycrates’ work is lost, but we get to know something of it from Isocrates himself, who in his *Busiris*⁵⁵ criticizes it, because Polycrates did not observe the rules of this rhetoric genre, and shows how an encomium ought to be written. In the passage from Philodemus reference to Polycrates could seem more immediate, since the Epicurean attacks οἱ ῥητορικοὶ σοφισταί, but, on the contrary, I think that Philodemus refers to the work by Isocrates for two reasons: a) *Busiris* is already quoted in *Rhetorica* book II (PHerc. 1672),⁵⁶ with *Helen* (the other Isocrates’ encomium), *Panegyricus* and *Panathenaicus*; b) the name σοφιστής referred to Isocrates is not strange, because he is also called a sophist in other passages, in the meaning which Philodemus attributed to this word: a writer of epideictic orations and a teacher of rhetoric, who thought (wrongly, according to Philodemus) that he was able to form orators and politicians.

It seems interesting to note that only in *Urbinas* 111, the most ancient and by far the best of the Isocratean manuscripts, Βούσειρις, not Βούσιρις, is written: so Philodemus’ passage must be recorded as another *testimonium* of the spelling with a diphthong (the editors of Isocrates neglect it).⁵⁷

3. Philodemus ends *Rhetorica* book IV summing up its content. In col. XLII^a,⁵⁸ after he has recalled that he has examined all the parts of rhetoric and all its διδάγματα, some of which are false, others are useless τοῖς μὴ τὰ ῥητορικά σοφιστεύουσι,⁵⁹ he writes:⁶⁰ δῆλον ὅτι

⁵¹ *Phil.* 25 - 29, *Panath.* 17; cf. F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, vol. II (Leipzig 1892²), p. 205.

⁵² I don’t understand Dorandi’s translation, ‘cognitivo’ (art. cit., p. 71): Philodemus speaks of τὰ συνβουλευτικά, col. XXX^a 23.

⁵³ Sudhaus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. XXXIX.

⁵⁴ P. 216 f. Sudhaus.

⁵⁵ § 4.

⁵⁶ I 127,22 Sudhaus.

⁵⁷ In PHerc. 1672 we cannot establish with certainty if the spelling was Β]ο[ύ]σι]ρι]ν (as Sudhaus and F. Longo Auricchio, who edited the papyrus in 1977, wrote) or Β]ο[ύ]σει]ρι]ν.

⁵⁸ P. 222 f. Sudhaus.

⁵⁹ Ls. 4 - 11.

⁶⁰ Ls. 11 -18.

πομπεύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μητέρα τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν |¹⁵ εἶναι καὶ τιν' ἐνθ[ή]κην καὶ | ἀφετήριον τὴν ῥητορικὴν | καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι μετὰ τῆς | πειθοῦς λαμβανομένην ('It is clear that it is paraded ostentatiously by them [i.e., by the sophists] that rhetoric is the mother of disciplines and arts and it is like a store and a starting point, still more when it is accompanied by persuasion'); besides he disputes the sophists' statement,⁶¹ that 'the results themselves testify that those who studied rhetoric first become better than their fellow-students' (τὸ μέντοι μαρτυρεῖσθαι δ[ι'] α[ὐ]τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων, ὡς οἱ τῆ ῥητορικῆι πρ[ο]διατρεῖψαντες || ἀμείνους γίνονται τῶν ὁμογενῶν).

In col. XLII^a 24 I write δ[ι'] α[ὐ]τῶν, with Scotti (δ.α.των in the papyrus and in the drawings); following Spengel and Gros, Sudhaus writes δ[ι]ὰ [τ]ῶν.

The claims of the rhetoricians, which Philodemus attacks, were common enough, but it seems that also in this case the Epicurean thinks of their most ancient and important supporter, Isocrates, who, for instance in *Antidosis*, says that he never enticed τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδένα only for teaching ἀρετή and φρόνησις, but he tried to persuade the whole state to attempt actions useful to everyone,⁶² by forming pupils who turned out to be ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον;⁶³ and in the *Letter to Antipater* ⁶⁴ he confirms that of all his pupils οἱ μὲν τινες περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ διανοηθῆναι καὶ πράξαι δεινοὶ γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου σόφρονες καὶ χαρίεντες. I think that we can agree with Hubbell,⁶⁵ that here Philodemus wants to dispute the claim of Isocrates of preparing his pupils better than others not only for public but also for private life.

As I recalled at the beginning, many references to Isocrates can be read in Philodemus' *Rhetorica*; those which I have discussed here can be considered samples of their different kinds. Philodemus' attitude to Isocrates was certainly unfavourable, as it is proved by passages which I examined; but in other passages the judgement of Philodemus is not quite adverse, at least as regards an aspect of Isocrates' style, its clearness (σαφῆς διάλεκτος),⁶⁶ a quality which Epicurus himself could have appreciated, since he demanded σαφήνεια as a main requirement of style.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Cols. XLII^a 23 - XLIII^a 2.

⁶² §§ 84 - 85.

⁶³ § 99.

⁶⁴ § 2.

⁶⁵ Art. cit., p. 415.

⁶⁶ D.H., *Demosth.* 18.

⁶⁷ D.L. X 13.

INTRODUCING THE PHILODEMUS TRANSLATION PROJECT: RECONSTRUCTING THE *ON POEMS*

Richard Janko

*foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
ne turbata uolent rapidis ludibria ventis.*

When Aeneas requests an oracle from the Sibyl at Cumae, he asks her not to entrust her reply to the leaves on which her oracles were traditionally inscribed, in case the winds would blow them into confusion (*Aen.* VI 74f.). Vergil might well have been describing the fate of the writings of his teacher, Philodemus of Gadara (ca. 110-35 B.C.). Philodemus ended his life not far from the Sibyl's cave; for he settled at Herculaneum, living in the mansion of his patron L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. He was known to Cicero as 'a person of talent and erudition', 'thoroughly versed not only in philosophy but also in the other studies which Epicureans are generally said to neglect',¹ and later as 'my friend, an excellent man and most learned human being'.²

Philodemus' circle was a major channel to the Romans for the ideas of Epicurus and other Hellenistic philosophers. His pupils among the Roman intelligentsia and litterati included several of Rome's greatest poets - certainly Vergil, probably Horace³ and conceivably Lucretius; his unorthodox literary theory probably influenced their practice.⁴ He dedicated his *On Virtues and Vices* to Vergil and three other avant-garde poets, Plotius Tucca, Varius Rufus and Quintilius Varus.⁵ Fragments from Philodemus' library of Lucretius and Ennius have recently come to light.⁶ Yet this important figure in the history of philosophy and literary theory remains largely unknown to scholars in these fields; his writings form the largest corpus of Greek philosophy never translated into English.⁷

Abbreviations: *CErc* = *Cronache Ercolanesi*. I am grateful to Prof. M. Gigante for inviting me to participate in the Congress, to T. Dorandi for commenting on a draft of this paper, to D. Delattre, J. Hammerstaedt and D. Obbink for helpful discussion, and to audiences at Yale University and UCLA, where earlier versions of this paper were delivered.

¹ 'ingeniosum hominem atque eruditum ... non philosophia solum sed etiam ceteris studiis quae fere Epicureos neglegere dicunt perpolitus' (Cicero, *In Pisonem* 68-70).

² 'familiares nostros, credo, Sironem dicis et Philodemum, cum optimos viros, tum homines doctissimos' (Cicero, *De Finibus* 2.119). Philodemus' friend Siro was a teacher of Vergil (Donatus, *Vita Vergilii* 79, cf. *PHerc.* 312, and further M. Gigante, *Virgilio e la Campania*, Naples 1984, 71-7).

³ Horace quotes a lost epigram of his in *Sermones* I 2.120, and his *Ars Poetica* is almost certainly dedicated either to Piso Caesoninus' son, L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (cos. 15 B.C.), and his grandsons (so now N. Rudd, *Horace: Epistles Book II*, Cambridge 1989, 19f.), or to L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus himself, who apparently lived well into the triumviral period (so B. Frischer, *Shifting Paradigms: New Approaches to Horace's Ars Poetica*, Atlanta 1991, 52-9, 115-25, with bibliography).

⁴ See J.I.M. Tait, *Philodemus' Influence on the Latin Poets*, Diss. Bryn Mawr 1941; M. Gigante, 'Lucrezio: il piacere della forma', *RILL* 125 (1991) 21-31.

⁵ See M. Gigante and M. Capasso, 'Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano', *SIFC* 7 (1989) 3-6.

⁶ K. Kleve, 'Lucretius in Herculaneum', *CErc* 19 (1989) 5-27; 'Ennius in Herculaneum', *CErc* 20 (1990) 5-16.

⁷ There are some partial exceptions: H.M. Hubbell, 'The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 23 (1920) 243-382; N.A. Greenberg, *The Poetic Theory of Philodemus*, Diss. Harvard 1955, publ. New York 1990 (translation of much of *On Poems*); and P.H. De Lacy and E.A. De Lacy, *Philodemus: On Methods of Inference*, 2nd. ed. with the help of M. Gigante, Naples 1978, 91-131. *On the Good King according to Homer* is translated by E. Asmis in 'Philodemus' Poetic Theory and *On the Good King according to Homer*', *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991) 1-45, esp. 28-34; for parts of *On Poems V* see her 'The Poetic Theory of the Stoic "Aristo"', *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 147-201.

Apart from a few elegant epigrams,⁸ which prove him a first-rate poet, Philodemus' works, some still known to Diogenes Laertius⁹ and Ambrose,¹⁰ were eventually lost. But his private library, consisting of perhaps 600 carbonized papyrus-rolls, had survived because it was buried during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. In 1752-4 it was discovered at Herculaneum, in the 'Villa of the Papyri', of which the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu is a reconstruction. The papyri were found at five different locations there.¹¹ However, the discovery at once fell victim to chaos and confusion. Both the early transcripts and the extant originals are conserved at the Officina dei Papiri in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples (a second set of such drawings or *disegni* is in the Bodleian). In the mid-nineteenth century the publication of these texts (in engravings of the transcriptions) caused great excitement, which abated when their damaged condition and philosophical contents became evident: Hellenistic philosophy has only lately been recognized as of major importance, for both its own interest and its later influence.¹²

In 1969 Marcello Gigante injected a new rigour into this branch of papyrology when he founded the *Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri ercolanesi*; this has produced a widely circulated and well-respected journal, *Cronache Ercolanesi*, some invaluable research tools¹³ and *La Scuola di Epicuro*, a fine series of texts, commentaries and translations. The resulting renaissance of interest in the Herculaneum papyri, combined with increased understanding of post-Aristotelian philosophy, has greatly improved our comprehension of these materials. Since the writings of the main Hellenistic philosophers are lost, Philodemus preserves invaluable accounts of their views, and also contributes much of his own. An English translation of his better-preserved works, based on reliable editions of the papyri and making them accessible to classicists and philosophers alike, is overdue.

This material has remained largely unknown, even to specialists, because of its many difficulties, both imagined and real. A. Lesky rightly observed that work on the Herculaneum papyri is one of the most arduous tasks facing classical scholarship.¹⁴ The long neglect of these fragile texts is partly owed to their poor legibility: the ink is matt black against a background that is shiny black. Another problem is that the original papyri often do not survive, and the transcripts of them can be unreliable. Papyrologists working outside Italy have tended to avoid these texts, wishing only to work from originals, whereas many philosophers have mistakenly assumed that they could not acquire the papyrological skills needed to study either the originals or the copies. Concerted efforts by textual critics and philosophers are needed to remove from the copies the elementary errors introduced by the

⁸ About 30 survive via the *Greek Anthology* (A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Garland of Philip*, Cambridge 1968, I 351-69). Incipits of many more are found in *POxy.* 3724 (P. Parsons, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 54, Oxford 1987). See now M. Gigante, 'Filodemo tra poesia e prosa', *SIFC* 7 (1989) 129-51; D. Sider, 'Looking for Philodemus in P. Oxy. 54.3724', *ZPE* 76 (1989) 229-36.

⁹ *Vit. Philos.* X 3.

¹⁰ *Epist.* 14 (63).13 Zelzer (*Patrologia Latina* XVI 1244), with W. Liebich, 'Ein Philodem-Zeugnis bei Ambrosius', *Philologus* 98 (1954) 116-31.

¹¹ See F. Longo Auricchio and M. Capasso, 'I rotoli della villa ercolanese: dislocazione e ritrovamento', *CErc* 17 (1987) 37-47.

¹² As witness the recent publication of the first reliable collection of texts and translations of selected fragments of Hellenistic philosophy: A.A. Long and D. Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophy* (2 vols., Cambridge 1989).

¹³ See above all the *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, ed. M. Gigante (Naples 1979), which indexes all the papyri and gives a thorough bibliography on each one; this has been updated by M. Capasso, 'Primo supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi', *CErc* 19 (1989) 193-265. See also M. Gigante, *Filodemo in Italia* (Florence 1990, English translation Ann Arbor 1993). G. Cavallo has done a valuable study of the scribal hands (*Libri Scritture Scribi a Ercolano*, *CErc* Suppl. I, Naples 1983).

¹⁴ 'Die Arbeit an den Herculaneis gehört zu den schwierigsten Aufgaben der Philologie' (*Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Bern 1958, 624).

nineteenth-century draughtsmen, to whom the papyri were unintelligible. However, these texts can easily be improved, if they receive only a fraction of the attention lavished on the emendation of other classical literature.

Some errors derive from the scribes. For example, in *On Poems* Treatise C col. iii 24-7 Sbordone,¹⁵ the papyrus (*PHerc.* 1676 fr. 3.22-5, in my corrected line-numbering) reads καθόλου [δὲ] ἢ πότερος ἂν φανείη λόγιος εὐθυμότερ[ο]ς [ἐ]νθυμώμεθα, 'let us consider in general which argument seems more cheerful', which is nonsense. 'More cheerful', εὐθυμότερ[ο]ς, is an obvious slip for εὐρυμότερ[ο]ς 'superior' before [ἐ]νθυμώμεθα. Other errors derive from the *disegnatori*. Thus, in *On Poems* Treatise D fr. 14.20-3 Nardelli (*PHerc.* 1081 fr. 36), the Neapolitan *disegno* has ὧν ἢ μεν ἐπέτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἥμαρτον; this is again nonsense. We should emend to ὧν ἢ οἱ μεν ἐπέτυχον, οἱ δ' ἥμαρτον, i.e. 'of whom some succeeded, but some failed'. Again, in Treatise E fr. 9 Nardelli lines 8-9 (= *PHerc.* 466 fr. 6) the *disegno* has the nonsensical series of letters ΤΩΜΕΝΑΝ[. . .]ΤΑΝΤΕΒ[.]ΟCΜΕΓΑΛΟΙC[; in fact the copyist has slightly mistaken two letters, and we should recognise a quotation of Homer, *Iliad* 18.582 - τῶ μεν ἀνιαρρήξαντε βιοῖς μεγάλοις βολείην. Such corrections may seem elementary once they are pointed out, but their frequency helps explain Philodemus' undeserved but almost universal reputation as the author of the least stylish and least intelligible Greek prose in existence. Papyrologists hesitate to make such alterations, because one should avoid emending diplomatic transcripts; but in fact we are often dealing with papyri handed down in what is effectively a corrupt manuscript tradition, where emendation is eminently justifiable.

Much of Philodemus' difficulty is owed to incautious supplements. Past editors of Herculaneum papyri frequently failed to supply any translation of the text which they restore, which has tended to obscure how often their supplements are erroneous. In addition, Philodemus' Greek is much more normal than many scholars assume. He tends to use long periodic sentences, where the loss of any part makes the whole hard to follow. He also includes numerous quotations from his predecessors and opponents. Many citations in the accusative and infinitive are introduced only by a definite article: until the quotation is recognized, the syntax is incomprehensible. Moreover, Philodemus often refers briefly and elliptically to ideas which he has already discussed, often in a part of the papyrus now lost. Finally, Hellenistic philosophical prose is very different from even Aristotle's. Academic writing has all too often favoured nominal sentences with passive verbs, using complex terms for complex ideas. Both Philodemus and his opponents used such prose, but little of it survives elsewhere; moreover, his writings just predate the 'Attic revival' introduced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others, which transformed Greek prose by harking back to earlier styles. The *Peri Hypsous* offers a good parallel; pseudo-Longinus' sophisticated vocabulary and complex periods are extremely difficult. Further exploration of these papyri will greatly advance lexicography and the history of Greek,¹⁶ and clarify the terminology, literary-critical, philosophical and grammatical, of this central epoch.

But the most basic obstacle has been that many sequences of detached fragments make no sense at all. Editors have usually arranged these in an arbitrary order according to apparent associations of ideas; this has often led them to emend, in order to create joins where there are none. This method was followed, for example, in the editions of the *On Poems* by F.

¹⁵ Φιλοδήμου Περὶ ποιημάτων *tractatus tres*, in his *Ricerche sui papiri ercolanesi II*, Naples 1976.

¹⁶ The study of W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculensis* (Leipzig 1903, repr. Hildesheim 1963), is still fundamental.

Sbordone¹⁷ and M.L. Nardelli;¹⁸ yet it never gave the works as a whole any satisfactory structure. Others have retained the numeration of the *disegni*, as in Nardelli's publication of *PHerc.* 1581,¹⁹ yet this too yielded no continuous sense.

A new method of reconstruction offers exciting prospects of progress in cases where only the transcripts survive. The basis of this method will be familiar to the papyrologists working on the approximately 38 papyrus-rolls which constituted the official archive of Bubastos in Lower Egypt; these texts, carbonized in A.D. 232, are currently being published by J. Frösén and D. Hagedorn.²⁰ However, its application to the Herculaneum texts is very recent, and differs in interesting ways from the case of the Bubastos papyri.

To understand the procedure, we need to imagine the original discovery. The charred *volumina* resembled logs in appearance. They were at first opened in the following manner. Each roll was incised with a knife down either side, and the parts outside were peeled off. These formed concave surfaces like the bark of a tree, with writing on the inside; hence such a fragment from the outside was called a *scorza* ("bark"). The interior of the *volumen*, the narrow cylinder left after the removal of the *scorze*, was called the *midollo* ("marrow"). The *midolli*, less completely carbonised, retained some elasticity, and could with relative ease be unrolled as continuous texts. They turned out to contain the ends of the treatises, often with a *subscriptio* giving the author and title.²¹ The continuous texts from the *midolli*, up to perhaps forty columns in length, are still extant; although substantial, they rarely represent more than about a quarter of the original roll, some 150 to 200 columns long.²² The breakthrough described below does not affect texts derived only from the *midolli*, but rather those known only from the *scorze*. Since the outer layers had been cut down either side with a knife, they could not be unrolled to obtain continuous text: rather, they would yield in an ideal case a set of alternating fragments, one from one side of the papyrus-roll, the next from the other. This situation prevails in the case of many of the Bubastos papyri, where the rolls were flattened and therefore broken down each side; the editors are reconstructing these rolls by interleaving two sets of fragments, one from each side. However, the Herculaneum papyri present a more complicated puzzle.

First, the fact that the two or more sets of *scorze* and a single *midollo* formed, respectively, the outer layers and the core of a single papyrus-roll was forgotten. *Scorze* derived from opposite sides of the same roll were separated and assigned different and often unrelated inventory-numbers; thus *PHerc.* 460 and *PHerc.* 1073 belong to the same roll of *On Poems* (Treatise B Sbordone). Hence one must first try to match up the outsides and insides of the same roll, if they survive. Second, the layers of the *scorze* could not simply be lifted off and preserved in the correct order. The standard procedure was that the first layer of writing

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 15); this contains the Treatises A, B and C discussed below.

¹⁸ *Due trattati filodemei "Sulla poetica"* (Περὶ ποιημάτων), in F. Sbordone (ed.), *Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi IV*, Naples 1983. This contains Treatises D and E.

¹⁹ 'La catarsi poetica nel *PHerc.* 1581', *CErc* 8 (1978) 96-103.

²⁰ *Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos (Pap. Bub.)*, in the series *Papyrologica Coloniensia 15*, Opladen 1990. See especially pp. 97f. on *Pap. Bub.* 4, with Taf. 15-32, for how the shapes of the successive layers of papyrus from either side of the roll resemble each other. The following several paragraphs develop my earlier remarks in 'Philodemus *resartus*: progress in reconstructing the philosophical papyri from Herculaneum', *Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy* forthcoming (1992), 265-302, esp. 274-9.

²¹ For examples see G. Cavallo, *Libri Scritture Scribi a Ercolano*, *CErc* Suppl. I, 1983, Plates XXIX, XLI, XLIII, LII.

²² On the average length of the *volumina* see Cavallo, *op. cit.* 16. *On Poems V* was so lengthy that one copy of it was divided into two rolls (*PHerc.* 1538); a second exemplar (*PHerc.* 1425) was probably 245-269 cols. in extent (cf. R. Janko, 'Philodemus' *On Poems* and Aristotle's *On Poets*', *CErc* 21 (1991) 5-64, esp. 62 n. 346).

(layer A) visible on the concave interior of the *scorza* was copied down by a draughtsman, and the drawing would be numbered 1. This layer of writing was then removed to expose the layer beneath (layer B). Layer A was usually destroyed in the process. Layer B was then transcribed as *disegno* number 2, and was then peeled away to expose layer C below it, which was then transcribed as *disegno* number 3 and removed to expose layer D, and so on. This process of transcription and destruction ("*scorzatura*") would continue until the last layer was reached, when no further layers could be separated. The result of this procedure was a set of numbered *disegni* and a single *scorza*, the bottommost layer of writing, usually a mass of jumbled letters melted into each other.²³ Editors of the many texts preserved in the *scorze* alone faced difficulties so great that over two centuries elapsed before appropriate techniques of reconstruction could be devised.

The resultant sets of *disegni* yielded no continuous sense, until, in recent years, two scholars reconstructing different texts solved the puzzle independently: they are D. Obbink, working on the *On Piety*,²⁴ and D. Delattre, working on the *On Music*.²⁵ Their central insight is brilliantly simple. Ancient book-rolls were normally read from the outside in: the reader began at the outside, and continued until he reached the middle. Since the middle of the roll contained the end of the work, with a closing *subscriptio*, the *scorze* must contain earlier portions, further from the end. Moreover, the numeration of the *disegni* must be kept - but in reverse! The first layer which the draughtsman saw and drew, layer A (= *disegno* 1), is in fact the layer nearest the end of the work. The second one, layer B (= *disegno* 2), was one circumference further back towards the beginning; the third, layer C (*disegno* 3) would be yet earlier in the text, and so on. We had been reading much of Philodemus' work backwards!

The insight basic to the Delattre/Obbink method is simple, but a few further steps are needed. First, a given set of *disegni* represents only one side of the roll; each set of *scorze* needs to be reunited with its missing other half. Cavallo's fine study²⁶ of the scribal hands is fundamental in helping one decide which papyri can belong together; so is attention to the number of lines per column. If one can find the other half, the two series of *scorze* must usually be *interleaved in reverse order* to obtain a coherent text.

Secondly, sometimes the sequence of fragment-numbers must *not* be reversed. It seems that, for reasons still obscure, the numbers can go forwards if the papyrus is still fully extant. Thus, of the eight papyri of *On Music IV*, the only ones which still exist are *PHerc.* 225 and 1094, and these alone must be read in forwards order.²⁷ But this principle does not always apply, e.g. in the case of *PHerc.* 1581.²⁸

Thirdly, the columns of writing rarely coincide with the vertical incisions made down the sides of the roll in order to open it. Frequently, the knife has cut away the left half of one column and the right half of the next. Often the draughtsmen did not draw columns containing only a few letters per line. Sometimes, however, when a single *scorza* contained fragments of two columns, they did draw both, but in two separate drawings. They might indicate the relationship between them by numbering them "A" and "B" (e.g. 10A to the right, 10B to the left, or *vice versa*), but often they would number the drawings as if they represented successive layers of writing, when in fact they do not. Thus the surviving fragment 5 of *PHerc.* 460

²³ On the *scorzatura* see F. Sbordone, *Sui Papiri della 'Poetica' di Filodemo*, Naples 1983, 199f.

²⁴ *Philodemus: De Pietate I*, Diss. Stanford University 1986, 24-43; see now his article in this volume.

²⁵ Philodème, *De la Musique*: livre IV, colonnes 40* à 109*, *CErc* 19 (1989) 49-143.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 13).

²⁷ The papyri are nos. 225, 411, 424, 1094, 1497, 1572, 1575, 1578, 1583. Delattre, *art. cit.* 66, wrongly states that *PHerc.* 1583 is to be read in this direction: contrast his chart at *ibid.* 142.

²⁸ See Janko, *art. cit.* (n. 22), 59-61. The Delattre/Obbink method seems not to work at all in the roll of *On Rhetoric III* published by J. Hammerstaedt, 'Der Schlussteil von Philodems dritten Buch über Rhetorik', *CErc* 22 (1992) 9-118; see further his article in this volume.

corresponds to parts of two *disegni* of *On Poems* Treatise B, *disegno* 4 lines 7-10 (= fr. 28 Sbordone) on the left and *disegno* 5 lines 2-10 (= fr. 4 col. i Sbordone) on the right. Hence these *disegni* are adjacent. Such cases can be detected from study of the outlines of the *disegni*, whence one can see which is the left-hand column and which is the right-hand. The successive layers are similar in shape, and the *disegno*-numbers generally decline as the text advances. This is exemplified in Table 1 below, where I have indicated whether each *disegno* is of a left-hand or a right-hand fragment.

Fourthly, the papyrus may have suffered horizontal as well as vertical breakage. This means that further skill is needed in arranging the tops and bottoms of the columns in their correct sequence. This too is seen in Table 1, where the upper and lower parts of *PHerc.* 1073 (numbered a and b respectively) in fact form two different series within the same roll.

Let me now illustrate this method. C. Mangoni²⁹ in her study of *PHerc.* 228, from the *On Poems*, already noted that the order of the *disegni*, if reversed, yielded a sequence of quotations parallel to those in *On Poems* cols. xxiii-xxiv, xxvi and xxvii-xxx, where Philodemus refutes the same doctrines in the same order. However, *PHerc.* 228 consists of disconnected *scorze* from one side of the roll; the other side of it has not been identified.³⁰ The best demonstration comes from cases where both halves of the same roll are known. Thus Delattre has reconstructed 109 columns of the *On Music*, from eight papyri with different inventory-numbers.³¹ By reversing and interleaving various sets of *disegni*, he has shown that the fragments ascribed to Books I, III and IV of the *On Music* all belong to a single *volumen* 154 columns long; they all derive therefore from Book IV, of which the *midollo* preserves the closing *subscriptio*. His reconstruction is confirmed by internal evidence. Philodemus first summarises the opinions of his opponent, Diogenes of Babylon, and then refutes these same opinions in the same sequence. Delattre found a series of twenty-six parallels between the summary of Diogenes' views, which filled at least cols. 2* to 39* in his reconstructed text, and Philodemus' refutation of these arguments in cols. 57* to 146. I have established a similar set of parallels between *On Poems* Treatises A and B Sbordone, which have helped me confirm my reconstruction of Treatise B, tentatively calculated as 68 columns long (allowing for lacunae). I cannot discuss this in detail here,³² but append a table of part of my reconstruction (Table 1), to show how the parallels with Treatise A, where the order of the columns is securely established, confirm the new sequence of the *disegni*. This lists, first, the column-number, marked as provisional with an asterisk; then, the papyrus and *disegno*-number; then, Sbordone's fragment-numbers, which bear little relation to the true sequence; then the shape of the *scorza*, to show whether we are dealing with a left-hand or a right-hand fragment; and lastly, the extensive series of parallels with Treatise A. Note how the numbers of the *disegni* descend within each series.

col. no.	papyrus/ <i>disegno</i>	Sbordone fr. no.	shape of <i>scorza</i>	parallels with Treatise A & comments
22*	460/23	30	left half	
23*	460/24	19	right half	

²⁹ 'Il *PHerc.* 228', *CErc* 19 (1989) 179-86.

³⁰ For a proposal that *PHerc.* 228 derives from the same *volumen* as the *scorze* *PHerc.* 403, 407, and 1581 and the *midollo* *PHerc.* 1425, and therefore from *On Poems* V, of which *PHerc.* 1425 contains the end, see Janko *art. cit.* (n. 22), 59-63, with the valuable comments of C. Mangoni, 'Il *PHerc.* 407 della *Poetica* di Filodemo', *CErc* 22 (1992) 131-7, esp. 136f.

³¹ Delattre, *art. cit.* Delattre's results are endorsed by E. Pöhlmann, 'Philodem, De musica, 1969-1989', *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 481-6, especially 484f.; cf. also R. Janko, 'A first join between *PHerc.* 411 + 1583 (Philodemus, *On Music* IV)', *CErc* 22 (1992) 123-30.

³² See further Janko *art. cit.* (n. 20), 280-99, with an earlier and less accurate version of Table 1 at 285f., composed before I realised that *PHerc.* 1073 must have fractured laterally.

24*	1073/12 + 1073/18	32	opposite side, torn laterally	2-8 cf. Tr. A col. a 6-14; 20*-22* cf. Tr. A col. a 24-5
25*	460/21	29	left half	2-7 cf. Tr. A col. a 27-b 12; 18-26 cf. Tr. A col. b 19-c 1, c 5-6, e 3-8
26*	460/22	7 col. i	right half	23-4 cf. Tr. A col. b 23, col. d 25-e 8
27*	1073/11	7 col. ii	opposite side, top only	
28*	460/20	12	left half	4 cf. Tr. A col. e 17, f 7
29*	460/19 + 460/14b	5 col. i	right half, + <i>sovrapposto</i>	
30*	1073/10a + 1073/16b	5 col. ii + 33	opposite side, torn laterally	join with 29* (quotation of Euripides)
31*	460/17	11 col. ii	left half	6-8 cf. Tr. A col. iv 19-20, xiv 22-3
32*	460/18	3	right half	19-20 cf. Tr. A fr. 24b 26
33*	1073/9a + 1073/15b	23 col. i + 10 col. i	opposite side, torn laterally	22-4 cf. Tr. A fr. 24b 26, col. i sin. 6-7, col. i dext. 24*-ii 1
34*	460/16	10 col. ii	opposite side	1-20 cf. Tr. A col. i dext. 24*-ii 1
35*	1073/10b	37	left half, bottom	
36*	1073/8a	4 col. ii	right half, top	
37*	460/15	23 col. ii	opposite side	3-6 cf. Tr. A col. vi 4-8; 13-15 cf. Tr. A col. vi 11-12; 15-26 cf. Tr. A cols. v 5-17, 22-6
38*	1073/6	23 col. iii	left half, top	1-2 cf. Tr. A col. v 16-17
39*	1073/7a	9 col. i	right half, top	
40*	460/14a	6 col. i	opposite side	21-6 cf. Tr. A cols. ix 24-x 7, xi 3 (both on Homer, <i>Iliad</i> 5.838)
41*	1073/5	6 col. ii	opposite side,	3 cf. Tr. A col. ix 7; 3-7 cf. Tr. A col. x 23-6;
42*	+ 1073/9b 460/not drawn	+ 23 col. i -	torn laterally [left half - lost]	16-21* cf. Tr. A cols. xiv 20-3, xv 4-6
43*	460/13	2	right half	(on Homer, <i>Od.</i> 11.207)
44*	1073/4 + 1073/8b	31 + 38	opposite side, torn laterally	(on Homer, <i>Od.</i> 11.207)
45*	460/12	13	left half	1-9, 19 cf. Tr. A col. xi 20-xii 1, 7-9 (both on Homer, <i>Iliad</i> 21.260-1)
46*	460/11	16	right half	
47*	1073/2a + 1073/7b	8 col. ii + 36	opposite side, torn laterally	
48*	460/9	26 col. i	opposite side	ref. back to col. 37*; 18, 26, cf. Tr. A col. xvi 13, 24; 24 cf. Tr. A xvii 18
col.				
49*	1073/3 + 460/10	26 col. ii + 15	left side, torn laterally	6-7 cf. Tr. A col. xvii 11-12
50*	1073/2b	36	right side, bottom	
51*	460/8	20 col. i	opposite side	5-6 cf. Tr. A col. xix dext. 10-13; 7-16 cf. Tr. A col. xix dext. 21-5; 16-21 cf. Tr. A col. xix dext. 24-xx 11; 24-5 cf. Tr. A col. xxi 8-10

Table 1: partial reconstruction of Philodemus' *On Poems* Treatise B

These developments have prompted me to organise, with the help of a major grant from the Texts and Translations Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, a collaborative project to fill one of the most serious lacunae in this field - the lack of a collected edition with facing English translation of these difficult materials. The project is limited to Philodemus' most substantial extant works, those on aesthetics. These are the *On Poems*, in at least five Books (by my count, ca. 25,000 words survive); the *On Music*, in at least four Books (ca. 18,000 words), and the *On Rhetoric*, in about seven Books (ca. 33,000 words). These amount to around 80,000 words, about half of his extant prose writings. The *On Poems* and *On Music* will be edited and translated by David Armstrong, James Porter and myself, the

On Rhetoric by David Blank and Dirk Obbink. We will collaborate closely with Professor Gigante and his team at the Centro per lo Studio dei papiri ercolanesi. The final product will consist of four volumes with indices; we will also share the final Greek text with the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae to facilitate computerised word-searches. I will welcome communications and suggestions pertaining to these materials and the manner of their presentation, so that we can produce the best possible text and translation. In particular, I would like to explore mathematical techniques for reconstructing papyrus-rolls, in which the column-width remains approximately the same but the circumference is continually diminishing.

Let me now review the papyri of the *On Poems*, according to current information.³³ Table 2 illustrates how it seems likely that we will be able to reconstruct the entire work. The papyri are listed by Book and then by scribal hand. Within each hand, the papyri are arranged according to the order which I believe that they will be found to follow within each roll; a '+' indicates one or more joins with the next entry. There follows the title of the work to which the papyrus is assigned or the name of Philodemus' opponent, its latest editor, the group and scribal hand as determined by Cavallo, the number of lines per column (or the maximum number of lines preserved, given as e.g. '15+'), followed in brackets by the approximate number of columns represented, and comments on the content and special features of the text. My method and conclusions are in gratifyingly close agreement with the recently published studies of Greenberg³⁴ and of Dorandi,³⁵ but were at first independent of the latter's.

<i>PHerc.</i>	title/opponent, ed.	group, hand	lines/col. (cols.)	comments
Book I (total cols. represented: min. ca. 114, max. ca. 129; = group β Crönert)				
2466	Treatise E/Nardelli	? I, ? xiii	14+ (tops, 15)	on euphony; marginal Δ
2444	<i>kritikoi</i> /Sbordone	? I, ? xiii	14+ (bots., 17)	on euphony
460+	Treatise B/Sbordone	I, xiii	25-28 (34)	on euphony; has many accents; marginal M
1073	Treatise B/Sbordone	I, xiii	25-26 (19)	on euphony; has many accents
1074c	Treatise D/Nardelli	I, xiii	26-28 (17)	on euphony; has one accent
1081a+	Treatise D/Nardelli	I, xiii	24+ (20)	on euphony; has one accent
1074a	Treatise D/Nardelli	I, xiii	23-24 (13)	on euphony; end of book?
Book II (total cols. represented: ca. 120; = group γ Crönert)				
1074b+	Treatise C/Sbordone	E, viii	26-28 (9)	on euphony
1081b+	Treatise C/Sbordone	E, viii	26-28 (21)	on euphony
1677+	liber incertus/Romeo	E, viii	26-28 (14)	on euphony
1676	Treatise C/Sbordone	E, viii	26-29 (25)	on euphony
994	Treatise A/Sbordone	E, viii	26-28 (72)	on euphony; end of book
Book III				
??1275	unpublished	Q, xxviii	22+ (ca. 37?)	end of book, title lost
Book IV (total cols. represented: ca. 35-46?; = group α Crönert)				
207	Aristotle?/Janko	Q, xxviii	24+ (ca. 35?)	on genre; end of book
Book V exemplar 1 (total cols. represented: max. 65; = group α Crönert)				

³³ For earlier overviews cf. N. Greenberg, *op. cit.* (n. 7), esp. 266-70; Sbordone, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 1-19 (first published 1956); T. Dorandi, 'Per una ricomposizione dello scritto di Filodemo *Sulla poetica*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 91 (1992) 29-46.

³⁴ *Loc. cit.* (n. 33).

³⁵ *Art. cit.* (n. 33).

?1581	Aristotle?/Nardelli	N, xix	15+ (top, 11)	on good poet; G in margin
?403	Ariston?/Sbordone	N, xix	18+ (top, 10)	on good poet; U in margin
?407	Ariston?/Mangoni	N, xix	14+ (top, 4)	on good poet
?228	Crates?/Mangoni	? N, ? xix	22+ (top, 12)	on euphony
1425	Bk. V/Jensen, Mangoni	N, xix	34-36 (39)	on good poet, euphony; end of book

Book V exemplar 2 (total cols. represented: 14)

1538	Bk. V/Jensen, Mangoni	M	ca. 30 (14)	second of two rolls; end of book
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To be investigated:

230	unpublished			Philodemus, <i>On Poems</i> (Scott)
1087	unpublished	? N, ? xix (Sb.)		Philodemus, <i>On Rhetoric</i> (Dorandi)
1113a	unpublished			on style; not by Philodemus (Dorandi)
1403	ed. Spina	G, x		mentions Choerilus (cf. Treatise A col. xxv), Euripides
1736	ed. Dürr	Q		mentions Euripides

Table 2: the papyri of Philodemus' *On Poems*

Book I

Crönert³⁶ assigned precisely these papyri, and no others, to his 'Group β'. I have tentatively ascribed Treatises B and D to the same roll, although I have yet to find any join between them. Dorandi³⁷ ascribes them to different *volumina* on the ground that Treatise B has 25-27 lines per column, but Treatise D has only 23-24, except in two fragments with 26 and 28 lines (*PHerc.* 1074 frs. 7-8 respectively) which he tentatively assigns to Treatise B. However, these fragments belong to what we must recognize as a distinct sub-set within *PHerc.* 1074, namely frs. 1-10, which are, unlike the rest, largely extant;³⁸ they will, I believe, be found to derive from the same part of the roll as Treatise B, but go in forwards order. I have called them *PHerc.* 1074c. The bulk of Treatise D, however, runs backwards and seems to represent the end of a roll, since Dorandi³⁹ has acutely observed that *PHerc.* 1074 fr. 22, left blank after the first nine lines and ending with a complete sentence, could well be the end of a roll. In a preliminary reconstruction of Treatise D using the new method, I had independently placed this fragment near the end of the Treatise.⁴⁰

I ascribe Treatises B and D to the same roll for two reasons. First, they are in the same hand and on the same topic - euphony in verses, with much discussion of what makes a verse (*poema*) good. Treatise B ends, in my reconstruction, with a discussion of the critic Andromenides (in *PHerc.* 1073 fr. 1 and 460 fr. 2); the same doctrine of Andromenides is restated early in Treatise D at *PHerc.* 1081 fr. 44.⁴¹ Accordingly, I suspect that Treatise D will be found to follow Treatise B without much of a gap. Second, Crönert⁴² noted that the only

³⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 16), 6. B. Quaranta had assigned *PHerc.* 444, 460, 463, 1073 and 1074 to the same roll (cf. E. Martini, *Catalogo generale dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, in D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, *La Villa ercolanese dei Pisoni. I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (Turin, 1883, repr. Naples 1972, 100 n. 1).

³⁷ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 36.

³⁸ This fact was left obscure by Nardelli when she published these *disegni* without comparing the originals, although she refers to their existence (*op. cit.* (n. 18), xviii n. 10).

³⁹ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 37f.

⁴⁰ The only two fragments which I had placed after this column, *PHerc.* 1074 frs. 17-18, are distinct in both shape and numeration from the others in the series and may well derive from another part of the roll.

⁴¹ Cf. Nardelli, *op. cit.* (n. 38) xxviii-xxx, discussing her fr. 23. She assigned Treatises D and E to Book II (*ibid.* xxxiv).

⁴² *Op. cit.* (n. 16), 8f.

Herculaneum papyri with accents are the two papyri of Treatise B, viz. *PHerc.* 460 and 1073; coincidentally, they discuss the euphonic effects of accentuation. But he missed two accents in two other papyri - those of Treatise D: there is an accent, ἦτις, on *PHerc.* 1074 fr. 7.9 (fr. 33.9 Nardelli), which is visible on the extant original but not on the *disegno*, and another, ὦν corrected to ὠν (i.e. ὦν), on the *disegno* of *PHerc.* 1081 fr. 36.21 (fr. 14.21 Nardelli).

I also assign to this roll Treatise E and *PHerc.* 444.⁴³ The same proposal has been advanced by Greenberg⁴⁴ and Dorandi.⁴⁵ Both of these texts discuss euphony; to judge by the *disegni*, they may be in the same hand and may derive from the same *volumen*.⁴⁶ *PHerc.* 444 discusses accentuation (fr. 7), using the terms employed in Treatise B (*epitasis* and *anesis*). Now these papyri are incomplete at the bottom (Treatise E) and top (*PHerc.* 444) respectively. The progression of topics is the same in both, and *PHerc.* 444 fr. 3 appears to join with Treatise E fr. 1 (fr. 6 Nardelli); the similarity between the two fragments was already remarked by Schächter⁴⁷ and Sbordone.⁴⁸ Philodemus is attacking a *kritikos* who believed that the excellence of verses lies in euphony alone. Since all verses are composed of letters, and some of these are bound to have good qualities, this view will blur the distinction between good and bad verses (*poemata*). The argument of *PHerc.* 460 fr. 28 is very similar, as Nardelli observed;⁴⁹ this comes from early in Treatise B.

The papyri assigned to Book I all deal with euphony and the *compositio verborum*,⁵⁰ aspects of style which fell under the heading *poema* in the triple classification *poema*, *poesis* and *poetes* popular among Hellenistic literary theorists. My identification of this roll as Book I is based on Philodemus' discussion of euphony in Treatise A, *PHerc.* 994 col. xxxi 4-10 Sbordone, where he refers back to a Book I on euphony, as follows: οὐ μὴν [οὐδ' (*conieci*: ἀ[λλ' Sbordone), ὡς προ]επέδ[ει]ξα ἐν τῷ | πρώτῳ περὶ [ε]ὐφ[ωνί]ας ἐπακολ[ούθων γραμμά]των [κα]ὶ ὁμ[ο]ίωv, κει[ν]ῆσαι τι δύναται τῶν ἐπιλέλογι[σ]μένων - 'nor indeed, as I showed previously in Book I on the euphony of sequential letters and the like, can any of the considerations which he advanced move us'.⁵¹ Obviously Treatise A is not Book I, since it refers back to it. I conclude that Treatise B represents Book I. Dorandi⁵² interprets this as a reference to Treatise D; he thinks Treatise B is Book II, and Treatises C + A form Book III, because the overlap between their contents suggests that they are closely related and successive Books. This latter argument is cogent; if Treatises D and B do not form a single roll, Dorandi's reconstruction is likely to be correct. Greenberg⁵³ assigns Treatises D and B to a single roll, but holds that no papyri of Book I survive; he too thinks Treatise B is Book II, and assigns Treatises C + A to Book III.

⁴³ F. Sbordone, 'Il papiro ercolanese 444', *RAAN* 35 (1960) 99-110, reprinted in Sbordone, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 239-50.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 7), 215ff.

⁴⁵ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 42f.

⁴⁶ Pace Sbordone, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 18.

⁴⁷ R. Schächter, 'Philodemi περὶ ποιημάτων I. II fragmenta ex VH X collecta', *Eos* 29 (1926) 15-28, esp. 15f.

⁴⁸ *Art. cit.* (n. 43), 109f.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 35), 145f.

⁵⁰ Romeo, *Demetrio Lacone: La Poesia*, Naples 1988, 50, holds that all the material (which I assign to this roll) concerned with Andromenides' doctrines, by which she means Treatises D, E and part of Treatise B (*PHerc.* 460 fr. 2), derives from that part of Andromenides' work which deals with the *poetes*, but in fact it represents his discussion of *poema*. This is shown by the parallels between these doctrines and Demetrius Lacon, *On Poetry I*, where Demetrius refutes Andromenides' doctrine of the *poema* (so, rightly, Romeo, *loc. cit.*).

⁵¹ Cf. also *art. cit.* (n. 32), 298-9.

⁵² *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 39.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* (n. 7), 269f.

Book II

Except for *PHerc.* 1677, Crönert classified all the papyri here allotted to Book II as his 'Group γ'.⁵⁴ Nardelli was the first to assign *PHerc.* 1074a, 1081b, 1676 and 994 to the same roll.⁵⁵ Once Cavallo recognized that *PHerc.* 1677 is in the same hand, Dorandi identified *PHerc.* 1677 as the 'missing link' between 1081b and 1676.⁵⁶ A new edition by Romeo of the whole roll is promised.⁵⁷ She and I have made independently several of the same joins between the *scorze* from this roll, represented by 1074b and 1081b.

I identify this roll as Book II because of the following backward reference in Book V, col. xxvi 7-18 Jensen (= col. xxix Mangoni): τὰ δὲ | περὶ τῶν στοιχείων, ἐν ο[ῖ]ς τὴν κρί[σ]ιν εἶναί φησι (sc. ὁ Κράτης) τῶν σπουδ[ι]α[ί]ων ποιημάτων, τίνος αὐτῶι | καὶ πόσης ἡδονῆς γέμε[ι] παραετακότες ἐν | τ[ῶ]ι δευτέρῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, διὰ τὸ | καὶ περὶ ποιήματος εἶναι κοινῶς, ἀποδοκιμά[ζο]μεν παλιλλογε[ί]ν, | ὥς[τε] τὰς παρὰ Ζήνωνι | δόξας ἐπικόψαντες | ἤδη μεμηκυμένον | τὸ σύνγραμμα καταπαύσομεν. 'But as for his remarks on the letters, in which he (sc. Crates) claims that the judgement of good verses resides, we have shown in his regard in the second of our treatises (since it is also about verse in general) of what and of how much absurdity they are full,⁵⁸ and we decline to repeat it, so that, after refuting the opinions found in Zeno (sc. of Sidon), we can bring to a close a work that has already become long.' If this argument is correct, then Treatise A is the end of Book II, and the other texts in this hand come from earlier in the same Book.

Book III

I have doubtfully assigned the unpublished *PHerc.* 1275 to Book III simply because it is the end of a roll with a *subscriptio* (but the title is lost) and cannot be Books II, IV or V. It contains a number of Homeric quotations. Since it is in the same hand as *PHerc.* 1507, our sole copy of *On the Good King according to Homer*, it could conceivably come from earlier in that same work.⁵⁹ Otherwise, there may be no surviving papyri from this book.

Book IV

PHerc. 207 is identified as the end of Book IV by its *subscriptio*. We are unlikely to find *scorze* from the outside of this roll, since it appears to have been unrolled continuously for its whole length even though the outer layers were stuck together. Thus the fragments fill ten trays (*cornici*), yet separate columns can only be distinguished towards the end of the seventh *cornice*. I have argued⁶⁰ that the extant portion is an attack on Aristotle's dialogue *On Poets*, and in particular on his formalist definition of the genres of epic and tragedy; such was already the view of Greenberg.⁶¹

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.* (supra n. 36).

⁵⁵ 'Papiri della *Poetica* di Filodemo', *CErc* 9 (1979) 137-40.

⁵⁶ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 36.

⁵⁷ C. Romeo, *Filodemo, La Poesia, libro incerto*, to appear in the series *La Scuola di Epicuro XV* (ed. M. Gigante), Naples 1993. Cf. her article 'Per una nuova edizione del *PHerc.* 1676', *CErc* 22 (1992) 163-7.

⁵⁸ For this translation I am indebted to J. Hammerstaedt, who kindly drew my attention to two parallels in Philodemus' *Rhetoric*, at I 206.23f. Sudhaus and in Book III in *PHerc.* 1426 col. xi (see Hammerstaedt, *art. cit.* (n. 28), 39 with commentary).

⁵⁹ On its contents see Dorandi, *art. cit.* (n. 33), who is extremely doubtful about its assignation to the *On Poems*.

⁶⁰ *Art. cit.* (n. 22).

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 7) 129: 'the general nature of papyrus #207 seems clear. It is part of an attack against the Peripatetic divisions of poetry into epic, tragedy, comedy, iambic, and lyric.'

Book V

Crönert⁶² classified all the papyri here assigned to the first exemplar (*PHerc.* 228, 403, 407, 1425 and 1581) within his group α , along with *PHerc.* 207. *PHerc.* 1425 represents the end of the roll; the other papyri have all been argued to derive from earlier in the same *volumen*.⁶³ Jensen⁶⁴ discerned that 228 fr. 6 presents the theories of Crates which appear in 1425 cols. xxiii 25-xxiv 25, and 228 fr. 4 gives in summary form the arguments which Philodemus attacks in 1425 cols. xxviii 7-xxx 4. Relying on these correspondences, Mangoni rightly reversed the order of the fragments in her edition of them;⁶⁵ this reversal can now be explained by means of the Delattre/Obbink method. Jensen deduced that 228 is from early in *On Poems V*; his conclusion is shared by Greenberg⁶⁶ and Dorandi⁶⁷ but not Mangoni.⁶⁸ He also argued that *PHerc.* 403 and 407 stand in a similar relation to 1425.⁶⁹ Greenberg⁷⁰ has shown that *PHerc.* 403 fr. 3 uses the terms $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\rho\eta\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\varsigma$, which are also used by the Stoic 'Ariston' in *PHerc.* 1425 col. xv 5-6.⁷¹ This latter term also appears in *PHerc.* 407 fr. 3, which suggests that 403 and 407 are closely connected, a view shared by Mangoni in her new edition of 407.⁷² If this shows that Philodemus did indeed first summarise and then refute the same doctrines in the same order in Book V (as he did in *On Music IV*), then *PHerc.* 403 and 407 must precede 228.

The last papyrus which I have assigned to this exemplar is *PHerc.* 1581, which, as Nardelli argued in her *editio princeps*, presents an Aristotelian theory of catharsis.⁷³ She tentatively assigned it to the early part of Book IV, but I have argued elsewhere⁷⁴ that it may derive from the opening of Book V. That it exhibits no parallels with *PHerc.* 1425 fits the hypothesis that it is from the outermost layers of the roll, and precedes *PHerc.* 403, 407 and 228. The stichometric letters preserved in the margins of *PHerc.* 1581 fr. V 7 (Γ) and 403 fr. 3 col. ii 6 (Y) are compatible with this arrangement.⁷⁵

The second known exemplar of Book V, *PHerc.* 1538, is unlikely to yield further detached *scorze*, since, like the roll of Book IV, it was unrolled continuously even though the outer layers were adhering to each other. Mangoni⁷⁶ has just published some new fragments from these outer layers. Her first fragment (fr. 1) discusses the same topic as the last fragment of *PHerc.* 228 (fr. 1, = fr. 6 in Mangoni's reversed order); this matches the sequence of papyri proposed here. Book V was so long that only half of the entire Book was accommodated in this roll, as the *subscriptio* informs us.

⁶² *Loc. cit.* (n. 36).

⁶³ Cf. Janko, *art. cit.* (n. 22), 61f.

⁶⁴ C. Jensen, *Philodemus Über die Gedichte, Fünftes Buch*, Berlin 1923, 53, 55, 63, 65, 67, 94, 154-6.

⁶⁵ *Art. cit.* (n. 29).

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 7), 119.

⁶⁷ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 39-42.

⁶⁸ *Art. cit.* (n. 29), 186. She assigns *PHerc.* 228 to the *On Poems*, but not necessarily to Book V.

⁶⁹ He is followed by Dorandi, *art. cit.* (n. 33), 39f.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* (n. 7) 119-23, esp. 123.

⁷¹ On these parallels see also Janko, *art. cit.* (n. 22), 61 n. 335.

⁷² *Art. cit.* (n. 30).

⁷³ 'La catarsi poetica nel *PHerc.* 1581', *CErc* 8 (1978) 96-103. For an English translation with notes see R. Janko, *Aristotle: Poetics* (Indianapolis 1987), 61, 187-90, and further *id.*, 'From catharsis to the Aristotelian mean', in A. Rorty (ed.), *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics*, Princeton 1992, 339-56, esp. 346f.

⁷⁴ Janko, *art. cit.* (n. 22), 61-3.

⁷⁵ For further discussion see *ibid.* 62 n. 346 and Mangoni, *art. cit.* (n. 30), 136f.

⁷⁶ 'Nuove letture nei *PHerc.* 1425 e 1538 del V libro della *Poetica* di Filodemo', *CErc* 21 (1991) 65-81. She is about to publish a new edition with commentary of Book V (*Filodemo, La Poesia V*, to appear in the series *La Scuola di Epicuro XIV*, ed. M. Gigante, Naples 1993).

Book VI and subsequent books

We cannot entirely exclude that there were once further Books of the *On Poems*. One passage in Book V seems to look forward to further discussion, namely col. xxvii 34-xxviii 7 Jensen (= col. xxx 34-xxxii 7 Mangoni): καὶ τὴν διάνο[ια]ν μέντοι ἢ ποιάν τινα τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἀξιουμένην ἢ ὑποτάτ[τ]εσθαι καὶ ὄ[ι]λωσ[ι] οὐ[τ]οι καὶ πολλὰ ἢ τῶν πρό[τε]ρον ἐξη[τα]σ[ι]μ[έ]νων καὶ τῶν ὑστερον θεωρηκομένων ἢ πο[λ]λὸν [δέ]ουσιν ἀπο[χ]α[ρ]άττειν, i.e. 'these critics are far from specifying both what kind of content is worthy to be included in verses and many of the questions which have been examined before and will be considered later'. This is not necessarily contradicted by Philodemus' reference at Book V col. xxvi Jensen (cited in the discussion of Book II above) to the need to conclude his κύγγραμμα, already very long; he may be referring to the length of this particular book. Dorandi⁷⁷ sees a distinction in the latter passage between κύγγραμμα as a multi-volume treatise and ὑπόμνημα as a single volume of it, but perhaps Philodemus could have used κύγγραμμα to avoid repeating ὑπόμνημα. Hence, although it would be satisfying to exclude the possibility that further Books of the *On Poems* existed, I do not think we can as yet do so.

Papyri to be investigated

PHerc. 128, referred to the *On Poems* by Crönert,⁷⁸ was found to belong to group C of hands by Cavallo. Since the scribes of Group C copied only the writings of Demetrius Lacon, not those of Philodemus, Cavallo assigned the text to Demetrius' *On Poetry*.⁷⁹ But Romeo argues, on the basis of a parallel with Philodemus, *Rhet.* II coll. xlvii f., that it should be assigned to a work of Demetrius on rhetoric.⁸⁰ *PHerc.* 230, doubtfully assigned to the *On Poems* by W. Scott,⁸¹ was overlooked by Dorandi, but should be investigated.⁸² *PHerc.* 986, in the same hand (group Q, hand xxviii) as *On Poems* Book IV, is not on poetics.⁸³ Comparetti⁸⁴ assigned *PHerc.* 1087 to the *On Poems*; Sbordone⁸⁵ considered it to be in the same hand as *PHerc.* 407, i.e. group N, scribe xix. Dorandi⁸⁶ denies that the hand can be identified, and ascribes it to the *Rhetoric* because it mentions Theodectes, but we should not forget that this orator also wrote tragedies. It could derive from Books IV or V, more probably the latter. *PHerc.* 1113 fr. 1-4 were ascribed to Demetrius Lacon, *On Poetry*, by Crönert.⁸⁷ However, Romeo suggests on orthographical grounds that it is not by Demetrius but by Philodemus,⁸⁸ and would presumably derive from the latter's *On Poems*. But Dorandi⁸⁹ is emphatic that its hand can scarcely postdate the second century B.C. *PHerc.* 1403 has been

⁷⁷ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 35. Philodemus had a tendency to make vague references to future works that he intended at some time to write: cf. D. Delattre, 'Combien de livres comptaient les *Commentaires sur la musique* de Philodème?', in *Papiri letterari greci e latini*, ed. M. Capasso, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* I (Lecce 1992), 179-91, esp. 185-7, with E. Puglia, 'La duplice sottoscrizione del *PHerc.* 1497', *CErc* 22 (1992) 175-8.

⁷⁸ 'Fälschungen in den Abschriften der Herculansenischen Rollen', *RhM* 53 (1898) 585-95, esp. 589 n. 4.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 13), 59.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* (n. 50), 39. Her conclusion is endorsed by Dorandi (*art. cit.* (n. 33), 30).

⁸¹ *Fragmenta Herculansia*, Oxford 1885, 49.

⁸² *Art. cit.* (n. 33).

⁸³ See M. Capasso, 'Una pretesa allusione di Filodemo a Cicerone (*PHerc.* 986, fr. 19)', *CErc* 22 (1992) 169-72.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 36), 78 n. 1.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.* (n. 23), 18f.

⁸⁶ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 34.

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 16), 102, 107.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 50), 79f.; *id.*, 'Nuove letture nei libri *Sulla poesia* di Demetrio Lacone', *CErc* 8 (1978) 108f.

⁸⁹ *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 33.

investigated recently by L. Spina.⁹⁰ His readings, and Cavallo's studies of the hand,⁹¹ strongly suggest that this derives from Philodemus' *On Poems*, although this is doubted by Dorandi.⁹² The text mentions Euripides and Choerilus, whose epic poetry is cited also, alongside that of Anaximenes, at *On Poems* Treatise A Sbordone (*PHerc.* 994 col. xxv 5-14). Since there is a parallel mention of Anaximenes in Treatise E, at *PHerc.* 466 fr. 5.1, *PHerc.* 1403 may derive from a second exemplar of Book I or Book II. Lastly, E. Dürr⁹³ has tentatively suggested that *PHerc.* 1736, a *midollo* written by a scribe in group Q (but not scribe xxviii), may derive from the *On Poems*, because its only legible passage refers to Euripides' *Electra*.⁹⁴

The structure of Philodemus' On Poems

The Hellenistic triple division of poetics into *poema*, *poesis* and *poetes* may be the key to understanding Philodemus' organization of the *On Poems* as a whole. This classification is modified from a double division - the *ars/artifex* arrangement common in Hellenistic works of introduction (*eisagogai*). I have argued elsewhere that the latter division goes back to Aristotle's lost dialogue variously entitled *On Poetics* or *On Poets*. Thus Heraclides Ponticus wrote a work entitled Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, and Praxiphanes' treatise on poetics seems to have been called *On Poems* and *On Poets*. Similarly, Varro's *De Poematis* was, I hold, the same work as his *De Poetis*.⁹⁵ The tripartition derives from Neoptolemus of Parium, as Philodemus reveals at *On Poems V* col. xi 5-11 Jensen (= col. xiv Mangoni): ἀτόπως δ[ὲ] κα[ὶ] τὸν τὴν | τέχνην [καὶ τὴν δύν]αμιν ἔχοντα τ[ὴν ποι]ητικὴν εἶδος [π]αρίσ[τησι] | τῆ[ς] τέ[χνης] μετὰ τοῦ | ποιήματος[ς] καὶ τῆς πόησεως, i.e. 'but it is bizarre when he (sc. Neoptolemus) presents the person who possesses the poetic art and its potential as an aspect of the art of poetry alongside the verse (*poema*) and the poetry'.⁹⁶ It was then adopted by Andromenides and Crates, as we learn from Treatise B fr. 25 col. ii 17-26 Sbordone (= *PHerc.* 1073 fr. 1): . . . ἀποφηνάμενοι [καὶ Κράτ]ητος ἡγεμονίαν δίδοσθαι το[ῖς] ἔπε[σι, τοῖς δὲ] ἦθεσιν (*conieci · π(ά)θεσιν* Sbordone) συμμά[χοις] χρ[η]σθαι τὴν πόησιν· καὶ τὸν τε ποιητὴν, | [καθάπερ] Ἀνδρομενί[δης, τὸ τε ποιήμα] τὴν τε | ποιήσιν ὡς εἶδος ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς τέχνης, i.e. 'since Crates too declared that "a commanding role must be given to the words (?), but that poetry must use the characters as allies", and that "I consider both the poet, just as Andromenides <stated>, and the verse and the poetry to be an aspect of the art"'.⁹⁷ Horace adopted Neoptolemus' schema for his own purposes in the *Ars Poetica*, although the details are controversial and the poet has artfully concealed its structure.⁹⁸

The order of topics in Neoptolemus, Andromenides and Crates (as quoted by Philodemus), and in Horace's *Ars Poetica* is always first *poema*, then *poesis* and lastly *poetes*.

⁹⁰ 'Un Papiro inedito della collezione ercolanese: *PHerc.* 1403', *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology I* (Athens 1988) 399-407, = *Vichiana* 17 (1988) 99-108.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 13), 33f., 45, 87.

⁹² *Art. cit.* (n. 33), 33. As he notes, the other texts in the same hand, that of group G scribe x scribe, viz. *PHerc.* 479, 862, 1005 and 1485, are not on poetry.

⁹³ 'I resti del *PHerc.* 1736 (Filodemo, *Poetica*)', *CErc* 22 (1992) 139-55.

⁹⁴ 'Una testimonianza su Euripide in un papiro ercolanese inedito (*PHerc.* 1736)', in *Miscellanea papyrologica* in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana, ed. M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli and R. Pintaudi (with a preface by M. Gigante), Florence 1990, 41f.

⁹⁵ See *art. cit.* (n. 22), 58.

⁹⁶ Philodemus' critique of this division continues to col. xiii 4. See further Greenberg, *op. cit.* (n. 7) 42-50; C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles*, Cambridge 1963, 55, 58, 60-70; H.J. Mette, 'Neoptolemos von Parion', *RhM* 123 (1981) 1-24, esp. 16-21; E. Asmis, 'Neoptolemus and the classification of poetry', *CPh* 87 (1992) 206-31.

⁹⁷ On this passage see Romeo, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 46, 50.

⁹⁸ The best analysis is that of Brink, *op. cit.* (n. 96), 213-38.

This same order seems detectable in the overall structure of Philodemus' *On Poems*. Books I and II are both on the *poema* (verse), including the *compositio verborum* and euphony. Book V is, I believe, on the good poet. Philodemus offered more than one discussion of euphony, because the topic was included in different Books which dealt with various aspects of critical theory; in Book II he discussed euphony in the context of the *poema* rather than, as in Book V, that of the *poetes*. Our knowledge of Book IV is much slighter, but the discussion of genre in its extant portion certainly falls under *poesis* in the *Ars Poetica*.⁹⁹ Whether Book III continued the discussion of *poema* or began that of *poetes* (or both) is unknown.

Although Philodemus ridicules Neoptolemus' division in *On Poems V*, he too may well have inherited it as the basis of his own work from predecessors such as Demetrius Lacon. The first two books of Demetrius' *On Poetry* are on subjects very similar to those in his Books I-II, and share the opponent Andromenides. However, Demetrius' concluding formula in his *On Poems II* col. lxvi probably marks the close of the entire work.¹⁰⁰ It is conceivable that he is only signalling the end of Book II, and that further books followed, but he refers to a second book at the end of Book I, but does not refer to any subsequent book at the conclusion of II. One suspects that Demetrius was, like Zeno of Sidon, one of Philodemus' teachers; his books apparently formed the nucleus of Philodemus' library.¹⁰¹ Economy of hypotheses would suggest that, if Demetrius too moved to Italy (as his addresses to his patrons Quintus and Nero suggest), he may have emigrated together with Philodemus as teacher and pupil or indeed simply as friends in the Epicurean tradition of friendship.

⁹⁹ Cf. Brink, *op. cit.* (n. 96) 246, who identifies *Ars Poetica* 153-294 (on drama) as the nucleus of this section.

¹⁰⁰ So tentatively Romeo (*op. cit.* (n. 50) 57, 317f.), following Crönert and opposing Philippon.

¹⁰¹ Cavallo, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 58-60. On Demetrius' life see Romeo, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 26-32.

THE LATIN POPYRI IN HERCULANEUM

Knut Kleve

The Latin papyri in the Papyrus Villa represent 10% of the Greek ones. This percentage corresponds to the relation between Latin and Greek texts in general. The few Latin papyri, then, do not necessarily indicate that there was a greater interest in Greek than in Latin literature in the Villa.

Nearly all Latin papyri have been heavily damaged, first by mud and water which washed out most of the text, and next by carbonization. The difficult state of the Latin papyri is the reason why they have remained almost unknown to this day.

An exception is the fairly well preserved PHerc. 817, the so called *Bellum Actiacum*, an hexameter poem which deals with the Egyptian war of Octavianus and the suicide of Cleopatra. If Gigante's theory is right, that Varius is the author, the poem must have been written between 31 and 14 B.C. This theory agrees with the type of writing, which may be called a Pre-Classical Capital Script, a forerunner to the Classical Capital Script which appears in the first century AD.

The Oxford and Naples *disegni* were drawn in the last century from 30 of the 62 Latin papyri. They were an important contribution for their time. On the basis of 20 Oxford *disegni* Lindsay made his survey of the Latin papyri in CR 1890. He was able to show that the papyri contained remains of hexameter poems, speeches and panegyrics.

It is, however, arbitrary what has been drawn and what not. There is far more text preserved in the papyri than shown in the *disegni*. The *disegni* are further made freehand and give no reliable picture of the real handwriting. If we want to compare the size of the letters, the *disegni* are quite useless.

A new method for micro photographing and microscope drawing of papyrus texts made it possible to decipher fragments from Ennius and Lucretius. These methods are now used on the Latin papyri at large.

About 10.000 micro photos have so far been taken. They cover half of the papyri. Care has been taken to spread the photos so that they give an impression of the papyri as a whole. The goal is to have a photo-collection where every square millimetre of the papyri is recorded.

Early Roman Script which corresponds to the graffiti writing in Pompeii, can be found in the Ennius and Lucretius papyri. It is a rugged handwriting which uses several of our lower-case letters (a, b, d, h, p, r). The theory, then, that the lower-case letters have developed from the fifth century uncials and the ninth century Carolingian minuscules seems to be wrong.

The two Capital Scripts use only upper case letters (A, B, C etc.). The rugged appearance of the Early Roman Script has disappeared, and the letters run smoothly.

The Pre-Classical Capital script is a simple and elegant writing without extra adornment, whereas the Classical Capital letters are furnished with extra "heads" and "feet", which make them somewhat heavy. The same type of script occurs in the Gallus papyrus from Egypt.

In addition to letters all the script types use interpuncts between words, a Roman invention which is not found in Greek papyri. Distinction signs (/) are placed at the end of hexameters, accent signs to mark the *ictus* and paragraph signs (___) under a line or a verse to mark a pause. Only the paragraphs are known from the Greek papyri.

The extensive use of accents in the *Bellum Actiacum* poses a problem as one should think that the Romans in Augustan times were so well versed in scanning hexameters that they had no need for such extra help. The papyrus may be an edition for beginners or for some public recitation where all precautions had to be taken.

In the Ennius papyrus one also finds the coronis which marks the end of a book and is well known from the Greek papyri. Perhaps there once occurs a *deleatur*-sign in the form of a cross (x). In that case our habit of "crossing out" a letter is very old. In the Greek papyri letters are deleted by putting a dot above them or with a horizontal stroke.

30 of the Latin papyri are written in Early Roman Script and so probably belong to the first century BC (before 31).

11 papyri are written in Pre-Classical Capital Script. They probably belong to the last part of the first century BC (from about 31).

17 papyri are written in Classical Capital Script and belong to the first century AD (until 79).

The distribution of the scripts suggests that the library in the Papyrus Villa has been an active library, kept up to date to the bitter end.

The papyri with Early Roman Script from republican times outnumber the papyri with Capital Scripts from imperial times. We thus have a fair chance of regaining some old Latin literature.

At least 11 papyri with Early Roman script contain hexameters, which can be seen by the occurrence of distinction signs. Two of the papyri also contain Greek script, probably terms or citations.

At least three papyri with Pre-Classical Capital script (from early imperial times) contain hexameters. At least three papyri with Classical Capital script (later imperial times) contain hexameters. One papyrus contains Greek script.

Decipherment is time-consuming: taking photos, drawing pictures, reconstructing letters, restoring text. To make it quicker and easier several computer programs have been developed: for word lists, search for words and letter combinations, graphics for reconstructing fragments of letters and enhancement of photos. As soon as the programs become practicable, they will be announced in the *Cronache Ercolanesi*.

When Lindsay wrote his article more than a hundred years ago, he had not seen the papyri himself, but knew only a limited amount of *disegni*. All the same he strongly recommended a further study of the papyri: "It would be a long and laborious business, but quite worth doing."

Today, with better techniques, equipment and methods, I want to make Lindsay's words my own. It still *is* a long and laborious business, but quite worth doing.

(The lecture was accompanied by colour slides and handouts with bibliography, illustrations of letters, list of script clusters, and examples of texts.)

PAPYRUS HERCULANENSIS HAUNIENSIS 1

Simon Laursen (University of Aarhus)

Plate 29

Tra i pochissimi papiri, che sono mai fuggiti da Napoli e che non hanno poi fatto ritorno, c'è un piccolo pezzo, che è finito in Danimarca, a Copenhagen. Si tratta di un pezzo, che nel 1810 fu donato dalla regina Carolina a un certo West, consigliere di Stato nel Regno di Danimarca, allora alleato di Napoleone. Secondo gli ordini della regina, questo pezzo doveva essere 'uno di quelli inutili in maniera che la privazione non faccia torto al Real Museo'. La scelta che si faceva era ottima: il pezzo in effetti si rivela quasi illeggibile.¹

Il papiro è già stato catalogato come P. Herc. Haun. 1 nel 'Primo Supplemento al Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi' di Mario Capasso (*Cron. Erc.* 19 (1989), 264), ove leggiamo che 'Si tratta di un unico pezzo; lunghezza massima: cm. 15,5; altezza massima: cm. 14,5. Lo stato di conservazione è discreto: la successione stratigrafica del testo è alquanto regolare; leggibili parole greche. La scrittura, non estremamente accurata, risale verisimilmente alla prima metà del I sec. a. C.' Sono stato io, allora, l'informante del Capasso, e sono felice di poter, sostanzialmente, confermare i dati del 'Supplemento'. Vorrei correggere solo la descrizione dello stato di conservazione: siccome la classificazione va da 'ottimo' attraverso 'buono', 'discreto' e 'cattivo' a 'pessimo',² sarebbe forse meglio descrivere questo papiro come 'cattivo' - ma, ovviamente, una classificazione del genere è necessariamente alquanto imprecisa e soggettiva.

Le misure del pezzo, invece, sono quasi esatte nel 'Supplemento'. La lunghezza è di cm. 15,6; l'altezza di cm. 14,2. A destra e a sinistra risulta evidente l'uso del coltello per tagliar via il pezzo dal rotolo. Sono individuabili cinque sezioni di una larghezza di ca. cm. 3,5 ciascuna (la quinta, però, ne ha solo 2); le ho numerate da sinistra a destra con cifre arabe. Le quattro prime sezioni corrispondono tra se in modo regolare; la prima sezione è uguale alla terza, la seconda alla quarta. La quinta è stata tagliata a metà e conseguentemente non assomiglia alla prima e alla terza. Da notare il fatto che le 'fratture'³ tra la prima e la seconda e tra la terza e la quarta sezione mostrano una lieve angolazione rispetto alle altre 'fratture'; infatti, la larghezza della prima sezione è, nella parte superiore, di cm. 3,7, mentre nella parte inferiore è di cm. 2,7 (dove però bisogna confessare una certa difficoltà nel determinare l'esatta posizione della 'frattura'); la larghezza della terza sezione è, nella parte superiore, ugualmente di cm. 3,7, mentre nella parte inferiore pare che sia piuttosto di cm. 3,2 (sempre colle stesse incertezze). La larghezza delle sezioni accoppiate - una misura che indica la circonferenza del rotolo - è di cm. 7; questo corrisponde, nella mia esperienza Ercolanese, a una posizione del nostro pezzo a ca. 120 - 130 cm. dalla fine del rotolo.⁴ A Napoli dovrebbe dunque essere possibile trovare il

1 Sulla vicenda della donazione si veda G. Guerrieri, 'L'Officina dei papiri ercolanesi dal 1752 al 1952', in: *I Papiri Ercolanesi*, I, Napoli 1954, p. 12, e, più recentemente e più completamente, Mario Capasso, 'Appunti sui papiri ercolanesi', *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 2 (1988), 127 ss., a pagina 129 - 130. - Spero di poter tornare in altra occasione a discutere i legami culturali impliciti nel fatto della donazione di questo pezzo di papiro.

2 Si veda il *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, sotto la direzione di Marcello Gigante, Napoli 1979, p. 16, con n. 17.

3 Sulla terminologia qui usata, si veda M. L. Nardelli, 'Ripristino topografico di sovrapposti e sottoposti in alcuni papiri Ercolanesi', *Cron. Erc.* 3 (1973) 104 - 111.

4 Nel P.Herc. 1056, infatti, dal punto dove mostra una distanza di cm. 7,0 tra sovrapposto e luogo di sistemazione (specificamente all' inizio di corn. 5) vi sono ancora 120,2 cm. di papiro fino alla fine; nel P.Herc. 1191 dal punto corrispondente (specificamente nella metà

resto del rotolo, a cui appartiene il pezzo Copenaghese; ma non oserei dire, se il resto consista di pezzi srotolati, o - il che a me sembra più probabile, visto lo stato della superficie, di cui tratterò fra poco - di una midolla messa a parte come 'non isvogibile'. ⁵ A Napoli ho cercato, ma non trovato, questo resto.

Il papiro è di colore molto nero. Qua e là appaiono sedimenti di materiale, probabilmente estrinseco, di apparenza di smalto e anche questi molto neri (il che in certi punti rende la lettura del papiro ancora più ardua). In certe zone del papiro le lettere sono quasi o del tutto svanite; in ogni caso sono spesso estremamente difficili a leggere. Il papiro mostra molti buchi, soprattutto nella parte superiore della prima sezione e intorno alla terza, che si presenta quasi come una penisola con un legamento non molto ampio alla quarta sezione. Tra la seconda e la terza sezione vi è uno 'stretto' largo ca. un centimetro. Come ci si aspetterebbe in un papiro con tanti buchi, la stratificazione in molte parti del papiro risulta non analizzabile. ⁶ Risulta spesso estremamente difficile determinare i limiti esatti dei sovrapposti. ⁷ Soprattutto la quinta, ma anche la maggior parte della prima e della terza sezione si mostra illeggibile nel senso, che mai o quasi mai due lettere vicine si possono con certezza attribuire allo stesso livello. Un sovrapposto nella prima sezione può essere sistemato in un buco nella terza, con una distanza di cm. 7,0; ma, ripeto, solo può, perché manca il controllo (cioè, nè esistono nella quarta sezione delle lettere con cui le lettere del sovrapposto possano combinarsi per dare un qualche senso, nè il contorno del sovrapposto s'incasta in altri contorni nella quarta sezione, come succederebbe in un *jig saw puzzle*). Le zone più leggibili del papiro sono, dunque, la maggior parte della seconda sezione, e una grande parte della quarta. Una grande parte della superficie della terza sezione sembra essere un intercolumnio, ma forse la scrittura è soltanto svanita; sicuramente, però, non restano tracce nè del margine superiore nè di quello inferiore.

Esiste una fotografia eseguita da Bülow-Jacobsen colla luce infrarossa (plate 29). Questa fotografia mostra molte tracce di lettere che sono difficilmente riscontrabili alla superficie del papiro stesso. In genere, però, mi è stato possibile rintracciare tutte queste lettere, ma, come si sa, la fotografia non riesce a distinguere fra diversi strati del papiro. Non esistono, naturalmente, disegni.

La scrittura è alquanto irregolare; anche se tende al bilinearismo e al quadratismo, questa tendenza viene spessissimo contraddetta da lettere, che o non toccano la linea inferiore o non toccano quella superiore, o che in qualche maniera - benchè di regola misurata - si proiettano oltre le linee. Le aste delle lettere φ , ρ , υ etc., però, in genere non si proiettano sotto la linea inferiore, o solo debolmente. Le lettere, che l'ammettono, incominciano con un piccolo tratto in

della corn. 4 pz. 1, seguito dai pezzi 1 della corn. 7, 1 e 2 della corn. 8 e 1 della corn. 9 - i pezzi del P. Herc. 1191 sono, infatti, stati collocati nelle cornici in modo caotico) vi restano 147 cm.; e nel P. Herc. 697 dal punto corrispondente (specificamente all' inizio della corn. 3 pz. 1) vi restano 122,7 cm.

⁵ Questo procedimento è ben noto nella storia dei papiri Ercolanesi. Si vedano, e. g., Andrea de Iorio, *Officina de' Papiri*, Napoli 1825, 48 - 49, e molto prima la 'rappresentanza' di Antonio Piaggio al (?) primo ministro Tanucci del anno 1766, edito da Francesca Longo Auricchio e Mario Capasso nel 'Nuove Accessioni al dossier Piaggio', in: *Contributi alla storia della Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi*, introduzione di Marcello Gigante, Napoli 1980, p. 41.

⁶ Quando nel *Supplemento* (cit.) si legge, che 'la successione stratigrafica risulta alquanto regolare', devo di nuovo recitare una palinodia: in effetti, grandi parti del papiro sono illeggibili. Nel preparare i dati che volevo mandare al Capasso, mi ero concentrato sulle parti meglio leggibili del papiro, e solo quando stavo lavorando su questa relazione al congresso, ho dato più attenzione alle parti più difficili.

⁷ Ho, però, letto il papiro colla luce artificiale e abbastanza diretta, e non mi pare che vi sia dubbio che le difficoltà della lettura derivino parzialmente da questo fatto. Anche i problemi connessi colle lettere quasi svanite forse troverebbero soluzione con una luce migliore.

basso a sinistra, e spesso si riscontra un gancio decorativo all' apice delle aste. Altri elementi decorativi si riscontrano, ma non in modo sistematico. Omega si scrive in due movimenti, colla curva breve prima; la forma del corpo di φ è un triangolo appiattito cogli angoli arrotondati. Il fenomeno forse più notevole della scrittura è la forma dell' epsilon, che si rivela scritto in un solo movimento: la curvatura continua fino al punto d'inizio del tratto mediano, che poi viene scritto senza alzare il calamo, e che può essere abbastanza prolungato.

In conclusione, si può mantenere il giudizio dato già nel 'Supplemento': si tratta di una mano certo non principiante, ma nel nostro papiro anche non estremamente accurata del primo secolo a. C. Non mi pare che questa mano trovi esatte corrispondenze in una delle tante elencate in *'Libri Scritture Scribi'* di G. Cavallo (Napoli 1983). Ma, siccome non sono un paleografo esperto, è questo uno dei punti in cui sarei felice di trovare conferma o opposizione da parte di conoscitori ben più esperti di me.

Ma è tempo di affrontare il 'testo'. Ripeto che solo nella seconda e nella quarta sezione sono riscontrabili tratti di papiro più leggibili, ed è anche lì, che troviamo quelle poche parole che possono dare un' idea, non dico del contenuto, ma più in generale del 'tipo' di testo. La numerazione delle linee nelle diverse sezioni non è unica; chiamo '1' la linea che si legge più in alto di ciascuna sezione. ⁸

Sezione 1, strato basale

-] ν . [. . .] . [
 -] $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ [
 -
 -] $\tau\eta$ [
 -] . . . [5
 -] . . ν . ϵ ' ϵ ' $\tau\epsilon$ [-
 -] κ [. . .] ν [
 -] . [. . .] φ [

1: ν (deest lin. vert. dex.)(paene nihil)[\pm 2/3].(pes et culmen litt. rot.: / θ /o/ σ , vix ϵ)[- 4:] $\tau\eta$ (pars sin.)[- 5:].(partes litt. rot.: / θ /o, vix ϵ / σ).(pars inf. sin. et pars min. inf. dex.: / κ / ν /io sim.)([- 6:].(pars sin. litt. rot.: / ϵ / θ /o/ σ).(crus sin.: / α / δ / λ) ν (desynt partes min.).(cruces: / α / δ / λ) ϵ ' ϵ (deest culmen)' $\tau\epsilon$ [- 7:] κ (pars sup.)(\pm 2/3] ν (desunt culmina)[- 8:].(pars sin., ut vid., litt. ν , neque tamen pro certo haberi potesi hanc litteram hic ponendam esse)(\pm 2/3] φ [

Sezione 1, sovrapposto

-] β ι δ [
 -] . [

1:] β (deest culmen) ι (pars inf.: / ρ / θ / φ) δ (pars inf. sin.)([- 2:].(pars sin.: / γ / π)

⁸ Alla linea prima della sezione 1 risponde la linea terza della seconda. La prima linea del sovrapposto si trova nello spazio interlineare tra linea 2 e 3 dello strato basale della propria sezione. Alla linea 1 della sezione 3 risponde la linea 2 della sezione 2; mentre le linee della sezione 4 si trovano allo stesso livello di quelle della sezione 2 (cioè sez. 1 lin. 1 = sez. 4 lin. 1).

Sezione 2

-]ον . [-
-] . [-
-] . . θ[-
-] . εθηκε . [
-] . πολὺ ἔχη[ι - 5
-] . ονκ . [-
-]νονφ[-
-]α[-
-
-]το . . [10
-]νδεκ[
-] . ν ἐκβεβη[κ -
-] . . . τ[.]νε[-
- ἐκ]βεβηκ[-

1:]ο(fragmenta partis dex.)ν.(paene nihil)[- 2:].(partes sup. et inf. litt. rot.: θ/ο/σ, vix ε)[- 3:].(paene nihil)ν(pes sin. et lin. vert. dex.)θ(deest pars inf. sin.)[- 4:].(paene nihil)εθη(lin. vert. sin. et pes dex.)κ(pes sin. et pars dex.)ε.(lin. vert. sin.: /γ/κ/ν/π/ρ sim.)[- 5:].(partes sup. et inf. dex. litt. rot.: /θ/ο/σ, vix ε)πολυ(pes)εχη(lin. vert. sin.: /γ/κ/ν/π/ρ sim.)[- 6:].(paene nihil, fort. pars sup. dex. litt. ρ)ονκ.(paene nihil, fort. pes sin. et pars min. culminis litt. α)[- 7:]νον(pars sin.)φ[- 10:]τ(deest pars min. sup. lin. vert.)ο(deest pars min. sup. dex.)(pes lin. vert.)(paene nihil)[- 11:]ν(pars sup. sin. (et pars dex., sed paene evanida))δ(deest pars min. inf. sin.)ε(deest culmen)κ(desunt partes min.)[- 12:].(paene nihil)ν(deest pars sup. sin.)εκβεβ(artes min. inf. sin. et sup. dex.)η(pars dex.)[- 13:]...(paene nihil)τ(desunt partes min.)[.]νε(pars sup.)[- 14:]β(pars sup.)ε(paene nihil)βη(pars sup.)κ(pars sup., sed difficillima lectu)[

Sezione 3

-] . η . χ[
-]ενω[
-] . ν . [

1:].(pars dex. litt. rot.: /θ/ο/ω)η(deest partes sup. et med. dex.)(partes min. litt. rot.: /θ/ο/σ, vix ε)χ(pars sin.)[- 2:]εν(deest pars min. inf. dex.)ω(deest pars min. sup. dex.)[- 3:].(pars min. sup. litt. rot.: /ε/θ/ο/σ)ν(pars dex.)(pes sin. litt. /α/λ(/μ?))][

Sezione 4

-]νκα . [
-]ωριζει[
-]σανκα[
-]τ[.] . τωλ[5
-
-]εο[

-] . [. . .] κ α . [
 -] . [
 -] . ε [
 -
 10
 -] σ υ ν ε [.] χ ο ν [
 -] υ . [. . .] χ [
 -] φ [
 -
 -] ω ν [15

1:] ν κ α . (pars inf. lin. vert.) [- 2:] ω (deest pars inf. dex.) ρ (deest culmen) ι ζ ε (difficilis lectu) ι [- 3:] σ α (pars dex.) ν κ (pars dex.) α [- 4:] τ [.] . (paene nihil) τ ω λ (difficilis lectu, fort. α) [- 7:] . (paene nihil) [± 2/3] κ (culmen sin. et maxima pars dex.) α ι (pars inf.) . (lin. hor. in alto pos.: / γ / ζ / π / τ) [- 8:] . (crus dex.: / α / δ / λ (/ μ ?)) [- 9:] . (paene nihil) ε (deest pars inf.) [- 11:] σ (deest pars min. sin.) θ (deest pars sup. sin.) ν (deest pars sup. sin.) ε (disiecta) [.] χ ο (deest pars min. sup. dex.) υ (deest lin. vert. dex.) [- 12:] θ (deest pars med.) . (pes lin. vert.) [± 2/3] χ (paene evanida) [

Soltanto qualche unica parola si può ancora distinguere nella farragine che è questo papiro. Sono evidenti nella seconda sezione le parole εθηκε . [- | -] . πολὺ ἔχη[ι (linea 4 - 5), ma bisogna ammettere, che la presenza dei significati 'pose' e 'abbia molto' non è molto indicativa. Più promettente forse la doppia presenza del perfetto di ἐκβαίνω nelle linee 12 e 14 nella stessa colonna; ma le possibilità del significato sono troppe perchè valga la pena spendere più attenzione qui. Nella quarta sezione, forse, abbiamo delle indicazioni più attendibili; nella linea seconda si legge malsicuramente i resti di una parola della famiglia ὀρίζω, 'definisco'; e più in basso, nella linea 11, troviamo ο συνέρχομαι ο συνέχω in qualche forma. Soprattutto queste ultime parole sembrano indicare, che siamo in un contesto filosofico; le altre, se non corroborano, almeno non escludono una tale ipotesi.

E, poi, non sarebbe una sorpresa.

NEW READINGS IN THE FRAGMENTS OF PHERC. 832/1015
(Philodemus, Rhetorica, Liber Incertus)

Francesca Longo Auricchio

PHerc. 832/1015 has been reassembled from two separate parts which originated either at the moment of the eruption of the Vesuvius or later when the roll was opened and stored.¹ The section number 832 was unrolled in 1807 by A. Lentari and in 1808 by G. Casanova whereas the section number 1015 was unrolled by G. Paderni in 1803-1804. The latter was then opened when John Hayter was in charge of operations in Portici; the first one was unrolled when the English Chaplain was in Sicily and the Officina dei Papiri was under the guide of Monsignor Rosini. We receive indirect confirmation of this from the facsimiles: in fact although we have only the Neapolitan copy of PHerc. 832, there exist both Oxonian and Neapolitan copies of PHerc. 1015. In fact, as is known,² all the drawings which were made in Portici up till the Bourbon King's second departure to Palermo (that is to say till the end of Hayter's stay in Portici) were brought to England and Mons. Rosini had a second copy of the drawings made which is now in Naples.

These two portions were published separately in the *Herculanensia Volumina*: PHerc. 832 in vol. V 77-152 and PHerc. 1015 in vol. VII 44-77 of the so-called *Collectio Altera*.³

S. Sudhaus, main editor of this work of Philodemus, first thought that these parts were independent and published only the portion numbered 1015 in full in the first part of his *Volumina Rhetorica*⁴ whose editorial bases are only the drawings. Later on, going to Naples, and examining the papyri he realized that the correspondences in the content that he had noticed between the edited portion and the other one (number 832), which he was going to publish in the second volume, were confirmed by the palaeographical data.⁵ Sudhaus realized that both parts had been copied by the same scribe and concluded that they belonged to the same roll: PHerc. 1015 corresponds to the upper, whereas PHerc. 832 corresponds to the lower part of the columns. Both were edited by Sudhaus in the second part of his *Volumina Rhetorica*:⁶ 832 for the first time, 1015 for the second time, with the exclusion of the fragments which precede the columns.

Sudhaus' conjecture has been confirmed by G. Cavallo: the two portions were written by the same hand and his editorial proposal is sound, even if, as is obvious, it must be tested both from the point of view of the connection of the two parts and of the constitution of the text.⁷

As is known, the content, at least in this surviving part, which is the final part, is clearly divisible into two sections: the first being devoted to the polemic against Nausiphanes of Theos,⁸ the latter to the polemic against Aristotle.⁹ The study of this text, with the support of the microscope and the new photographic techniques, should prove very satisfactory.

¹ For historical, technical and bibliographical data, cf. *Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi*, dir. M. Gigante (Napoli 1979).

² Cf. F. Longo Auricchio, *John Hayter nella Officina dei papiri ercolanesi*, in *Contributi alla storia della Officina dei papiri ercolanesi*, Intr. M. Gigante (Napoli 1980), pp. 159-215, esp. p. 168 and n. 3.

³ Cf. *Herculanensium Voluminum quae supersunt. Collectio Altera*, vol. V (Neapoli 1865), vol. VII (Neapoli 1871).

⁴ *Philodemi volumina rhetorica* (Lipsiae 1892), pp. 270-325, from now on Sudhaus I.

⁵ Cf. S. Sudhaus, 'Nausiphanes', *RhM* 48(1893), pp. 321-341, esp. p. 321.

⁶ Vol. II (Lipsiae 1896), pp. 1-64, from now on Sudhaus II.

⁷ Cf. G. Cavallo, *Libri scripture scribi a Ercolano*, I suppl. *CErc* 13(1983), pp. 36, 45, 52.

⁸ Coll. I-XLVIII (PHerc. 1015), 1-35 (PHerc. 832), pp. 1-50 Sudhaus II.

⁹ Coll. XLVIII-LVIII (PHerc. 1015), 35-46 (PHerc. 832), pp. 50-64 Sudhaus II.

Yet some progress can also be made by re-examining the first part of the papyrus (1015), which contains the so-called fragments, edited by Sudhaus in his first volume.¹⁰ These fragments are 28 divided into 7 frames. The Oxonian facsimiles include also fr. 29 and fr. 30 which are no longer extant in the papyrus. The first portion of the roll, as usually happens, is the more fragmentary, and, in many places, has been damaged by the unrolling operations. Indeed, in many cases, there is a superimposition of layers which cannot be isolated, and which makes the constitution of the text impossible so that the content of the whole section cannot be fully grasped. Yet, the careful autopsy of the papyrus, with the microscope, allows some partial results and some small progress in passages that Sudhaus considered hopeless.

For instance in fragment 3d,¹¹ in line 2 and in line 6 we can read the infinitive ψέγειν (in full in l. 6, ψ[έ]γειν in l. 2). In Fr. 3f, in line 6 there is ἔπαινον and in l. 10 ψεγοιτε[can be read. Such isolated occurrences are not significant; but they appear more relevant considering that in the fourth book of his *Rhetoric* Philodemus devotes much attention to the discussion of encomia and censures which are the essence of panegyric oratory.¹² It is a field claimed by the Sophists, whose position is discussed by Philodemus, starting from the object which is praised or blamed. In the fourth book we also find the only witness of a Philodemian book Περὶ ἐπαινοῦ.¹³ Possibly, in this section of the book, Philodemus resumes this subject already discussed in the fourth book.

According to Sudhaus, nothing can be got from fragments 8, 9 and 10.¹⁴ Actually, they are hopelessly fragmentary, but in l. 4 of fr. 8 we can read the genitive plural [τ]ῶν ἐκθεσμῶν, and earlier the participle ἐλθόντα. The unusual word ἐκθεσμός, used by Philo Mechanicus¹⁵ and Plutarch,¹⁶ is also in Philodemus' book *On Stoics*.¹⁷

In fr. 9 there is a reference to δύναμις ([δύ]νάμει μόνον, l. 10) and to what is good (l. 12 [τ]ὸ συμφέρον), probably referring to life: in fact in line 13 there is written: καὶ β[ί]ου. Such occurrences refer us back to fr. 4, where the word ἀλγηδών may be read, also in Sudhaus's edition (l. 2, 3), and the expression δ' ἂν οἰκεῖον ἦι (l. 4), the noun τὴν ὠφελίαν (l. 6) and some form of the adjective ἀγαθός (ἀγαθ[, l. 8).¹⁸

In fr. 10 there is a reference to orators and politicians (l. 3 : οἱ ῥή[τορες ; l. 13: τῶν πολιτ[ικῶν) and to persuasion (l. 2: πειθ[, l. 14: [π]εῖθουσιν).

More progress in comparison to Sudhaus' edition is in fr. 11.¹⁹ Here are the two versions:

¹⁰ Pp. 270-282.

¹¹ The letters of the alphabet indicate the parts of the fragments which belong to layers which are different from the principal one. Fr. 3 is at p. 271 Sudhaus I.

¹² Cf. PHerc. 1007, col. XXXII^a 6-XLI^a 6, pp. 213-222 Sudhaus I.

¹³ Cf. col. XXXVIII^a 24 s., p. 219 Sudhaus I; see also F. Longo Auricchio, 'Testimonianze dalla *Retorica* di Filodemo sulla concezione dell' oratoria nei primi maestri epicurei' *CErc* 15(1985), p. 42.

¹⁴ P. 273 Sudhaus I.

¹⁵ 2, 502; 1, 335.

¹⁶ *Caes.* 32.

¹⁷ PHerc. 155/339, col. XII 14, p. 101 ed. T. Dorandi, *CErc* 12(1982).

¹⁸ P. 271 Sudhaus I.

¹⁹ P. 273 Sudhaus I.

Longo	Sudhaus
2 - - -] μήποτε οὐ το[- - - - - -]ηι τὸ διαλόγ[ισμα ἐμπ]οδίσαι, ἀλλὰ πολ[ὺ 5 τὸ]ν λόγον ἐκτείνα[ντα πο]λλὰ δύνα[σθ]αι εἰς τὸ αὐ- τ]ὸ εἰπεῖ[ν	. . . . μήποτε οὐ τ ηι το διαλ[έ]γ[εσθαι αὐτ]ὸ δρᾶι ἀλλὰ τὸ μ[α- κρὸ]ν λόγον ἐκτείνα[ντα πο]λλὰ δύνα[σθ]αι εἰς τὸ αὐ- τ]ὸ εἰπεῖ[ν

“. . . perhaps not . . . prevent the reasoning, but, much prolonging the speech, be able to tell many things for the same purpose . . .”.

L. 3. The autopsy of P authorized the supplement διαλόγ[ισμα instead of Sudhaus' διαλ[έ]γ[εσθαι; and this has modified the original text. διαλόγισμα is an epicurean term which is used by Epicurus,²⁰ with the meaning of “reasoning” and “treatment”, only in the plural form, and by Carneiscus:²¹ περὶ τῶν [κ]υριοτάτων δι[α]λόγισμα γνήσ[ι]ον παρ' αὐτῆι, “with regard to the most important things a true reasoning on its level (philosophy)”²²

L. 4: ἐμπ]οδίσαι : in this case too, the autopsy allows us to restore a different term from Sudhaus', whose proposal is αὐτ]ὸ δρᾶι, possibly because of the letters written in the Oxonian facsimiles. Furthermore, in the second part of this line, not τὸ μ[ακρὸ]ν, but πολ[ὺ τὸ]ν is to be read. In any case, the meaning does not change. The concept of prolonging or shortening the speech, expressed by ἐκτείνειν λόγον is common to many authors²³ and also to Philodemus in many passages.²⁴

The content of this sentence is resumed in the following fragments 12a, 13 and 14.²⁵ I have already discussed this elsewhere.²⁶ In fr. 12a (=12 Sudhaus I), in l. 1 there is the verb λέγειν, in l. 3 τὸ δι[αλέ]γεσθαι, in l. 5 the noun τῆς διαλεκτικῆς. In ll. 7 ff. we read:

σ]ὺν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐλ[λην]ί[ζ]ειν κα[ί] καθόσον ... | τὸ] διαλέγεσθ[α]ι ταὐτὸ τῶι | κ]ατὰ βραχὺ λ[έ]γειν .

“. . . to speak correctly in Greek with one's similars and in that . . . to practise dialectics is the same thing as to speak concisely . . .”

In spite of its extremely fragmentary character, it seems that the context of these first lines leads us to the stylistic question: λέγειν, διαλέγεσθαι, διαλεκτική, ἑλληνίζειν, and the equivalence between dialectic and concise speech, which seems present in the last lines, could allow one to establish some affinity with the *Vatican Sentence* 26 where πολὺς λόγος and βραχὺς λόγος are compared and none of which is important, according to Epicurus, in view of the end to be reached.²⁷ I was able to read κατὰ βραχὺ also in the following fragments 13

²⁰ *Ep. ad Herod.* 68 : τὰ διαλογίσματα (τὰ) περὶ ψυχῆς; *Ep. ad Pyth.* 85: τὰ διαλογίσματα ταῦτα.

²¹ *Philistas II*, PHerc.1027, col.XX 2, p.194 ed.Capasso, 'La Scuola di Epicuro', Collezione di testi ercolanesi dir. da M. Gigante, vol. X (Napoli 1988).

²² Cf. Capasso, p. 264.

²³ Cf. Hdt. 7, 51: λόγον ἐκτείνειν; A., *Eu.* 201: τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου; S., *Tr.* 679 : μείζον' ἔκτενω λόγον; Pl., *Lg.* 887a: ὁ λόγος ἐκταθεῖς.

²⁴ Cf. *Rh.* III (PHerc. 1506), col. XV 16, p. 220 Sudhaus II: πολ[λάκ]ις μὲν ἐ[κ]τείνειν μα[κρ]οὺς λόγους; *Mus.* IV (PHerc. 1497), col. XXXVIII 35 s., p. 89 ed. Neubecker, 'La Scuola di Epicuro' cit., vol. IV (Napoli 1986): οὐδὲ πολλοστημόριον ὀφειλον ἐκτείνειν.

²⁵ P.273 s. Sudhaus I.

²⁶ Cf. F. Longo Auricchio, 'Retorica da Epicuro a Lucrezio', *CErc* 20(1990), p. 178.

²⁷ Cf. G. Milanese, *Lucida carmina. Comunicazione e scrittura da Epicuro a Lucrezio*, (Milano 1989), p. 40 s.

and 14 which are extremely fragmentary (in l. 2: κατὰ βραχ[ύ and in l.10: κα]τὰ βραχύ respectively).

In fr. 15, ll. 5 ff.²⁸ the expression πολλά[κ]ις στ. . τούς λόγους καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς ἰ λόγους (πολλά[κ]ις and λόγους in l. 7 are not in Sudhaus) can be recovered; in l. 9 τῶι ῥήτορι and in l. 12 τὸ ῥητορεύειν.

In fr. 16 , ll. 2 ff. Sudhaus writes:²⁹

οἱ ῥήτ]ορες
[διὰ φι]λο[σ]οφί[ας] ἀγαθοὶ
κασ . . . ακω πολὺ κρείτ-
5 τογ[ες τῶν] δοκούντων

whereas the autopsy of P allows one to propose:

ὅτι ῥ[ήτ]ορες
[διὰ φι]λοσοφίας ἀγαθοὶ
[γίνοντ]α[ι] καὶ πολὺ κρείτ-
5 τον[ες τῶν] δοκούντων

The initial letters of l.4 were in part written on a 'sovrapposto' (κασ), in part the result of a bad reading in the drawing (ακω).

In fragment 18, ll. 5 ff. we read:³⁰

5 - - -]ως οὗτος ἔφη τὸ[ν - - -
δαι[. .]ν παρ' ᾧ(ι) ζητήσ[εις]
ἐγίνοντο [π]ερὶ συγγ[ρα-
φῶν ἀκυρώσεως κα[ὶ ψη-
φισμάτων παρακούσ[ε-
10 ως, ἔστω δὲ καὶ [τὸ ῥη-
θὲν οὕτωςί[- - -

“. . . (as?) this one said (about?) ... on behalf of whom research was carried out cancelling of conventions and misunderstanding of decrees. May what has been said, be so . . .”.

L. 5 f.: the autopsy of P confirms the text of the facsimiles εφητο and refutes Sudhaus' proposal σπο[υ]δαῖον.

L. 9: the new reading παρακουσ[, to be guessed in the Oxonian facsimiles, eliminates Sudhaus' proposal παρακ[ρύψει]ως. According to LSJ, the term παράκρουσις is a Philodemean *hapax* which makes it uncertain. παράκουσις, which I propose, is used by Galenus³¹ and by Michael Ephesius in his *Commentaries* to the Aristotelian *Parva naturalia*.³² These are later authors (Michael belongs to XI-XII cent.), but, at least, the word is definitely

²⁸ P. 274 s. Sudhaus I.

²⁹ P. 275 Sudhaus I.

³⁰ P. 276 Sudhaus I.

³¹ Cf., for instance, vol. 7, p. 56 Kühn.

³² 4, 32, ed. Wendland.

witnessed. Furthermore, the term ἀκύρωσις too, which is surely written in l. 18 is used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,³³ who is near to chronologically Philodemus and, apart from in him, it can also be read in BGU 1282³⁴ and in P.Oxy 266.³⁵

L.10 f. : the reading of the *paragraphos* between l. 10 and l. 11 confirms the punctuation in l. 10.

The content of fr. 19 is ethical, with reference to the judicial sphere. Sudhaus, on the contrary, saw in it statements about the technicians' capacities. In fact he wrote in ll. 10 ff. :³⁶

10 τὸς τεχνί]τας καὶ τοὺς μὴ
τε[χνί]τας] τοῦτ' ἔστιν καὶ
ἀπο[δεί]ξαι [ί]κανῶς, τίς
δύναται] καὶ τίς οὐ

“. . . the technicians and those who are not technicians, that is to demonstrate adequately who is capable and who is not capable”.

In l. 11 the two initial letters are το and not τε; after a gap of about five letters we read οὐτουτεστινκαί : thus the supplement τε[χνί]τας] is not correct. Furthermore the context of this fragment and of the following one deals with the ethico-judicial problems, as I said: it is question of what is right or wrong, beautiful or shameful, and regards who is guilty and who brings charges. Thus I would propose to write ll. 19 ff.:

[- - - τοὺς
10 ἀδικοῦν]τας καὶ τοὺς μὴ
τοι[ούτους], οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν καὶ
ἀπο[δεί]ξαι ἰκανῶς τίς
ἀδικεῖ] καὶ τίς ὀ΄,

“. . . those who are guilty and those who are innocent, this is not also adequately demonstrated who does wrong and who does not”.

In fr. 22 , which, according to Sudhaus,³⁷ is almost hopeless, we can recover something. This is the text of ll. 6-9:

] τῶ[v] φιλο[σόφων οὐ-
τ'] ἀτόλμους οὐτ'[ἀτί-
μους γεγονότα[ς εἰς τὸ
ῥητορεύειν τ[- - -

“. . . of the philosophers . . . who are neither cowardly nor unworthy before the rhetoric . . . ”

³³ *Ant. Rom.* 2, 72 Jacoby.

³⁴ 1282, 33 del I d.C.

³⁵ 107, 5 (II d.C.).

³⁶ P. 277 Sudhaus I.

³⁷ P. 278 s. Sudhaus.

And in ll. 12 ff. we read:

τ]ήν [κενοδ]οξίαν κ[αὶ τήν
 δι]ατρεψίαν καὶ τήν δ[ι-
 ατροπήν ο[- -] . . .
 δι]αλο[γι]σμῶι γ[ί]ν[ε]σθα[ι

“ . . . being subjected to vain opinions and the aptitude of deterring and the disgust . . . by philosophical reasoning to be(?) . . . ”.

L. 12 : the autopsy P granted the recovery of this and the following lines. Among the terms that we can conjecture on the grounds of the surviving letters [κενοδ]οξίαν seemed to me the most appropriate both to the context and to the number of letters missing in P. It occurs also in another book of Philodemus' *Rhetorica*.³⁸ Epicurus uses this word in *Sent. Vat.* 30. Furthermore, the rejection of vain opinions is generally present in Epicurean philosophy.³⁹

L. 13: More problems are created by the reading]ΑΤΡΕΨΙΑΝ which is preceded by a lacuna of two letters. The noun δι]ατρεψίαν, proposed by me, is an ἄπαξ; Philodemus uses the verb διατρέπομαι. The other possible nouns are, in any case, very scarcely attested, almost ἄπαξ too: for instance, the word ἀδιατρεψία which would be, *longius spatio*, in any case, is used by Suet., *Calig.* XXIX, and is translated by him as “inverecundia”.

L. 13 s. : also δ[ι]ατροπήν is recovered by the autopsy of P: the word is used by Philodemus in its plural form, in the IV book of his *Rhetorica*.⁴⁰

L. 15: δι]αλο[γι]σμῶι recalls fr. 11, 1, where it was possible to conjecture διαλόγισμα. διαλογισμός is used by Philodemus in this same book of his *Rhetorica*.⁴¹ Furthermore, it is worth while reminding that Epicurus recalls “the memory of the past conversations (διαλογισμῶν)” which cheers his soul at the moment of death, as he himself writes to Idomeneus in his *Letter of the last days*.⁴²

I have elsewhere adequately examined the results that the autopsy of P has given for fr. 25.⁴³ I only recall that it has been possible to identify a wider, more ancient version of a proverb, mentioned, as it seems, only by Aristotle in the second book of his *Metaphysics*, that Sudhaus was unable to see on reading only the facsimiles.⁴⁴

³⁸ PHerc. 1004, col. XV 14 s., p. 332 Sudhaus I.

³⁹ Cf., e.g., Epic., fr. 202, 422, 471 Usener, Polystr. *Cont.* (PHerc. 336/1150), col. XV 26, XXIX 22 s., p. 116, 127 Indelli, Philod., *Rhet., Lib. inc.* (PHerc. 1015), col. XLIV 19 s., p. 44 Sudhaus II.

⁴⁰ Cf. PHerc. 1007, col. XXXVIII^a 10, p. 219 Sudhaus I.

⁴¹ PHerc. 832, col. 26, 2, 10s., p. 38 s. Sudhaus I.

⁴² Cf. D.L. X 22 = fr. 138 US. = [52] Arr. = 23 Angeli, *Idomeneo*.

⁴³ P. 280 s. Sudhaus I.

⁴⁴ Cf. F. Longo Auricchio, ‘Un proverbio citato da Filodemo’, *CErc* 21(1991), pp. 97-102.

In fr. 26⁴⁵ it is possible to complete the end of a sentence which is fragmentary at the beginning. It is possible to read in ll. 3 ss. :

- - -]ς παρέθηκ[ε βλέ]πων
 - - -] εἰς [τὰς πολ]ιτι-
 5 κὰς κα[ὶ ῥη]τορικὰ[ς] ἐπ[ι-
 χειρήσεις οὐ πρὸς τὰ[ς εἰ]ς
 βίον ἀνηκούσας.

“... he presented, considering the political and rhetorical arguments, not those concerning life.” Sudhaus’ text of l. 6 ended after πρὸς, and his text of l. 7 was interrupted before ἀνηκούσας.

In Sudhaus’ text of fr. 27⁴⁶ we read, in l. 13 s.: τὰ τῶν πολλῶν | [λήμ]ματα. But, at the beginning of l. 14, before μ the horizontal upper dot of γ is clear. We can think therefore of the word δό]γματα.

Finally, in fr. 28, l. 3,⁴⁷ it is possible to recover καλ]οκαγαθίαν. Then follows the conjunction καί and the letters πλς[which possibly lead one to suggest πλε[ονεξία because in l. 4 we read κ]αὶ πλούσιο[v] καὶ π[- - -. In l. 12 we can supply πρ[όλ]ηψιν.

⁴⁵ P. 280 s. Sudhaus I.

⁴⁶ P. 281 Sudhaus I.

⁴⁷ P. 281 s. Sudhaus I.

UNA NUOVA LETTURA NELLE *PRAGMATEIAI* DI FILODEMO (PHERC. 1418, COL. XVIII)

Cesira Militello

Mi occuperò di una colonna del papiro ercolanese 1418, il cui testo, modificato da una nuova lettura, è stato già da me discusso nel XXII volume di “Cronache Ercolanesi”.¹

Il PHerc. 1418 contiene le *Pragmateiai* di Filodemo che, come tutti gli altri testi filosofici del Gadareno, non sono tramandate da altre fonti. Se questo fatto costituisce una perdita notevole, date le condizioni spesso deteriorate dei rotoli ercolanesi, l'assenza di ogni termine di confronto è per le *Pragmateiai* più grave a causa del “tipo” di testo; si tratta infatti di una silloge di citazioni dall'epistolario di Epicuro e dei suoi scolari.

L'opera rientrerebbe nella prima produzione del filosofo di Gadara, e risalirebbe approssimativamente al secondo venticinquennio del I sec. a.C., come è stato ipotizzato da M. Gigante,² sulla scorta dell'indagine paleografica di G. Cavallo.³

La scrittura, classificata da Cavallo come tipo “E”,⁴ è una maiuscola lunata a modulo misto, ed è spesso molto sbiadita su un fondo assai scuro; la lettura è perciò in molti casi disagiata, a causa della mancanza di contrasto.⁵

Di questo trattato esisteva forse una copia recenziore,⁶ identificata dal Gomperz⁷ nel PHerc. 310, ma la questione relativa all'identità di contenuto dei due papiri resta aperta;⁸ secondo il Diano⁹ infatti si trattava della “copia di un testo analogo”. In ogni caso, la presenza nella biblioteca ercolanese di almeno tre testi aventi la stessa struttura, cioè il PHerc. 176,

¹ C. Militello, 'Requiem per contritio cordis (PHerc. 1418, col. XVIII)', *CronErc* 22/1992, pp. 157-161.

Nel corso dell'articolo farò uso delle seguenti abbreviazioni: Cavallo = G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*, I suppl. a *CronErc* 13/1983; Diano = C. Diano, *Lettere di Epicuro e dei suoi nuovamente o per la prima volta edite* (Firenze 1946, 1974); Liebich = W. Liebich, *Aufbau, Absicht und Form der Pragmateiai Philodems* (Berlin 1960); LSJ = H. G. Liddell-R. Scott-H. S. Jones-R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1985⁹); Militello, 'Contritio' = C. Militello, 'Requiem per contritio cordis (PHerc. 1418, col. XVIII)', *CronErc* 22/1992, pp. 157-161; PG = J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Patrologia graeca* (Parisii-Turnholti 1857-1967); PGL = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1987⁸); Schmid = W. Schmid, 'Contritio und 'ultima linea rerum' in neuen epikureischen Texten', *RhM* 100/1957, pp. 301-327; Spina = L. Spina, 'Il trattato di Filodemo su Epicuro e altri (PHerc. 1418)', *CronErc* 7/1977, pp. 43-83; *ThGL* = H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Parisii 1831-1865); Usener = H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Lipsiae 1887, Romae 1963, Stutgardiae 1966); Vogliano = A. Vogliano, 'Nuovi testi storici', *RFIC* 54, N. S. IV/1926, pp. 310-331; Vogliano, 'Nuove lettere' = A. Vogliano, 'Nuove lettere di Epicuro e dei suoi scolari tratte dal papiro ercolanese n. 176', *AFLC* I-II (1926-27), pp. 385-424.

² M. Gigante, 'La biblioteca di Filodemo', *CronErc* 15/1985, p. 14 s. (= *Filodemo in Italia*, Firenze 1990, p. 26 s.).

³ P. 61.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 33.

⁵ Diversamente W. Crönert, 'Neues über Epikur und einige herkulanensische Rollen', *RhM* 56/1901, p. 613 = *Studi Ercolanesi* (Napoli 1975), p. 109. Cf. invece A. Vogliano, 'La lettera di Epicuro a Mitre', *Acme* 1/1948, p. 119, e Spina, p. 43.

⁶ Cavallo, p. 57, la data al I sec. d.C.

⁷ T. Gomperz, 'Ein brief Epikurs an ein Kind', *Hermes* 5/1871, p. 392.

⁸ Così M. Capasso, 'Per la storia degli studi ercolanesi', *CronErc* 15/1985, p. 185 n. 295.

⁹ P. 5. Il Vogliano, che in una lettera al Bassi definì la proposta del Gomperz “una falsa illazione”, pure ricostruì la col. XXXIII di PHerc. 1418 in base al confronto con il framm. 3 del PHerc. 310 - v. Vogliano, pp. 321-325.

prefilodemeo, il 1418 e il 310 dimostra la fortuna in ambiente epicureo di un genere che non ebbe seguito nella letteratura successiva.

Per documentare la difficoltà della ricostruzione del PHerc. 1418 (che pure conserva testimonianze di fondamentale importanza per la storia del Κῆπος, come, per esempio, l'*epistula supremorum dierum* di Epicuro a Mitre), fornirò alcuni dati strettamente tecnici.

Secondo il Cavallo,¹⁰ la lunghezza "standard" dei rotoli ercolanesi oscillava tra i 6 e i 9 m. circa, mantenendosi in genere al di sotto dei 10 m.; poiché il PHerc. 1418 misura attualmente m. 2,95, sono andati perduti da metà a due terzi dell'opera intera. Inoltre, delle trentotto colonne superstiti, che dovevano contenere originariamente ca. 36-38 linee,¹¹ le prime ventisette colonne conservano al massimo venti linee, ma il corpo del testo si estende mediamente per non più di quindici linee. Il processo di svolgimento infatti, del 1792, ha distrutto le *partes inferiores* delle prime colonne conservate, mentre ha gravemente stravolto quelle dalla col. XXVIII in poi. Ancora, a causa delle cattive condizioni del papiro, sono almeno dieci le colonne¹² in cui non si possono ricostruire che parole isolate o nomi propri, che ben poco cooperano alla comprensione del contesto.

La col. XVIII del PHerc. 1418 contiene due *excerpta* di un'epistola di cui ignoriamo i nomi del mittente e del destinatario.

Il contesto è, come quasi sempre, lacunoso; ci troviamo qui probabilmente alla fine di una sezione, dal momento che dalla col. XIX alla col. XXIII si può riconoscere un capitolo dedicato all'epicureo Cronio. Della sezione che si conclude con la col. XVIII non possiamo individuare né l'estensione né l'argomento,¹³ a causa della lacunosità delle prime colonne.

Una nuova lettura alle ll. 5-6, già da me segnalata nell'articolo citato, ne ha modificato la lezione corrente.

PHerc. 1418 col. XVIII

- - -
- - - ἐ]ν ἄλλαις καὶ
ἐ]ν τῆ[ι πρὸς] Ἀριστόβουλον, Α[. . .
.] ἀπάσει, καὶ τῆ[ι πρὸς] [Κω-
5 λώτην, καὶ τῆ[ι νῦν πρὸς Εὐδ[ημο]ν.
ΕΠΙΔΕΧΙΜ[. .]Ν . . [. . .]ΚΑΡΟΥΣ ἀκού-
σας ο[ὗ]ν φιλανθρώπως ὑπὲρ ἐμ[οῦ
πρὸς αὐτὸν μιμνήσκοιο [γ]εγρ[άφε-
10 ναι συνιστὰς φίλον σαυ[το]ῦ καὶ Ἐ-
πικούρου πάλι τὸν Ἴποκλείδην,
συνειληφέναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτ[α] πάν-
τα καθ' ἕκαστα πυθόμενος π[α-
ρ' Εὐβούλου ". συ[νίσ]τησι δ' ἔτι αὐ[τῶι
15 Πρώταρχον. γράφει δὲ [καὶ] ταῦ-
τί·" Εὐδή[μ]ου θεαύμακα [ὅτι] . [.]Υ
ΤΩΙ μακρὰν ἀπηρτήθη τ[οῦ] γεγο-
νότος χωρίσας ἑαυτὸν . [- - -

¹⁰ Pp. 16 e 45.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 18.

¹² Coll. III-IV-Va-Vb-VI-VIII-IX-XIII-XXXIV-XXXV.

¹³ Diversamente A. Angeli, 'Verso un'edizione dei frammenti di Leonteo di Lampsaco', in *La Charta Borgiana* (Firenze 1990), p. 65 s. - cf. il mio articolo 'Contritio', p. 157 n. 4.

2 - - - ἐ]ν ἄ[λλαις καί Liebich, p. 17, Spina, p. 55 ἐ]ν ἄ[λλαις τε καί Diano, p. 7, Schmid, p. 303 3 sq. A[. . . I] P, N ἀ[τόλχειρι οὔση] Diano, ceteri 4 sq. πρ[ὸς] Κ[ω]ιλώτην Diano, Schmid, Spina πρ[ὸς] Κ[ω]ιλώτην Liebich 5 sq. legi et conieci ΚΑΙΤΗΝΣΥΝΤΡΙΒΕΤ[. . .]ΕΠΙΔΕΧΟΜ[- - -] ΚΑΡΟΥΣΑ[. . . N καὶ τῆι νῦν πρ[ωτε]υ[ούση]]επιδεχ[.]μ[.] .]νο[. . . .]λλ[.] .]ς Vogliano, p. 314 καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν [σου] | ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς, κατὰ] κα[ι]ρούς Diano καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν [προσ]επιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς κατὰ] κα[ι]ρούς Schmid, Spina καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν [μου] | ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς κατὰ] κα[ι]ρούς Liebich 6 sq. ἄ[κού]σας Usener, p. 134, Schmid, Spina α[.] .]σας Vogliano ἀ[πά]σας Diano, Liebich 7 ο[ὖν] Vogliano οὔ[ν] Diano, Schmid, Liebich οὔν Spina 8 μινῆσκοι[? Vogliano μινῆσκοι[ο] Liebich μινῆσκοι[ς] (αὐτόν) Diano μινῆσκοι[ς] Schmid μινῆσκοις Spina 10 Ἴπποκ[λε]ί[δ]ην Vogliano Ἴπποκ[λε]ί[δ]ην Diano, Schmid, Spina Ἴπποκ[λε]ί[δ]ην Liebich 12 sq. πυθόμενος π[α]ρ' Vogliano, Schmid, Spina πυθόμενον π[α]ρ' Diano πυθόμενος π[α]ρ' Liebich 13 δὲ κα[ι] αὐ[τὸν τὸν (?) Vogliano δ' ἔτ' αὐ[τῶι] Diano, ceteri 14 post Πρώταρχον spatium [κα]ί Diano, ceteri 14 sq. ταυ[τί] secuta Gigante apud Spina scripsi ταυ[τί] Usener, ceteri 15 sq. ο[ύ]τ[ωι] Usener, Vogliano αὐ[τῶι] Diano, ceteri.

“ . . . in altre (lettere) ed in quella ad Aristobulo, . . . tutta, ed in quella a Colote ed in quella ora scritta a Eudemo . . . avendolo saputo dunque potresti ricordargli di avere scritto in termini benevoli su di me raccomandando nuovamente come amico tuo e di Epicuro Ippoclido, e di aver saputo tutto ciò essendone stato informato dettagliatamente da Eubulo”. Gli raccomanda inoltre Protarco. Scrive anche così: “Mi sono meravigliato di Eudemo, per il fatto che si distaccò per lungo tempo dall'accaduto, essendosi allontanato . . . ”

Nella lettera citata sembrerebbe che si parli dell'interessamento di un epicureo, probabilmente un καθηγητής, per Ippoclido e Protarco .

E' problematico stabilire con certezza se Ippoclido sia il coetaneo di Polistrato, il terzo scolarca del Giardino, di cui abbiamo notizia da Valerio Massimo,¹⁴ oppure un suo omonimo. Il Vogliano¹⁵ escluse che potesse trattarsi della stessa persona, sia per motivi cronologici che per le caratteristiche che ne tramanda Valerio Massimo;¹⁶ al contrario lo Schmid¹⁷ identificò i due personaggi, ricavandone che Polistrato sarebbe stato allievo diretto di Epicuro. Un importante contributo alla questione viene dal PHerc. 1780,¹⁸ che contiene i resti di una διαδοχή epicurea. Dal testo si ricava che nel 221/0 - *terminus ante quem* - Polistrato era già morto; perciò, ipotizzando che fosse vissuto ca. 75 anni, egli avrebbe potuto ascoltare le ultime lezioni di Epicuro all'inizio della sua carriera filosofica.¹⁹ Dati gli elementi a nostra disposizione, nulla impedisce di identificare Ippoclido con il συμφιλοσοφῶν di Polistrato, soprattutto se si traduce

¹⁴ Val. Max. I 8, 17: “Hoc loco apte referuntur Polystratus et Hippoclidus philosophi, eodem die nati, eiusdem praeceptoris Epicuri sectam secuti, patrimonii etiam possidendi habendaeque scholae communione coniuncti eodemque momento temporis ultima senectute extincti”.

¹⁵ P. 316 - egli sostenne a torto che il nome ricorre altre volte nel PHerc. 1418. Così sostanzialmente anche Diano, p. 28 .

¹⁶ Cf. anche M. Capasso, 'Polistrato uditor di Epicuro?', *CronErc* 12/1982, pp. 5-12. Diversamente, Liebich, p. 24, pone la questione in modo problematico.

¹⁷ P. 307.

¹⁸ Pubbl. da T. Dorandi-G. Indelli-A. Tepedino Guerra, 'Per la cronologia degli scolarchi epicurei', *CronErc* 9/1979, p. 141 s.

¹⁹ Così Dorandi-Indelli-Tepedino Guerra, *ib.* Alla questione accenna anche T. Dorandi, *Ricerche sulla cronologia dei filosofi ellenistici* (Stuttgart 1991), p. 49 s.

συνίστημι come “raccomandare”, come vedremo meglio tra poco. Attualmente non disponiamo invece di tracce concrete per l'identificazione di Protarco.²⁰

Risale al Diano²¹ la lettura, a l. 5 della nostra colonna, del termine συντριβή, “contrizione”, che ha fortemente condizionato l'interpretazione non solo di questo passo, ma di tutto l'atteggiamento di Epicuro nei confronti dei discepoli che si fossero allontanati da lui. Da questa lettura derivava che il fondatore del Κῆπος avrebbe riammesso nella scuola i discepoli che si fossero pentiti di eventuali deviazioni dottrinarie; il significato di συντριβή come *contritio cordis* sarebbe stato, secondo il Diano, “di origine asiatica e di uso popolare”.²²

L'ipotesi dello studioso era dal punto di vista terminologico suffragata dai numerosi neologismi presenti nella lingua di Epicuro, notati già dal Wilamowitz,²³ dovuti alla coesistenza in Asia Minore di elementi etnici diversi.²⁴ Il Diano integrava a l. 6 ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς], riferendolo a Epicuro e dando così inizio al fraintendimento di questa colonna per il quale Epicuro avrebbe accolto la *contritio cordis* di Timocrate.²⁵ Secondo lo studioso (ma la ricostruzione era dichiaratamente ipotetica) qui Metrodoro avrebbe scritto da Atene a Timocrate che era a Lampsaco, dicendogli che doveva ricordare ad Epicuro²⁶ che egli stesso aveva scritto ad un quarto ignoto personaggio parlando bene di Metrodoro. Ancora, secondo lo studioso, qui “al destinatario viene affidato il compito di comporre malintesi sorti tra quei di Atene e la cerchia dei conoscenti d'Asia”. Già lo Schmid,²⁷ pur essendosi soffermato estesamente sul concetto di συντριβή, che ricollegava alla παρηρησία epicurea,²⁸ notava che essa “rappresentava propriamente qualcosa di illegittimo per lo spirito filosofico, che solo in casi determinati poteva essere considerato da Epicuro come permesso ed eticamente accettabile”.²⁹

In realtà, il termine συντριβή ha avuto nella letteratura “laica” poca fortuna; a parte il passo filodemeo, che va però corretto, è attestato in un luogo di Vettio Valente³⁰ (II d.C.) nel senso di “rovina” ed in uno delle *Etiopiche* di Eliodoro³¹ (III d.C.) nel significato di “frantumazione”. Συντριβή ricorre nel senso di *contritio cordis* per la prima volta in un passo dei *Proverbi*³² biblici, in cui si legge “πρὸ συντριβῆς ἡγεῖται ὕβρις, πρὸ δὲ πτώματος κακοφροσύνη” “prima del pentimento domina la tracotanza, prima dell'errore la malvagità”.

In ambiente patristico il termine viene invece utilizzato in una gamma vastissima di sfumature,³³ da “frizione” a “rottura”, a “oppressione”, a “difficoltà” fino, naturalmente, a “contrizione”. Quest'ultima accezione ricorre tuttavia solo in autori di IV e V secolo, come

²⁰ L'unico Protarco noto in ambiente epicureo è Protarco di Bargilia, vissuto nel II sec. a.C. - cf. W. Aly, *Protarchos*, RE XXIII 1 (1957), 924. Vogliano, p. 315, interpretò πρῶτα[ρ]χον come uno *Spitzname*.

²¹ P. 27.

²² P. 28 n. 1.

²³ Menandri reliquiae in papyris et membranis servatae ed. Ch. Jensen', *Gnomon* 5/1929, p. 465.

²⁴ Su questo argomento v. H. Diels, 'Ein epikureisches Fragment über Götterverherung', *SDAW* 1916, p. 888 = *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (Hildesheim 1969), p. 290.

²⁵ Egli non si soffermò tuttavia sulla questione. L'identificazione di mittente e destinatario, che è comunque posta dal Diano in maniera problematica, è invece accolta senza riserve da F. Sbordone, 'Per la storia dell'epistolario di Epicuro', in *Miscellanea Rostagni* (Torino 1963), p. 33.

²⁶ Riconosciuto in un immaginario (ἀυτόν) inserito forzosamente a l. 8.

²⁷ P. 313.

²⁸ In particolare Phld., *Lib. dic.* fr. 49.

²⁹ P. Rabbow, *Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzitten in der Antike* (München 1954), passa sotto silenzio la *contritio cordis* epicurea.

³⁰ Vett. Val. 74, 4. Cf. LSJ s.v.

³¹ Heliod. X 28.

³² *Proverbia* 16, 18. Il termine ricorre anche in altri luoghi.

³³ Cf. PGL s.v.

Giovanni Crisostomo,³⁴ Teodoro Mopsuesteno³⁵ e Teodoreto Cirrense,³⁶ e di VIII sec., come Anastasio Sinaita³⁷ e Giovanni Damasceno.³⁸

In base alla nuova lettura alle ll. 5 s. l'espressione τὴν συντριβὴν [σου] ἢ ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς] proposta dal Diano, come quella τὴν συντριβὴν [προσ]ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς] suggerita dallo Schmid,³⁹ che si è ampiamente soffermato sul concetto,⁴⁰ non sono confermate, e l'espressione che le sostituisce è molto più banale, pur ripristinando la *concinnitas* della frase. Si tratta dell'elenco di alcune epistole, probabilmente di Epicuro;⁴¹ la lettura della traccia del δ e del chiaro v a l. 5 ha consentito l'integrazione del nome di un ipotetico Eudemo, nominato anche a l. 15, del quale non abbiamo notizie da altre fonti.⁴²

Si può così riconoscere in questa colonna la successione di due citazioni, tratte forse dalla stessa lettera - infatti Filodemo quando cambia fonte lo segnala costantemente.⁴³ Il primo *excerptum* si estende almeno da l. 6 a l. 13; il secondo comincia a l. 15. Per quanto riguarda il primo passo epistolare, bisogna fare alcune considerazioni. Innanzitutto, per l'attuale inizio, è probabile che le ll. 2-5 non siano di Filodemo ma rientrino nel passo citato; a ciò porterebbe l'uso del νῦν.⁴⁴ L'autore della lettera doveva cioè riferirsi ad un concetto espresso (con tutta probabilità da Epicuro) in più epistole. Se questo è vero, bisogna osservare due elementi importanti: 1) l'affiancamento dell'ignoto Eudemo a personaggi ben altrimenti noti come Aristobulo, il fratello di Epicuro, e Colote, uno degli ἐλλόγμοι μαθηταί ricordati da Diogene Laerzio;⁴⁵ 2) il fatto che venissero elencate delle lettere di Epicuro, presumibilmente citate perché dovevano trattare un tema comune, conferma che le lettere del caposcuola venivano molto presto raccolte in *corpora* e messe a disposizione dei frequentatori della scuola.⁴⁶ Per quanto riguarda la conclusione dell'*excerptum*, questa è stata collocata dalla maggioranza degli editori⁴⁷ alla l. 13, dopo Εὐβούλου; l'espressione di l. 13 s., συ[ν]ί[σ]τησι δ' ἔτι αὐ[τῶ]ι ἢ Πρώταρχον, "gli raccomanda inoltre Protarco", sembrerebbe un'aggiunta di tono parentetico -

³⁴ Jo. Chrys., *Hom. 3.5 in Mt.*, 43 b (PG 57, 38 A); *Hom. 19.3 in Mt. 7*, 248 a (PG 57, 277 C); ; Id., *Hom. 9.4 in Heb.* 12, 99 a (PG 63, 81 A).

³⁵ Theod. Mops., *In epistulam I ad Corinthios* 5:3 (PG 66, 881 B).

³⁶ Theod. Cyr., *In Danielis cap. 6:10* 1181 (PG 81, 1404 B).

³⁷ Anast. Sin., *Oratio in Psalmum VI* 3 (PG 89, 1080 A).

³⁸ Jo. Damasc., *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* 87 (PG 96, 949 B) e 314 (PG 96, 1185 C).

³⁹ P. 303. Liebich scrisse invece τὴν συντριβὴν [μου] ἢ ἐπιδεχόμε[ε]νο[ς].

⁴⁰ Cf., oltre l'articolo di Schmid, anche il mio articolo, 'Contritio'.

⁴¹ Così già Diano, p. 28.

⁴² Secondo Usener, *Index nominum* s.v., Eudemo era un discepolo di Epicuro; questa è in effetti l'ipotesi più probabile.

⁴³ Nelle *Pragmateiai* è caratteristica la fissità delle formule introduttive e di passaggio. Le prime presentano innanzitutto la datazione attraverso l'arconte (ἐπί c. *genit.*), seguita dall'indicazione del destinatario, in dativo, e del mittente, in nominativo; le seconde si allontanano raramente, come in questo caso, dalle formule καὶ προβάς e καὶ προελθόν. Cf. anche Liebich, p. 20; diversamente Vogliano, p. 317.

⁴⁴ Di questo ho anche discusso in 'Contritio', p. 159. La questione appare in ogni caso problematica.

⁴⁵ D. L. X 25.

⁴⁶ Mi riferisco in particolare alle epistole "ordinarie", che si occupavano dei problemi quotidiani della scuola; a parte vanno considerate le epistole dottrinarie, "utili per giovani pigri" (Auc. Ep. Inc., *Vita Philonidis*, *PHerc.* 1044 fr.14, 3-10, in F. Longo Auricchio, *Ermarco. Frammenti*, La Scuola di Epicuro, Collezione di testi ercolanesi diretta da M. Gigante, 6, Napoli 1988, p. 76 s.), che avevano funzione di epitomi (cf. le tre epistole riportate da D. L. X 35 ss.). Si vedano anche Usener, p. LIV ss.; W. Liebich, 'Ein Philodem-Zeugnis bei Ambrosius', *Philologus* 98/1954, pp. 116-131 e P. von der Mühl, 'Basilius und der letzte Brief Epikurs', *MH* 12/1955, pp. 47-49.

⁴⁷ Diano, p. 8; Schmid, p. 303; Liebich, p. 17; Spina, p. 55 s.

che non rientri nel corpo della citazione parrebbe dimostrato anche dall'uso della III pers. sing.⁴⁸

Un punto del testo merita ancora attenzione : è la linea 6. A parte l'impossibilità di risolvere la successione ΕΠΙΔΕΧΙΜ,⁴⁹ rimane problematica anche quella [. . .]ΚΑΡΟΥΣ (potrebbe trattarsi di un genitivo o di un accusativo), e così è un'ipotesi fragile anche l'integrazione del participio ἀ[κού]σας. Infatti nella traduzione, dal Diano in poi,⁵⁰ φιλανθρώπως è stato riferito a [γ]εργ[αφέ]ιναι, ma non si può escludere che vada invece riferito ad una parola che preceda.⁵¹ La costruzione di μιμνήσκω come un *verbum dicendi* fu già notata dallo Schmid;⁵² qui mi pare che si debba preferire senz'altro la forma media del verbo.⁵³

Un discorso a parte va affrontato per il verbo συνίστημι, che ricorre nel testo ben due volte (l. 9 e l. 13) e costituisce la parola-chiave della colonna. Non è un caso infatti che le diverse proposte di traduzione dei vari editori ne abbiano fortemente condizionato l'interpretazione.

Il Vogliano⁵⁴ intese συνίστημι come "raccomandare" in senso politico, sostenendo che si respirasse "aria di intrigo". Secondo la sua ricostruzione, il mittente della lettera, diciamo A, avrebbe scritto al destinatario, diciamo B, che un terzo personaggio (C), forse un uomo politico, doveva ricordarsi di ciò che aveva scritto in favore di A, cioè del mittente. Per il Vogliano si trattava "di far risovvenire ironicamente l'autore delle lettere di ciò che ha scritto"; perciò ipotizzava che a scrivere non fosse un filosofo. Questa ricostruzione fu già ritenuta dal Liebich troppo complicata.⁵⁵ Il Diano⁵⁶ intese invece συνίστημι diversamente nei due luoghi del testo, traducendo a l. 9 "guadagna di nuovo all'amicizia tua e di Epicuro Ippoclide" e a l. 13 "gli riconcilia anche Protarco"; lo Schmid tradusse invece συνιστάς "commendans".⁵⁷

Come Vogliano e Schmid, anche il Liebich⁵⁸ intese συνίστημι come "raccomandare". Secondo lo studioso, qui il mittente cercava di convincere il destinatario a fare di nuovo da mediatore tra Ippoclide ed un uomo politico, così da ottenerne la riconciliazione. La lettera sarebbe stata così riportata da Filodemo per documentare che il personaggio di cui si parlava in questa sezione del libro, cioè il destinatario della lettera, spesso raccomandava gli epicurei in posti politici importanti.⁵⁹ Di qui la notazione filodemea "gli raccomanda anche Protarco". Il mittente per Liebich poteva essere identificato in Metrodoro o Ermarco; il destinatario in Timocrate o Idomeneo; il politico in Antigono o Lisimaco.

Alla luce di così varie traduzioni, appare chiara la difficoltà di proporre una esegesi definitiva di questa colonna.

Posto che la parola-chiave del testo è senz'altro il verbo συνίστημι, credo che questo, sulla base dei lessici,⁶⁰ debba essere inteso come "raccomandare". Così, come abbiamo visto,

⁴⁸ Il Vogliano, p. 314, poiché dopo Πρώταρχον alla l. 14 c'è uno *spatium vacuum*, chiuse lì la citazione, intendendo πρώταρχον come uno *Spitzname*, un soprannome, pur non escludendo, nel commento, che le parole fossero di Filodemo.

⁴⁹ Per la quale si deve forse ricorrere alla *extrema ratio* di ipotizzare un errore dello scriba.

⁵⁰ Diano, p. 21; Schmid, p. 305; Liebich, p. 19; Spina, p. 55.

⁵¹ Così anche Vogliano, 'Nuove lettere', p. 416 n. 2. L'o[ὐ]ν indica in ogni caso che ci si trova ad inizio di proposizione.

⁵² P. 307. Cf. anche Phld., *Lib. dic.* fr. 46, 9, in cui da μιμνήσκω dipende ὅτι c. *indic.*

⁵³ Cf. il mio articolo 'Contritio', p. 160.

⁵⁴ 'Nuove lettere', p. 416 n. 2 e 'Dall'epistolario di Epicuro e dei suoi primi scolari', *Prolegomena* 1/1952, p. 51.

⁵⁵ Liebich, p. 21: "Dieses Verhältnis wäre außerordentlich kompliziert".

⁵⁶ P. 21.

⁵⁷ P. 305; v. anche, *ib.*, p. 307.

⁵⁸ Pp. 20-25.

⁵⁹ P. 22.

⁶⁰ Cf. LSJ s.v.; *ThGL* s.v.

avevano tradotto il Vogliano e il Liebich, ma la relazione ipotizzata da loro con una personalità politica mi pare non necessaria.

Partendo dall'espressione di l. 13 s., συ[νίσ]τησι δ' ἔτι αὐ[τῶν] | Πρώταρχον, "gli raccomanda inoltre Protarco", possiamo pensare che il πρὸς αὐτόν di l. 8 sia ἀπὸ κοινοῦ riferito non solo a [γ]εργ[αφέ]λαι ma anche a συνιστάς; il verbo potrebbe allora avere un'accezione, diciamo così, affettiva. Sulla base dei pochi dati forniti dal testo si potrebbe quindi ipotizzare che Ippoclide, forse coetaneo di Polistrato, e Protarco, probabilmente molto giovani, già segnalatisi per meriti filosofici, sarebbero stati raccomandati alle cure di un καθηγητής⁶¹ dal destinatario della lettera citata, anch'egli forse un καθηγητής. Ippoclide sarebbe stato raccomandato al καθηγητής più volte dalla stessa persona, come fa pensare l'avverbo πάλι di l. 10.

Poiché verisimilmente lo spostamento più frequente dei discepoli di Epicuro era da Lampsaco ad Atene, si può ipotizzare che il destinatario fosse a Lampsaco e di lì avesse raccomandato Ippoclide a qualcuno ad Atene. Il mittente era allora ad Atene;⁶² Eubulo, che sarebbe andato forse da Atene a Lampsaco, avrebbe comunicato al destinatario tutte le notizie relative a Ippoclide.

Più difficile è stabilire la relazione con l'ipotetico Eudemo, oggetto del secondo *excerptum*, trascurato dagli editori precedenti. L'unico elemento certo è che il suo allontanamento suscita meraviglia in chi scrive (Εὐδή[μ]ου τεθαύμακα).

Questa ricostruzione, comunque ipotetica, ha tentato di fare un po' di luce su uno dei tanti passi problematici delle *Pragmateiai* di Filodemo, un testo, come abbiamo visto, gravemente mutilato, ma che, pure, fornisce a tutt'oggi una testimonianza intensa e partecipe sulla figura umana di Epicuro e sulla vita quotidiana del primo Κῆπος.

⁶¹ Era la norma che i più giovani discepoli di Epicuro venissero affidati ad un educatore (Cf. M. Gigante, *Ricerche filodemeae*, Napoli 1983², pp. 55-113); per la distinzione tra καθηγεμών e καθηγητής v. F. Longo Auricchio, 'La Scuola di Epicuro', *CronErc* 8/1978, p. 22 s. Si possono richiamare anche i rapporti tra Pitocle e Polieno, che ne sarebbe stato il παιδαγωγός; v. D. Sedley, 'Epicurus and the Mathematicians of Cyzicus', *CronErc* 6/1976, p. 45.

⁶² Così già Diano, p. 27.

PHERC. 19/698 : STOÏCIENS ET EPICURIENS SUR LA SENSATION

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Le PHerc. 19/698 n'a jusqu'à présent fait l'objet que d'éditions partielles.¹ W. Scott² n'a édité que la partie la plus lisible³ qui constitue l'argumentation finale où l'auteur, Philodème de Gadara très vraisemblablement, reprend des éléments de diverses théories de la sensation pour les discuter et les resituer par rapport à la théorie épicurienne. Une nouvelle lecture du papyrus s'est imposée, à la fois pour compléter le texte déjà édité et pour en corriger certaines leçons fondées essentiellement sur les dessins. Même si le début du papyrus présente un texte très lacunaire, son étude n'est pas sans intérêt pour approfondir notre connaissance à la fois de la composition du traité et des conceptions hellénistiques de la sensation. Nous allons nous intéresser à une partie déjà éditée, mais où la relecture du papyrus a permis de mettre à jour de nouveaux points.

Dans les colonnes IX-XVII (selon ma numérotation des colonnes, 6-14 selon la numérotation de W. Scott), qui constituent la deuxième partie du traité (ou du moins dans ce que nous en avons conservé sous la forme d'un texte relativement continu), Philodème aborde une notion qui n'apparaît pas chez Epicure : la *catalepsis*.⁴ Il est peu probable que l'épicurien qu'est Philodème veuille la reprendre à son compte et en faire une des composantes de la théorie qu'il développe. Tout porte à croire au contraire qu'il a exposé dans la partie initiale du papyrus (dont il ne reste malheureusement que des fragments) les principales divergences entre la doctrine épicurienne et les autres doctrines. Or il est clair qu'un des points de désaccord manifeste tourne autour de la notion de *catalepsis*, notion fondamentalement stoïcienne.⁵ Cependant, il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'une critique négative : Philodème se sert notamment de ce terme pour couvrir et expliquer un aspect de la théorie épicurienne de la sensation.

Présentons tout d'abord la fonction de la *κατάληψις* dans la théorie stoïcienne avant d'en voir les applications chez Philodème.

¹ La dernière en date est celle que donnent A. A. Long et D. Sedley dans *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, Cambridge-New York-New Rochelle-Melbourne-Sydney 1987.

² L'édition du PHerc. 19/698 est incluse dans les *Fragmenta Herculansia. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculanean Rolls together with the Texts of Several Papyri accompanied by Facsimiles* (Oxford 1885). Cet ouvrage regroupe, en fait, un catalogue des *facsimiles* d'Oxford (les apoglyphes) ainsi que l'édition de plusieurs papyrus : le PHerc. 19/698, publié pour la première fois, le PHerc. 157/152 (= *De dis* III de Philodème), le PHerc. 26 (= *De dis* I), le PHerc. 1043 (une oeuvre de Démétrius Lacon), le PHerc. 862 (pour lequel Scott conjecture comme titre *περὶ μαθήσεως* ?).

³ C'est à dire, pour le PHerc. 19, les colonnes numérotées de 1 à 31 sur le carton qui supporte le papyrus et, pour le PHerc. 698, vingt-huit fragments. Cependant, la nouvelle lecture du papyrus a permis de compléter certains fragments du PHerc. 698 pour lesquels W. Scott ne proposait que quelques mots et de voir qu'il manquait, dans l'édition de Scott ainsi que dans les dessins, deux colonnes, entre les colonnes numérotées 2 et 3 sur le carton.

⁴ On trouve des occurrences de ce terme dans les textes d'épicuriens plus tardifs comme Démétrius Lacon (cf. PHerc. 1013, col. XVIII De Falco, p. 65 ; PHerc. 1055, col. 13 De Falco, p. 72).

⁵ Cicéron attribue d'ailleurs la paternité de ce terme à Zénon : "qua ex similitudine etiam nomen ei rei, quod ante non fuerat, *κατάληψιν* imposuit" (*Acad. pr.* II 145, ed. Reid). Cependant, il faut noter que Platon utilise déjà le substantif (sans lui accorder une valeur technique particulière dans le domaine de la sensation, les trois occurrences renvoyant au champ lexical de la guerre) et surtout le verbe. C'est dans le *Théétète* (cf. 165 b-c) et le *Phèdre* (250 d) qu'il est employé pour exprimer une appréhension sensible (voir aussi *Ax.* 370 a). Stobée note que les membres de l'Académie refusent ce terme pour définir la sensation (*Ecl.* I 50 = Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 8, 13, dans Diels, *Dox.* p. 396).

La sensation, pour les stoïciens, est un phénomène complexe, comme en témoignent les multiples définitions que le Portique en a données;⁶ elle a également donné lieu à de nombreuses discussions tant à l'intérieur de l'école qu'à l'extérieur. A proprement parler, l'objet immédiat de la sensation est le sensible (αἰσθητόν) qui s'exprime le plus souvent dans les témoignages en terme de représentation (φαντασία).⁷ Les objets extérieurs impriment leurs caractéristiques sensorielles sur l'âme par l'intermédiaire des organes des sens, et l'affection qui en résulte (ou représentation) révèle sa cause, c'est-à-dire l'objet extérieur.⁸ A la différence des épicuriens, les stoïciens conçoivent que les représentations en elles-mêmes peuvent être vraies ou fausses.⁹ Ce n'est que lorsque la représentation reçoit l'assentiment de l'esprit (συγκατάθεσις) qu'elle devient "cataleptique"¹⁰, ainsi nommée parce qu'elle rend compte de la saisie (κατάληψις) de l'objet. C'est dans ce cadre qu'elle constitue un critère de vérité.¹¹ La *catalepsis*, terme employé notamment pour désigner l'acte même de la perception,¹² implique

⁶ La sensation est considérée à la fois comme 1° une image qui reproduit l'objet (c'est une empreinte pour Cléanthe, cf. Diogène Laërce, VII 46), 2° une altération de l'âme par l'effet d'un stimulus extérieur (théorie de Chrysippe, cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* VII 372), 3° l'effet que produit sur l'âme un objet : le blanc est τὸ κινεῖν, et la représentation du blanc, le πάθος correspondant (Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 12, 1 = Diels, *Dox.* p. 401).

⁷ φαντασία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γινόμενον, ἐνδεικνύμενον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πεποιηκός· οἷον ἐπειδὴν δι' ὄψεως θεωρῶμεν τὸ λευκόν, ἔστι πάθος τὸ ἐγγεγενημένον διὰ τῆς ὀράσεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι ὑπόκειται λευκὸν κινεῖν ἡμᾶς· : "la représentation est donc encore une affection qui se produit dans l'âme et qui montre en elle-même également ce qui la produit. Ainsi, lorsque, par l'intermédiaire de la vue, nous percevons le blanc, c'est une affection qui se produit à l'intérieur de l'âme par l'intermédiaire de la vision. Et nous pouvons dire que cela est l'affection, parce qu'il y a un objet blanc qui nous meut" (Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 12, 1 = Pseudo-Plutarque, *Epit.* IV 12, dans Diels, *Dox.*, p. 401). Le texte des manuscrits est difficile. Il oblige à faire de πάθος "un attribut en dépit de l'article. De plus, si nous acceptons ce texte, ὑπόκειται a un sens affaibli. Ces deux difficultés sont naturellement levées si on adopte, comme le font Long et Sedley (cf. *The Hellenistic philosophers*, Cambridge 1987, vol. II p. 239 = fr. 39 B), la conjecture de Wyttenbach (καὶ <κατὰ> τοῦτο τὸ πάθος εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν): "et c'est cette affection qui nous rend capables de dire qu'il y a un objet blanc qui nous meut". La correction néanmoins n'est pas indispensable.

⁸ Cf. Aëtius IV 12, 3 (Diels, *Dox.*, p. 402).

⁹ Cf. Diogène Laërce VII 54 ; *SVF* II 131 (= PHerc. 1020, fr. II n)

¹⁰ E. Bréhier adopte la traduction "représentation compréhensive" (*Chrysippe*, Paris 1910, p. 86 ss. ; cf. aussi A. Virieux-Reymond, *La logique et l'épistémologie des Stoïciens. Leurs rapports avec la logique d'Aristote, la logistique et la pensée contemporaines*, Chambéry 1950, p. 57). En anglais on le trouvera le plus souvent traduit par "cognitive impression" (cf. F. H. Sandbach, *The Stoics*, Londres 1975, p. 85) ou "presentation" (F. H. Sandbach, "Phantasia kataleptike", dans *Problems in Stoicism*, ed. A.A. Long, Londres 1975, p. 10), ou encore "recognizable presentation" (cf. J. M. Rist, *Stoic philosophy*, Cambridge 1969, p. 133). Sur la valeur active ou passive de l'adjectif καταληπτικός" différentes opinions ont été émises : K. Praechter (cf. F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*. Erster Band Die Philosophie des Altertums. Herausgegeben von K. Praechter, Basel-Stuttgart 1926, p. 416) lui accorde une valeur active. E. Bréhier lui donne une valeur passive (cf. *Chrysippe et l'Ancien Stoïcisme*, Paris 1910, 2^e édition Paris 1951, p. 94), tout en supposant une évolution du terme (*op. cit.* p. 100, n. 1).

¹¹ Cf. Diogène Laërce, VII 54 ; Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* VII 151-152.

¹² "nec definiri aiebant necesse esse quid esset cognitio aut perceptio aut, si uerbum e uerbo uolumus, comprehensio, quam κατάληψις illi uocant, eosque qui persuadere uellent esse aliquid quod comprehendi et percipi posset, inscienter facere dicebant, propterea quod nihil esset clarius ἐναργεία, ut Graeci : perspicuitatem aut euidenciam nos. si placet, nominemus fabricemurque, si opus erit, uerba, ne hic sibi -me appellabat iocans- hoc licere putet soli" (*Acad. pr.*, II VI 17, "Il n'était pas nécessaire, disaient-ils (*scil.* les Stoïciens), de définir la connaissance ou perception ou, pour traduire mot à mot, la compréhension, en grec *catalepsis* ; ceux qui voulaient les convaincre, ajoutaient-ils, qu'il y avait des choses qui pouvaient être comprises et perçues étaient des maladroits, puisqu'il n'y a rien de plus clair que l'enargeia, comme on dit en grec ; appelons-la, s'il vous plaît, clarté ou évidence ; et, s'il est besoin, inventons des mots, pour que celui-ci (il me désignait en souriant) ne pense pas en avoir seul la permission", trad. E. Bréhier, revue par V. Goldschmidt, éd. Pléiade, p. 195 s., texte de J. S. Reid, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Academica*. London 1885, réimpr., p. 192 s.). Cf. aussi *Acad. Pr.* II 145 et Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* VII 151, Diogène Laërce, VII 52 et Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 8, 12 (Diels, *Dox.*, XLVII p. 396). C'est un terme ambigu qui apparaît

elle-même un acte d'assentiment.¹³ Mais, pour les stoïciens, la *catalepsis* ne concerne pas uniquement les qualités. En effet, il convient de distinguer la *catalepsis* d'une qualité de celle d'une notion, la première s'effectuant par la sensation, la seconde par le raisonnement.¹⁴ La saisie est dite faite "par le sens" quand les représentations sensorielles provenant de l'extérieur sont jointes à l'intérieur par un assentiment de l'esprit pour produire une *catalepsis*.¹⁵ Si la représentation est illustrée, par Zénon, du geste de la main ouverte, les doigts étendus, la *catalepsis* est représentée par un poing serré, qui marque le retour à l'hégémonique, et est l'étape intermédiaire entre l'assentiment et la science, obtenue par l'action de la main gauche serrant le poing.¹⁶ La *catalepsis* apparaît donc doublement comme un processus perceptif et intellectuel.

Philodème reprend cette terminologie à la fois pour résumer la théorie stoïcienne et pour expliquer la théorie épicurienne de la sensation.

Sa réflexion sur la conception stoïcienne de la sensation part de la distinction stoïcienne entre ἀντίληψις et κατάληψις, que l'on retrouve dans différents témoignages, et notamment chez Sextus Empiricus.¹⁷ Mais à la différence de ce dernier, Philodème ne lie pas la sensation à un acte cognitif. Il analyse uniquement, semble-t-il, les différents moments perceptifs, d'une part pour relever les manques dans la théorie adverse, d'autre part pour montrer qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de supposer, comme le font les stoïciens, certains processus.

Les stoïciens distinguent plusieurs types d'actes perceptifs, notamment l'appréhension (ἀντίληψις) et la saisie (κατάληψις). Philodème part de ce point et affine cette distinction à la colonne IX (= 6 Scott, l. 1-4), où il rapporte, sur un mode critique, une position manifestement stoïcienne :

"(... les sensations¹⁸) appréhendent les qualités, mais ne saisissent pas le fait qu'elles les appréhendent."¹⁹

Au niveau de l'appréhension, il distingue deux phases : l'appréhension des qualités et la saisie de l'appréhension, autrement dit de l'action d'appréhender, et reproche à ses adversaires de ne pas faire la distinction entre appréhension des qualités et saisie de l'appréhension des qualités. Si l'acte physiologique qui est la simple rencontre du sensible (qui s'exprime par le préfixe ἀντι-) est parfaitement admis par les stoïciens, la conscience que nous pouvons avoir

doublement comme un processus perceptif et intellectuel. C'est ce qui amène J. M. Rist à considérer pour κατάληψις deux sens : 1/ "the grasp of perception", 2/ "the grasp of knowledge" (cf. *Stoic Philosophy*, p. 139). Selon A. A. Long ("Ptolemy *On the Criterion*", *The Question of "Eclecticism"*, ed. M. Dillon & A. A. Long, Los Angeles/London 1988, p. 183), l'équivalence κατάληψις-ἐπιστήμη-γνώσις est postérieure aux stoïciens.

¹³ Cf. Sextus Empiricus qui la définit comme un "assentiment à une représentation cataleptique" (*Adv. math.* VII 248).

¹⁴ ἡ δὲ κατάληψις γίνεται κατ' αὐτοὺς αἰσθήσει μὲν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων καὶ τραχέων καὶ λείων, λόγῳ δὲ τῶν δι' ἀποδείξεως συναγομένων, ὥσπερ τὸ θεοὺς εἶναι, καὶ προνοεῖν τούτους ("C'est par la sensation, selon les stoïciens, que se produit la saisie du blanc et du noir, du rude et du lisse, et par le raisonnement qu'a lieu la saisie des conclusions auxquelles on est parvenu par une démonstration, comme le fait que les dieux existent et qu'ils exercent la providence", Diogène Laërce, VII 52, texte de H. S. Long, *Diogenes Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, Oxford 1964).

¹⁵ Cf. *SVF* I 60, II 53, 71-75 ; Cicéron, *Acad. Pr.* II xii 37 et xxxiv 108.

¹⁶ Cf. *Acad. pr.* II 145, ed. Reid.

¹⁷ Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* VII 424 ; Stobée, *Ecl.* I 50 [42], 1 (= Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 8, 1, dans Diels, *Dox.* p. 393-394) ; voir aussi le témoignage de Némésius, *ibid.*

¹⁸ La restitution de τὰς αἰσθήσεις comme sujet du verbe repose sur l'expression κ[ατα]λαμ[β]άνουσιν α[ἰ] αἰσ[θ]ή[σ]εις ποιότητος qui figure dans la reformulation du problème à la colonne X (= 7 Scott). Le fait que nous ayons une proposition infinitive nous a conduit à penser qu'il s'agit bien d'une thèse non-épicurienne.

¹⁹ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἢ ποιότητων ὅτι δ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἀντιλαμβάνονται μὴ ἢ καταλαμβάνειν (colonne IX = 6 Scott).

de cette appréhension (exprimée par καταλαμβάνειν, verbe caractéristique du stoïcisme) fait défaut dans l'exposé de la doctrine stoïcienne. Les stoïciens reconnaissent aux sens la faculté d'appréhender les qualités (ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ποιότητων), mais en excluant le fait qu'ils puissent avoir connaissance de cet acte (μὴ καταλαμβάνειν). Philodème utilise ici la terminologie des stoïciens pour relever un manque dans leur théorie.

Dans la suite de la colonne, il en vient à se demander si les organes des sens appréhendent les qualités et l'acte d'appréhension de ces qualités :

"Quant à nous, du fait que nous ne référons pas les termes à un emploi simple, nous pensons qu'il convient d'opérer une distinction et de garder d'emblée à l'esprit dans nos recommandations que l'objet de la recherche est de savoir si les organes des sens à la fois appréhendent celles-ci (*scil.* les qualités) et le fait que ceux-ci appréhendent les qualités qui sont là ..." ²⁰

L'expression ἡμεῖς δέ laisse supposer que Philodème a exposé une position dont il se démarque ici. Il s'agit d'opérer une distinction entre les deux aspects de l'acte sensoriel, ce que Philodème reproche à ses adversaires de ne pas avoir fait : ils ont eu tort de ne pas avoir distingué appréhension des qualités et appréhension de l'appréhension. Philodème, quant à lui, justifie cette distinction par le fait que l'usage commun, auquel les épicuriens eux-mêmes peuvent avoir recours, n'utilise pas de termes dans un sens univoque. Nous pouvons penser que Philodème justifie l'emploi d'un seul et même terme, en l'occurrence ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, pour désigner deux aspects différents du processus sensitif, à savoir l'appréhension simple d'un côté (celle des qualités), et la perception de cette appréhension de l'autre. De même qu'à la colonne X (= 7 Scott), il distinguera la *catalepsis* en deux stades, la *catalepsis* des qualités et la *catalepsis* de la *catalepsis*, il analyse ici l'appréhension en appréhension des qualités et appréhension de l'appréhension (autrement dit, de l'action d'appréhender). W. Scott fait dépendre διότι de προκατέχειν et aligne ainsi le fait que les organes des sens perçoivent les ὑφιστατά ("les objets", selon Scott) et la question de savoir si les organes des sens perçoivent les qualités. Cette construction est possible mais certainement erronée. La question que pose Philodème repose bien sur une dichotomie : dépend-il des organes des sens d'appréhender les qualités (καὶ τούτων ἀντιλαμβάνονται) et le fait de les appréhender (καὶ διότι ταῦτα τῶν ὑφιστατῶν ἀντιλ[α]μ[βάν]ετ[αι]). La répétition de καὶ devant τούτων et διότι place les deux expressions sur le même plan.

La lacune qui suit ce raisonnement laisse cette question sans réponse. Mais on peut vraisemblablement penser que Philodème reprochait à ses adversaires de n'avoir pas posé la dichotomie qu'il relève.

A la colonne suivante, Philodème applique une dichotomie analogue à la saisie : il distingue en effet saisie des qualités et saisie de la saisie. Que les sensations saisissent les qualités est admis tant par les épicuriens que par les stoïciens :

"... les sensations saisissent les qualités. De fait, nous disons que les qualités sont saisies par elles." ²¹

Le début de la colonne pourrait bien être la position stoïcienne. La deuxième phrase a pour but de confirmer qu'un épicurien peut admettre ce point. La saisie des qualités correspond bien

²⁰ ἡμεῖς ¹⁵ δὲ τῶι μὴ ἐφ' ἀπλοῦν | καταφέ[ρ]ειν τὰς διαλέκτους διαστέλλεσθαι δοκιμάζομεν καὶ παραινέσαντες προκατέχειν | ¹⁰ ὅτι τὸ [ζ]ητούμενόν ἐστὶν εἰ τὰ αἰσθητήρια | καὶ τούτων ἀντιλαμβάνονται καὶ διότι ταῦτα τῶν ὑφιστατῶν | ¹⁵ ἀντιλ[α]μ[βάν]ετ[αι] ποιότητων (colonne IX = 6 Scott) :

11 εἰ τὰ legi : ε(ι?)τ' Scott 15 ἀντιλ[α]μ[βάν]ετ[αι] ποιότητων legi et supplevi : αντι- - - ετ - -μο Ox. : ἀντιλ[α]μ[βάν]ετ[αι] ?]μο[νων] Scott

²¹ κ[ατα]λ[αμ]β[άν]ουσιν | α[ι] αἰσ[θήσ]εις ποιότη[τας]· ¹⁵ τὰς μέντοι ποιότη[τας] | ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαι λέγομεν (colonne X = 7 Scott)

à un élément doctrinal caractéristique des épicuriens, même si Epicure ne l'énonce pas en ces termes. En effet, le terme usuel est celui ἐπαίσθησις. La question est naturellement de savoir ce que signifie καταλαμβάνειν sous la plume d'un épicurien. Il n'y a aucune raison de ne pas donner au verbe sa valeur terminologique. Philodème traduit vraisemblablement ici un élément doctrinal épicurien dans une terminologie qui est celle de l'école stoïcienne. De fait, on comprend parfaitement qu'un épicurien, pour qui, par définition, toute sensation est vraie, accepte d'utiliser un terme qui, chez l'adversaire, connote la vérité de la sensation. Cependant, la phrase suivante montre qu'il n'accepte pas jusqu'au bout la position stoïcienne :

"Par conséquent, il dit (*i. e.* vraisemblablement un stoïcien) qu'une saisie dirigée vers d'autres objets a lieu, indépendamment de la saisie des qualités, en relation avec des sensations par laquelle en plus d'elle est saisie < la saisie > des qualités ..."²²

L'emploi du terme καταλαμβάνεσθαι, chez un épicurien, ne peut avoir le même sens que chez un stoïcien. Cette phrase montre les implications stoïciennes que le verbe peut recevoir et qui ne sont pas partagées par l'épicurien : une *catalepsis* autre que celle des qualités, si elle est possible pour un stoïcien, ne peut l'être pour un épicurien. Cette "saisie dirigée vers d'autres objets" (κατάληψις εἰς ἕτερα), à savoir autre chose que les qualités elles-mêmes, mais qui concerne les sensations, (περ[ι] αἰσθήσεις), et qui s'ajoute à la "saisie des qualités" (πρὸς αὐτῆι), est manifestement ce que Philodème nomme à la colonne suivante la κατάληψις κατάληψεως.²³ Le "quelque chose d'autre" est donc la *catalepsis* elle-même (qu'une première *catalepsis* saisit). Cette expression n'a aucune chance d'être de source stoïcienne puisque la *catalepsis* stoïcienne, par définition, comprend les deux moments de la saisie de l'objet et de la conscience de l'objet. Philodème utilise un terme stoïcien en développant les implications de la thèse stoïcienne. Il explicite un point qui, dans la doctrine stoïcienne, reste implicite : la conscience de l'acte de saisie, pour ensuite substituer à cette notion une thèse épicurienne qui est plus directe.

Si Philodème reconstruit cette position, c'est pour en montrer l'inutilité dans le cadre de la théorie épicurienne : l'affection (πάθος, terme courant dans l'analyse du processus sensoriel dans la théorie épicurienne) fait qu'il est inutile de supposer quelque chose comme la saisie de la saisie. L'analyse que l'on peut tirer du texte n'est pas sans rapport avec un passage de la *Lettre à Hérodote* où il est fait mention du πάθος ἀκουστικόν :

"Mais encore : l'audition résulte également d'un flux émanant de ce qui émet un son, résonne, fait un bruit ou produit d'une autre manière encore une affection auditive."²⁴

Différentes interprétations ont été proposées pour cette expression. On considère généralement que, dans ce passage, l'affection n'a pas, comme ailleurs, le sens de "critère" (l'affection du plaisir ou de la douleur). Les affections sont comprises comme des façons d'expérimenter les effets de la sensation, ce qui conduit, dans cette logique, à faire en sorte que les affections, au sens de critère, soient partie intégrante, épistémologiquement parlant, de

²² δ[ιὸ] | κατάληψιν [εἰ]ς ἕτερα | λέγει γίνεσθαι[ι] περ[ι] |¹⁰ αἰσθήσεις χωρ[ι]ς τῆς | τῶν ποιότη[ω]ν κα[τα]λήψεως, ἢ κατ[αλαμ]βάνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆ[ι] | τὴν τῶν ποιο[τ]ήτων (colonne X = 7 Scott)
7 δ[ιὸ ?] Scott 8 [εἰ]ς coniecti : [πρὸ ?] Scott 13 πρὸς αὐτῆ[ι] legi et coniecti : πρὸς αὐτ[ῆ]ν ?] Scott

²³ Colonne XI (= 8 Scott), l. 1-2.

²⁴ ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν γίνεται πνεύματός τινος φερομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ φανούντος ἢ ἠχοῦντος ἢ ψοφούντος ἢ ὅπωςδήποτε ἀκουστικὸν πάθος παρασκευάζοντος. (*Ep. Herod.* 52, texte et traduction J. Bollack - M. Bollack - H. Wismann, *La lettre d'Epicure*, Paris 1971).

l'αἴσθησις épicurienne.²⁵ Une telle interprétation est difficile à admettre, d'autant plus que le texte de la *Lettre à Hérodote* distingue tout à fait les deux critères (αἴσθησις et πάθος).²⁶

Ce qui est sûr, c'est que cette "affection auditive" n'est pas simplement le plaisir ou la douleur (qui représentent les deux pôles opposés) provoqué par un son. Tout laisse penser au contraire que l'affection est un phénomène qui se développe à l'intérieur du sujet qui perçoit et qu'elle renvoie bien à la conscience que le sujet qui perçoit a de sa propre perception (cela peut s'expliciter par des états intermédiaires entre le plaisir et la douleur). C'est ce que montre parfaitement le texte de Philodème.

L'affection est localisée dans la perception, mais elle n'est pas une perception au même titre que, par exemple, la perception de la couleur, car, à la différence de la couleur, elle n'est pas elle-même saisie par une perception indépendante et autonome :

"en effet, lorsque l'affection est présente, elle se produit dans la perception elle-même, puisque une affection est le fait de celle-ci et est saisie dans celle-ci ; mais non pas de la manière dont, lorsque la couleur est présente, < la qualité > a besoin de la perception afin qu'il y ait saisie."²⁷

Ce passage montre bien le lien entre affection (πάθος) et perception (ἐπαίσθησις). L'affection apparaît donc comme un état du sujet percevant qui se produit de façon concomitante à la perception des qualités. Elle se situe au niveau des perceptions, à la différence de l'affection stoïcienne qui se situe dans un "lieu" différent de celui des sensations.²⁸

D'autre part, les affections sont définies comme "des perceptions d'elles-mêmes et des observations d'elles-mêmes" :

"et lorsque < nous disons²⁹ > que les affections sont des perceptions et des observations d'elles, nous ne leur laissons pas non plus de perceptions, quand bien même nous dirions que les perceptions perçoivent effectivement ..."³⁰

Mais que les affections soient "des perceptions d'elles-mêmes et des observations d'elles-mêmes" ne signifie pas qu'elles soient elles-mêmes dotées de perception. L'affection est un phénomène purement interne qui accompagne la sensation et qui constitue ce qui renvoie le

²⁵ Cf. J. M. Rist, *Epicurus. An Introduction*, p. 30. C'est également le point de vue de A. A. Long ("Aisthesis, prolepsis, and linguistic theory in Epicurus", dans *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, XVIII 1971, p. 130), pour qui les sensations et les affections sont des faits d'expérience dans le sens où la douleur, la vue, l'ouïe impliquent la conscience effective de quelque chose. G. Striker (*Kriterion tes aletheias, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1974, 2, Göttingen 1974, p. 59-63) va dans ce sens en adoptant pour πάθος un sens plus large que celui que l'on entend lorsque l'on parle du critère de vérité, c'est à dire critère de choix et de refus. Pour M. Conche, "les affections ne sont donc pas essentiellement différentes des sensations" ; elles jouent "le même rôle dans l'éthique épicurienne que celui que tient la sensation dans le cadre de la physique" (cf. *Epicure. Lettres et Maximes*, Paris 1977, p. 26).

²⁶ C'est ainsi que le comprend D. K. Glidden : tentant de comprendre les fondements perceptuels de la théorie épicurienne de la connaissance, il fait de la distinction entre πάθη et αἴσθησις la question principale de son article et s'élève contre l'interprétation de J. M. Rist qui supprime cette distinction, alors que le texte de la *Lettre à Hérodote* 38 distingue tout à fait les deux critères ("Epicurus on Self-Perception", dans *Am. Philosophical Quart.* 16, 1979, p. 297-306). Ce passage témoigne d'un processus physiologique et non d'une théorie épicurienne des sensations.

²⁷ παρὸν γὰρ ἰσὺ τὸ πάθος ἐν ἐπαισθήσει γίνεται αὐτῇ ἐπειδὴ ἢ [αὐτ]ῆς ἐστὶν πάθος καὶ ἢ [ἐ]ν αὐτῇ καταλαμβάν[ε]ται ἄλλ' οὐχ ὡς, ὅταν παρ[ε]στῆ τὸ χρῶμα, τῆς ἐπαισθήσεως γίνε[τ]αι προσιδεῖς ἴνα καταληφθῆ[ι]. (colonne XI = 8 Scott).

4 γὰρ legi Na. : ΓΑ Ox. : παρ<ά ? > Scott

²⁸ Cf. Aëtius, *Plac.* IV 23, 1 (= Diels, *Dox.*, p. 414).

²⁹ Il faut reprendre le φῶμεν exprimé à la ligne 2.

³⁰ οὐδ' ὅταν ἑαυτῶν ἐπαισθή[σ]εις εἶ[ν]αι τὰ πάθη καὶ ἢ κατατη[ρή]σεις ἑαυτῶν, ἢ ἐπαισθήσεις αὐτοῖς ἀπολε[ί]πομεν, κἂν τὰς ἢ ἐπαισθήσεις ἐπαισθῶ[σ]ει[ν] εἶ[ν]αι λέγωμε[ν] (colonne XII = 9 Scott)

11 κατατη[ρή]σεις proposuit Scott 13 κἂν scripsi : κἂν Scott 15 λέγωμε[ν] correxi et supplēvi : ΛΕΓΟΜΕ P

sujet à la conscience du fait qu'il perçoit. La réflexivité de l'affection, qui s'est exprimée une première fois en termes épicuriens (ἐαυτῶν ἐπαισθήσεις, à la colonne XII = 9 Scott), est envisagée comme καταλήψεις ἐαυτῶν (les affections sont "des saisies d'elles-mêmes", colonne XI, A = 8 Scott où à la fin de la quinzième ligne on peut conjecturer κ]ατ[α]λ[ή]ψεις³¹). Cette transposition n'est pas surprenante. Quoi de mieux pour transcrire cette notion que d'employer le terme stoïcien qui traduit cette conscience de la sensation ? Κατάληψις (terme stoïcien) et ἐπαίσθησις (terme épicurien) sont employés comme des termes de sens, sinon de connotation, équivalents.

Les deux théories, dans la présentation qu'en donne Philodème, sont finalement assez proches : d'une part, elles admettent la dualité des aspects de la sensation ; d'autre part, elles rapportent aux organes sensoriels l'appréhension des qualités. On pourrait même penser que la divergence se situe simplement au niveau terminologique, dans la mesure où stoïciens et épicuriens n'exprimeraient pas des notions proches dans les mêmes termes. Cependant la différence est plus profonde. Certes, dans la mesure où les stoïciens font de la représentation cataleptique (qui est un des moments de la sensation) un critère de vérité, ils sont proches de la théorie épicurienne (qui fait de la sensation un critère de vérité), et s'opposent, comme ces derniers,³² aux sceptiques. D'autre part, dans la mesure où la sensation est un souffle qui part de la partie hégémonique de l'âme et saisit l'objet par l'intermédiaire des sens³³ pour ensuite revenir à l'âme, toute représentation est une activité consciente, et ce n'est pas sans rapport avec l'activité sensorielle décrite par Philodème ou Epicure. Cependant, l'affection, qui est localisée, pour les épicuriens, dans la perception, fait qu'il est inutile de supposer un phénomène comme la saisie de la saisie. Inutile aussi est l'intervention d'un raisonnement (λόγος), d'un assentiment pour certifier la véracité des sensations.

Philodème utilise dans ce traité le vocabulaire propre de la *koinè* philosophique (dont κατάληψις, après les stoïciens, fait partie). Mais il ne se contente pas de traduire la doctrine d'Epicure dans la terminologie du premier siècle. Un des côtés les plus intéressants du traité est qu'il adapte la théorie épicurienne en fonction de schémas interprétatifs déposés dans la terminologie même qu'il partage avec ses adversaires, notamment les stoïciens. Même si le terme κατάληψις n'appartient pas au lexique épicurien, Philodème l'utilise à bon droit, dans la mesure où il connote, chez ses adversaires, la vérité de la sensation.

³¹ λέγων δέ τις ἡ[μ]ᾶς φάσκειντας τὰ π[ά]θη καὶ ἐαυτῶν εἶν[αι] κ]ατ[α]λ[ή]ψεις (colonnes XI A = 8 Scott). Voir aussi colonne XIV B (= PHerc. 698, fr. 8 : τὰ πάθη κ]ατ[α]λήψεις ἐαυτῶν εἶνα[ι]).

³² Cf. PHerc. 19/698, colonnes I-V.

³³ Cf. Diogène Laërce, VII 52 et Aëtius IV 21, 3 (= Diels, *Dox.*, p. 411).

PRECISAZIONI SULLA DATA DI ALCUNI TESTI DI MEDICINA IN FORMA DI CODICE

Isabella Andorlini

Plate 30

È noto che la classificazione e il computo dei primi testi greci antichi non cristiani che adottarono la forma libraria del codice, e che vengono assegnati ai secoli II e II-III, sono stati via via oggetto di precisazioni e di sensibili ridimensionamenti.¹

Una verifica degli aspetti grafici, testuali e librari dei manufatti attualmente disponibili è particolarmente importante per valutare la reale incidenza che ebbe, nella fase primitiva del fenomeno, l'uso del codice nella produzione testuale greca pagana, quando ben accertato è l'impiego preferenziale e sistematico che ne fecero fin dall'inizio i cristiani.²

Già il lavoro di verifica dei dati presentato da Guglielmo Cavallo al convegno su *Les débuts du codex*, precisa che possiamo contare solo quattro opere greche classiche sicuramente attribuibili al II secolo o al tornante del II-III; altrettanti sono i prodotti librari cosiddetti 'di seconda qualità' assegnabili allo stesso periodo (testi d'uso scolastico, letteratura d'intrattenimento, opere miscellanee), un numero nel complesso assai ridimensionato rispetto ai diciassette testimoni compresi nell'elenco compilato da Roberts e Skeat per il volume *The Birth of the Codex* apparso nel 1983.³

E neppure appare suffragata da un consistente numero di testimonianze l'ipotesi di un uso preponderante del nuovo tipo di libro - il 'codice' - per la produzione letteraria non elevata, formalmente scadente.⁴ Anzi, al gruppo dei testimoni di questo genere testuale sono certamente da sottrarre i due frammenti di operette di medicina tradizionalmente annoverati tra i più antichi esempi di testi greci di contenuto non cristiano copiati su codici di papiro, ossia il P.Berol. inv. 9015 e il P.Mil.Vogl. I 15; infatti, ad una verifica puntuale delle scritture, entrambi i pezzi risultano da assegnare ad un'epoca più tarda rispetto a quella proposta dai primi editori.⁵

Riconsideriamo innanzitutto le caratteristiche paleografiche e la tipologia testuale e libraria dei due manufatti in esame (una riproduzione parziale dei pezzi con i rispettivi termini di raffronto è data alla tavola 30 alla fine del volume).

¹Sul recente rinnovato dibattito sulle 'origini del codice', che prende spunto dal volume di C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, London-Oxford 1983, si vedano ora gli atti del convegno *Les débuts du codex*, editi da A. Blanchard, in particolare i contributi di J. van Haelst, 'Les origines du codex' e di G. Cavallo, 'Codice e storia dei testi greci antichi. Qualche riflessione sulla fase primitiva del fenomeno', in *Bibliologia* 9 (1989), rispettivamente pp. 13-35 e 169-180. E ancora G. Cavallo, 'La nascita del codice', *SIFC* 78 (1985), pp. 118-121.

²*The Birth of the Codex*, cit., pp. 40-41.

³*The Birth of the Codex*, cit., p. 71.

⁴Su questo aspetto della questione, G. Cavallo, 'Codice e storia dei testi greci antichi', cit., p. 171 e 'La nascita del codice', cit., p. 120. I codici papiracei contenenti testi di medicina sono attualmente una quarantina, solo cinque quelli pergamenacei, cfr. Marie-Hélène Marganne e P. Mertens, 'Medici et Medica'. *Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires grecs et latins*, in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology (Athens 25-31 May 1986)*, vol. I, Athens 1988, pp. 105-146. Le testimonianze sono distribuite tra il III e il VII secolo d.C. [secoli III, III/IV: 10 esemplari; IV: 5 esemplari; V, V/VI: 8 esemplari; VI: 17 esemplari; VI/VII e VII: 4 esemplari].

⁵Vedi H. Schöne, in BKT III [Berlin, 1905], pp. 29-30 con Taf. 8 ('trattato di scuola empirica', I-II ed. pr. = Marganne-Mertens, Pack³ 2355) e A. Vogliano e K. Kalbfleisch, P.Mil.Vogl. I 15 [Milano, 1937], pp. 33-39 ('questionario medico', II^p ed. pr. = Marganne-Mertens, Pack³ 2340). Con la stessa datazione sono inclusi in E.G. Turner (che non aveva visto i papiri), *The Typology of the Early Codex*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1977, nn. 389 e 387. Una collocazione cronologica al III d.C. per entrambi proponeva già G. Cavallo, 'Codice e storia dei testi greci antichi', cit., p. 171.

Il papiro di Berlino inv. 9015 consiste in un piccolo frammento mutilo almeno su tre lati e interessato dalla stessa scrittura su entrambe le facciate; verosimilmente stralciato da una pagina di codice papiraceo,⁶ il pezzo è assegnato dall'editore al I-II secolo d.C.

Come si può osservare dalla tavola annessa alla *ed. pr.*, il testo è vergato in una grafia di piccole dimensioni e diritta, di andamento regolare e non particolarmente elegante; nel disegno nitido delle singole lettere un'esecuzione sobria coniuga tratti rettilinei e curve.⁷ La si può definire una moderata realizzazione di forme grafiche peculiari delle scritture di 'stile severo', quali un contenuto contrasto tra lettere larghe - prevalenti - e lettere strette, col risultato di conferire alla riga un effetto di orizzontalità, le forme angolose di *alpha* e del corpo del *phi* (→ rr. 2 e 3), il rimpicciolimento di *omicron* e *sigma* ottenuti con tracciato curvilineo, il disegno rigido di *epsilon* (e della metà sinistra del *theta*) a schiena appiattita, il *my* ampio e con i tratti obliqui fusi in una curva, appiattite fino ad una leggera ondulazione le curve di *omega*.

Pur nella modestia della riproduzione disponibile e del campione di scrittura conservato, si possono evidenziare alcune tendenze grafiche da interpretarsi come indizi della receniorità di esecuzione del manufatto.

Si osserva intanto una modesta alternanza di spessore fra tratti 'spessi'⁸ ed altri più 'sottili':⁹ il contrasto è subito evidente, per esempio, nell'incontro tra le due oblique del *delta* che interessa anche per il modo pronunciato in cui la parte destra prevarica sulla sinistra nell'angolo al vertice (↑ r. 1 δε);¹⁰ qualche tendenza ad alterare il bilinearismo si ravvisa, oltre che per le aste di *phi* e *psi* (in alto e in basso, così come avviene per le estremità delle diagonali del *chi*), anche per la coda di *hypsilon* che curva sinuosamente a sinistra (↑ r. 1 συυ), un andamento talora osservabile anche per le basi delle verticali di *tau* e *rho*. Significativa la tendenza ad avvicinare i segni (ottenuta nelle successioni κα, και, δε, αυ, τι), ed ancora l'attitudine di alcune lettere a comprendere nel proprio campo elementi o porzioni del segno che immediatamente segue o precede: modificano a tal fine l'inclinazione sul proprio asse *alpha* e *kappa* nelle sequenze και e κη (→ r. 5 κα con retroinclinazione di *alpha* ed espansione sotto il rigo di base del fiocco che lega l'obliqua sinistra col tratto mediano; → r. 9 και, → r. 4 κη, con inclinazione in avanti del *kappa* ed espansione sotto il rigo del tratto obliquo inferiore della biforcazione); interessante il modo in cui è realizzato il gruppo το (→ r. 1; ↑ r. 4), in cui il piccolo *omicron* è tutto incluso nello spazio creato dall'incontro ad angolo retto dei due tratti componenti il *tau*.¹¹

Se dunque nell'impressione complessiva quella del papiro di Berlino richiama esemplari di scritture letterarie datate al tornante del II-III, o al pieno III secolo d.C., quali il papiro di Ossirinco del *Fedro* di Platone,¹² un ulteriore parallelo fornito da un papiro 'datato' viene ad avvalorare l'assegnazione del nostro frammento di codice alla metà del III d.C.: il confronto si può istituire con una lettera dell'archivio di Eronino (P.Flor. II 259, 'lettera di Timeo ad

⁶Resta probabilmente un'esigua porzione del margine superiore, cfr. la trascrizione dell'*ed. pr.*

⁷Tendono ad un'incurvatura leggera anche le oblique di *alpha*, il tratto mediano del *ny*, la prima asta di *eta*.

⁸Come l'obliqua destra del *delta*, le verticali discendenti di *eta*, *kappa*, *pi*.

⁹Ad es. le oblique discendenti da destra a sinistra di *delta* (vedi ↑ r. 1, 3), *alpha*, *chi*.

¹⁰La differenza di spessore è ravvisabile nel caso delle verticali discendenti (ad es. *kappa*, *eta*, *pi* etc.) più marcate rispetto alle linee ascendenti ed oblique (ad es. *alpha*, *chi*).

¹¹Questa modalità grafica è peculiare di scritture più tarde, ad es. P.Oxy. XXXIV 2699 (Apoll. Rh. Arg., assegnato al IV^p), in E.G. Turner, *GMAW*, 2nd ed. by P.J. Parsons, London 1987 (*BICS* Suppl. 46), Fig. 49, v. 14; P.Holm. I 2 ('ricette di chimica', assegnato al IV^p: Taf. 1, r. 2 e *passim*).

¹²P.Oxy. VII 1016, Pl. V e C.H. Roberts, *GLH*, Pl. 20a (anche in E.G. Turner, *GMAW*, cit., Fig. 84, III^p: *terminus post quem* 233/34 o 235^p, vd. Louise Claire Youtie, 'A *terminus post quem* for the Oxyrhynchus Phaedrus', *ZPE* 21, 1976, p. 14; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Firenze 1967, p. 22 nota 1). Sulla datazione delle scritture del *recto* e del *verso* del papiro si vedano le precisazioni di Maria Serena Funghi, Gabriella Messeri Savorelli, 'Note papirologiche e paleografiche', II, *Tyche* 7 (1992), pp. 78-81. Da confrontare anche P.Oxy. XX 2256 ('commento ad Eschilo', assegnato al II-III^p), in E.G. Turner, *GMAW*, cit., Fig. 25.

Eronino', ca. 260P),¹³ sia con le attitudini grafiche caratterizzanti la scrittura del corpo della lettera (oltre alle analogie nel tracciato di alcuni segni, si osservi ad esempio quello angoloso di *alpha* e *phi*, l'*omega* appiattito, l'andamento sinistrorso della base di *hypsilon*, si notino i nessi $\kappa\alpha$ ed $\alpha\tau$, $\tau\iota$ e $\tau\omicron$ e la successione del doppio *lambda*), sia con le forme realizzate dalla mano di intento librario che ha annotato nel margine sinistro del foglio due versi omerici.¹⁴

Nei primi decenni del IV secolo d.C. collocherei invece la scrittura del 'questionario medico' conservato nella pagina di codice papiraceo di Milano (P.Mil.Vogl. I 15, II^p ed. pr.).¹⁵

Si tratta anche in questo caso di un manufatto non particolarmente elegante. La scrittura libraria è realizzata con asse leggermente inclinato sulla destra;¹⁶ appariscente la non uniformità di modulo tra i segni, l'avvicinamento tra gli stessi, e la rottura del bilinearismo provocata dal prolungamento o dalla particolare inclinazione di quelle parti delle lettere che appaiono funzionali allo scopo.¹⁷ Nel modulo sostanzialmente rettangolare cui tende il disegno delle lettere, assumono evidenza le forme più grandi di *alpha*, *delta* e *zeta*, di *kappa*, *beta* e *hypsilon* (vedi I 16, 17, 32; II 22, 25), in minor misura anche di *lambda* e *chi* (vedi I 25), mentre si riducono di dimensioni il *my* (già una successione di tre curve brevi come nella forma minuscola, vedi I 16), oltre ad *omicron*, *sigma* ed *omega* che tendono a sistemarsi nella parte superiore del rigo, oppure sotto il calice di *hypsilon* (II 25, vedi la finale $\mu\omicron\nu\zeta$) e accanto all'ansa dell'obliqua destra di *alpha* (I 17, vedi la finale $\alpha\zeta$). A conferire alla pagina scritta l'impressione di scioltezza e continuità di forme concorre la frequenza degli accostamenti ed accorpamenti cui danno luogo alcune lettere in successione; tali effetti si possono osservare sia nei nessi più consueti (come nel caso di $\alpha\iota$ e $\delta\iota$ e delle legature create dal prolungamento del tratto orizzontale di *gamma*, *epsilon*, *theta*, *tau*), sia negli 'accorpamenti' risultanti da una progressiva trasformazione morfologica dei segni: mi riferisco, per es., all'accorciamento dell'obliqua destra del *lambda* nelle sequenze $\lambda\alpha$, $\lambda\eta$ ($\alpha\lambda\alpha$, I 16; $\pi\lambda\eta$ I 18), al prolungamento a destra sotto il rigo di *alpha*, *zeta*, *kappa*, e ancora del *lambda*, per comprendere la lettera che segue nei gruppi $\alpha\sigma$, $\zeta\omicron$, $\kappa\alpha$ e $\lambda\omicron$, $\lambda\omega$.¹⁸

Sono questi, a mio avviso, sintomi ormai evidenti di una decisa evoluzione delle tendenze scritte.

Le caratteristiche grafiche appena descritte, che trovano puntuali elementi di confronto con le scritture delle lettere dell'archivio di Teofane e con alcune delle grafie del codice Bodmer del *Dyscolus* di Menandro,¹⁹ supportano una datazione del papiro di Milano agli inizi del IV^p, una

¹³Riproduzione nel volume e in C.H. Roberts, *GLH*, Pl. 22d.

¹⁴Si confrontino (rispetto alla grafia dei versi omerici) le dimensioni e la forma delle lettere, il contrasto modulare, la tendenza ad incurvare o ad apicare a sinistra le basi di *rho*, *tau*, *hypsilon*, *phi*. La tendenza all'accostamento dei segni è invece evidente nella scrittura del testo della lettera.

¹⁵Ho potuto controllare la riproduzione fotografica disponibile presso la fototeca dell'Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli', Firenze. Ringrazio il Prof. Claudio Gallazzi che ci fornì a suo tempo le fotografie del papiro dalle quali è tratta la riproduzione parziale alla fine del volume.

¹⁶Qualche difformità nello spessore dei tratti non sembra il prodotto di un effetto ricercato dal tipo di scrittura.

¹⁷Infrangono il bilinearismo le aste di *iota*, *kappa*, *rho*, *tau*, *phi*, i due occhielli del *beta*, le estremità superiori ed incurvate del calice di *hypsilon*, all'occorrenza l'obliqua sinistra o destra di *alpha* e *lambda*, i tratti conclusivi (in basso) di *zeta* e *kappa* che tendono a 'chiudere' la lettera seguente: tale effetto è da osservare nei gruppi $\zeta\omicron$ (I 32) e $\kappa\eta$, $\kappa\nu$, $\kappa\omega$ (I 21, 31; II 22).

¹⁸Analogo effetto è ottenuto dalla espansione sopra il rigo della divaricazione del calice di *hypsilon* ($\nu\sigma$, $\nu\nu$).

¹⁹Cfr. P.Herm.Rees 4 e 5, Pl. III-IV (l'archivio si data tra il 312 e il 325^p) e P.Bodmer IV, pagine 1, 18-19 (tavv. nel volume e in Cavallo-Maehler, *cit.*, Fig. 5b). Oltre a P.Herm.Rees 4, in G. Cavallo e H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period. A.D. 300-800*, London 1987 (*BICS* Suppl. 47), Fig. 2a, ca. 320^p, si tengano presenti anche altri esemplari del IV sec. d.C.: P.Holm., *cit.*, anche in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 96; P.Lond. XLVI (2) (= vol. I, p. 64), in P.Lond. I, Facs. ('papiro magico', assegnato al IV^p).

collocazione plausibile anche rispetto al formato originario del codice ricostruibile congetturalmente.²⁰

Un accenno, infine, alla tipologia testuale dei due scritti. In entrambi i casi siamo di fronte a trattazioni mediche di buon livello contenutistico e formale. Il papiro di Berlino conserva solo stralci di testo riconducibile ad un'operetta d'impianto teorico ispirata ai capisaldi della dottrina medica empirica,²¹ il codice di Milano restituisce un'opera manualistica di composizione apprezzabile per almeno due motivi in ordine al contenuto: poiché i quesiti del 'catechismo' riguardano le 'malattie acute e croniche' (elefantiasi, apoplessia, sciatica), ovvero quello che era l'ambito primario di osservazione nella partizione antica della disciplina medica, e perché l'organizzazione del testo richiama quella dei 'classici' della medicina, quali, per es., il *Pathos*, *Aitia*, *Therapeia* di Diocle di Caristo.

Per riprendere, sia pure qui necessariamente di scorcio, il tema della comparazione tra tipologie testuali 'correnti' ed utilizzazione di forme librerie 'alternative' e in qualche modo innovatrici rispetto al rotolo, l'argomentazione che ha dato spunto a questo discorso, si possono segnalare, proprio nell'ambito della letteratura medica, due casi in cui per copiare testi di medicina d'uso pratico - si tratta di 'ricettari' - furono utilizzati singoli foglietti di pergamena che si presentano scritti su una sola facciata: gli esempi conservati sono P.Ryl. I 29 ('ricette per *trochisci*', assegnato al III^p), e PSI VI 718 ('ricette di contenuto miscellaneo', assegnato al IV-V^p).²² Probabilmente siamo di fronte a paginette appartenenti a quei 'note-books' - le *membranae* - nei quali si ravvisano le prime forme della nuova organizzazione del libro in una sorta di codice rudimentale, quello stesso tipo di libretto di pergamena così pratico e adatto per annotare e conservare formule di prescrizioni mediche che Galeno definisce *πυκτὶς διφθέρα* nel noto passo del *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* I 1 (XII 423,13-15 Kühn).²³ Nel riportare uno dei tanti rimedi contro la «calvizie dovuta all'età» (nel secondo paragrafo del cap. 1, nel quale l'autore attinge anche a Sorano d'Efeso), Galeno cita la 'fonte' del suo *excerptum*, un brano a sua volta estrapolato da un precedente testo, probabilmente con lo stesso metodo, ad opera di un tale Claudiano che era rimasto conquistato dal brillante effetto prodotto dal rimedio su due pazienti, τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον οὕτω γεγραμμένον εἶρε Κλαυδιανὸς ὁ ἐταῖρος ἡμῶν ἐκ πυκτίδι διφθέρα, τοῦ χρωμένου αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντος κτλ. («questa medicina, scritta tale e quale, l'ha trovata il collega Claudiano desumendola da un libretto di pergamena, essendo morto quello che l'adoperava ...»).

Da un lato la testimonianza letteraria dunque, dall'altro l'apporto diretto della documentazione papiracea, concorrono ad evidenziare la circolazione di questo tipo di 'taccuino' in pergamena e la sua idoneità ad accogliere e conservare testi medici di uso pratico e di facile scambio.

²⁰Il formato ipotizzabile sulla base della ricostruzione congetturale di col. I 18-21 (vedi per ora quanto ho anticipato in 'L'apporto dei papiri alla conoscenza della scienza medica antica', ANRW II 37.1 nota 68, p. 516) rientrerebbe nelle dimensioni 14/12 x 30/25 cm e troverebbe collocazione, insieme a diversi esemplari del IV^p, nel gruppo 8 della classificazione di E.G. Turner, *Typology*, cit., p. 20.

²¹Per la terminologia di ambito empirico, cfr. K. Deichgräber, *Die Empirikerschule*, Berlin-New York 1965² [1930], p. 44, 14; 80, 4; 95, 5; 123, 11; 129, 20, 22; 147, 30 e *passim*.

²²Si tratta dei testi catalogati in Marganne-Mertens, Pack³ 2415 (cfr. E.G. Turner, *Typology*, cit., n. 396) e 2420. PSI VI 718 è riprodotto in *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Papiri greci e latini a Firenze (secoli III a.C. - VIII d.C.)*. *Catalogo della mostra, maggio-giugno 1983*, a cura di R. Pintaudi [= *Papyrologica Florentina* XII Suppl.], Firenze 1983, tav. 76.

²³Sulle *membranae*, E.G. Turner, *Typology*, cit., p. 38 e C.H. Roberts, *The Birth of the Codex*, cit., p. 22.

LA PARAGRAPHOS: ANALISI DI UN SEGNO DI LETTURA

Roberta Barbis Lupi

La *paragraphos* è certamente uno dei segni di lettura che più di frequente si incontrano nei papiri greci, soprattutto in quelli letterari; ed è anche uno dei più antichi, essendo già presente sia nel commentario orfico di Derveni che nel famoso papiro contenente i *Persiani* di Timoteo.

Il termine *paragraphos*, probabilmente un aggettivo sostantivato che sottintende *grammè*, è usato da Efestione per significare un'indicazione metrica;¹ lo stesso Efestione aggiunge tuttavia che la *paragraphos* è impiegata anche per sottolineare i cambiamenti di personaggio nei componimenti drammatici.²

La forma *paragrapphè*, attestata da varie fonti, può essere considerata, in alcuni casi, un sinonimo di *paragraphos*,³ pur mantenendo, in altri, il valore tecnico di particolare eccezione avanzata dal difensore nel corso di un processo.⁴

L'aspetto del segno è in genere quello di un semplice tratto orizzontale posto nell'interlineo, leggermente sporgente nel margine sinistro della colonna e proporzionato al modulo della scrittura e all'ampiezza delle *selides*. Talvolta, invece, si possono notare apici alle due estremità,⁵ così come può variare l'orizzontalità del tratto, dando origine a curvature più o meno accentuate.⁶ In uno stesso papiro possiamo avere diversi tipi di *paragrafhoi*, pur non riscontrando cambiamenti di mano: un esempio calzante è costituito da P.Lond.Lit. 134 (134),⁷ dove ne vediamo alcune semplici, altre con un apice a sinistra o ad entrambe le estremità, altre ancora nettamente incurvate. Trattando delle numerose *paragrafhoi* contenute nei papiri di Ercolano, Guglielmo Cavallo definisce 'rinforzate' quelle munite di 'una barra o semi-barra a sinistra':⁸ una denominazione che possiamo senz'altro condividere.

Sia in testi poetici che prosastici la *paragraphos* ha essenzialmente funzione divisoria, come già risulta dalle antiche testimonianze: più esattamente, si vuole con essa indicare la fine di una

¹Περὶ σημείων, 2, p. 73 s. Consbruch. Secondo Efestione, nei componimenti lirici monostrofici la *paragraphos* deve segnare la fine di ogni strofe, mentre in quelli a struttura triadica va posta a conclusione della strofe e dell'antistrofe.

²*Ibid.*, 7, p. 75 Consbruch. Da uno scolio alle *Nuvole* di Aristofane sappiamo inoltre che il segno ricorreva nella parabasi, composta di sette parti (Sch. Ar. Nu. 518).

³Cfr. Arist., *Rh.* III 8, 6 (=1409 a, 20); Sch. Ar. Ra. 1432, Pax 444.

⁴Cfr. Isoc. *Ant.* 59. Da notare che, secondo Luciano (*Pr. Im.* 24), la *paragrapphè* servirebbe anche ad indicare un passo spurio, funzione, questa, tipica dell'*obelos*. Vedi F. Martinazzoli, *Hapax legomenon*, parte I, Roma 1953, p. 68, n. 49, circa la confusione (grafica) tra *obelos* e *paragraphos* operata dal copista del Cod. Veneto A dell'*Iliade*. In due papiri documentari, P.Hib. I 40 e P.Tebt. I 188 descr., il termine *paragrapphè*, adoperato per definire il segno posto accanto ad un rigo, è passato ad indicare per estensione il rigo stesso ed il suo contenuto.

⁵Cfr. ad es. P.Mil.Vogl. II 36, 1/2 (I^a; Omero, *Il.* VIII), tav. I.

⁶Cfr. P.Lond.Lit. 130 (133) (II/I^a; Demostene, *Ep.*), dove il segno varia da orizzontale a curvo ed è piccolo, posto sotto la prima lettera del rigo o, più spesso, spostato nel margine sinistro. Si notino inoltre P.Oxy. L 3531 (IIP; Euripide -o Crizia-, *Pir.*), tav. III, e P.Oxy. XXXI 2537 (II/IIIP; *Hypotheseis* di orazioni di Lisia), tav. IV, nel quale l'estremità sinistra forma un ricciolo alquanto accentuato: cfr. alcuni segni divisori del Codice Sinaitico (IVP), per i quali vedi H.J.M. Milne - T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, London 1938, p. 37, fig. 11a.

⁷II/I^a; Iperide, *Phil.* La riproduzione fotografica completa delle nove colonne è conservata nell'Istituto Papirologico fiorentino, dove ci è stato gentilmente permesso di esaminarla.

⁸*Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*, Napoli 1983, p. 24. Ci riesce più difficile accettare il termine 'paragrafhoi angolari' usato poco più avanti da Cavallo a proposito di un segno ad angolo posto a sinistra, sotto l'ultimo rigo di alcune colonne in P.Hercul. 1021: se, come Cavallo afferma, lo scopo del segno è quello di indicare trasposizioni nel testo, esso avrebbe funzione critica più che prettamente divisoria, esulando dunque dal significato tipico della *paragraphos*.

sezione, di una battuta, di uno schema metrico ben determinato.⁹ Ovviamente, come avviene per la maggior parte degli altri segni di lettura a noi noti, non ci si può aspettare regolarità di uso assoluta.¹⁰ Non è raro, nelle opere in prosa, il caso di *paragraphoi* accompagnate da uno spazio bianco quando la pausa cade all'interno del rigo e si avverte la necessità di uno stacco preciso;¹¹ similmente, in papiri contenenti opere drammatiche sono spesso usati i due punti per indicare che uno stesso verso contiene le battute di due personaggi.¹² Da notare tuttavia che in P.Oxy. XXII 2329,¹³ singolarmente, la *paragraphos* non divide le battute del dialogo - sostituita, a questo scopo, dal punto in alto -, ma sembra indicare una pausa nell'azione, o meglio un cambiamento di scena: essa si trova infatti al termine della conversazione tra due personaggi che subito dopo si allontanano, lasciando il posto ad altri due che sopraggiungono. L'editore del papiro, Edgar Lobel, afferma di non aver mai incontrato casi simili in opere drammatiche, ma aggiunge che 'it is so frequently used in prose authors for a similar purpose that it need create no difficulty'.¹⁴

La *paragraphos* si incontra anche in testi non strettamente letterari, come il ricettario medico di PSI X 1180 (IIP) e il prontuario aritmetico di PSI VIII 958 (IVP), o addirittura decisamente documentari: si vedano, fra tutti, P.Tebt. I 5 (118a) che riporta una serie di ordinanze reali separate appunto da *paragraphoi*, e PSI XX Congr. 12 (IIP ex./IIP in.), dove il segno segue immediatamente il primo rigo, contenente l'intestazione *epibolè*.¹⁵

In papiri figurati si può notare una *paragraphos* sotto l'ultimo rigo di scrittura prima dello spazio occupato dall'illustrazione.¹⁶

Dal punto di vista terminologico, è stato talvolta attribuito il nome di *paragraphos* a segni solo vagamente simili ad essa. Nell'introduzione a PSI XII 1287 (IIP), un frammento di *volumen* che raccoglie scoli ad opere drammatiche, Vittorio Bartoletti scrive: 'Le citazioni sono contrassegnate nel margine con *paragraphoi* unciniate (—) ed uncini (>), e nel testo mediante il punto in alto e i due punti'.¹⁷ Osservando la fotografia, si nota che il segno marginale, più simile ad una piccola *coronis*, indica l'inizio della citazione,¹⁸ mentre la *paragraphos* vera e propria - una semplice lineetta - si trova al termine di essa.¹⁹ Nell'elenco di cosiddette 'paragraphoi ornate', compilato nel 1920 da Giuseppina Tanzi Mira,²⁰ troviamo in realtà vari

⁹In proposito si possono ancora utilmente confrontare le osservazioni di E.M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford 1912, p. 58 s.

¹⁰Cfr. G. Cavallo, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Vedi ad es. P.Oxy. XX 2260 (IIP in.; Comm. ad un testo poetico); P.Oxy. XXI 2291 (IIP; Saffo?).

¹¹Si vedano, a titolo di esempio, i già citati P.Lond.Lit. 130 e 134.

¹²Il fatto che una seconda mano abbia messo tra parentesi alcune *paragraphoi* in P.Oxy. II 211, 20/21, 29/30, *passim* (I/IIP; Menandro, *Pk.*), aggiungendo però accuratamente i due punti in altre parti del testo, induce Grenfell e Hunt ad una riflessione sull'inadeguatezza del sistema delle *paragraphoi* per indicare i cambiamenti di personaggio in opere drammatiche (P.Oxy. vol. II, p. 20).

¹³Rr. 4/5 (II/IIP; Commedia nuova).

¹⁴P.Oxy. vol. XXI, p. 81.

¹⁵Si tratta di una *paragraphos* piuttosto marcata, con una lunga appendice a sinistra (cfr. PSI XX Congr., tav. V).

¹⁶Cfr. ad es. P.Paris 1, col.IV, sotto r. 30; V, sotto r. 9, *passim* (IIa; Eudosso, *Ars Astron.*); PSI VII 847, col.II, sotto r.8 (I/IIP?; Framm. di commedia).

¹⁷PSI vol. XII, p. 197.

¹⁸Vedi rr. 9/10, 14/15.

¹⁹Vedi rr. 11/12, 15. Dalla sua presenza in quest'ultimo punto, proprio alla fine della colonna, si deduce che la citazione in oggetto occupava un solo rigo.

²⁰'Paragraphoi ornate in papiri letterari greco-egizi', in *Aegyptus* I (1920), pp. 224-227.

tipi di *coronides*,²¹ miste ad *asteriscoi*,²² a *diplai obelismenai*,²³ a segni di richiamo²⁴ e ad indicazioni sticometriche.²⁵ L'autrice stessa, del resto, riconosce di non avere ancora abbastanza materiale a disposizione per poter giungere a risultati soddisfacenti.²⁶ Un caso limite è rappresentato da Adolf Grohmann, il quale, in un articolo dedicato alla *paragraphos*, mescola piuttosto confusamente 'linee orizzontali sotto l'inizio di ogni rigo nel quale termina il ragionamento', 'angoli a punta' e antiche interpunzioni ieratiche, per arrivare addirittura alla *coronis* del papiro di Timoteo.²⁷ Con notevole fantasia, Grohmann vede nell'estremità superiore di tale *coronis* un residuo dell'antica e complessa indicazione egiziana di punteggiatura da cui, a suo dire, trarrebbe origine la *paragraphos*: un'ipotesi, tutto sommato, alquanto macchinosa e discutibile. Curiosa è la denominazione 'paragraphos' data da E.P. Wegener ad un segno di divisione obliquo (/) all'interno di un testo documentario, P.Oxf. 4 (150/151P):²⁸ ci si vuole evidentemente riferire alla funzione del segno, più che alla sua forma.²⁹ Anche Richard Seider è responsabile di una inesattezza terminologica, dando il nome di 'paragraphos' al segno della *diplè* in P.Heid. Inv.1701.³⁰

Infine, un valore particolare, di tipo recitativo, è attribuito da Giuseppe Giangrande³¹ a tre delle *paragraphoi* contenute nel papiro di Eroda conservato a Londra:³² nei Mimiambi II 54/55, III 88/89 e IV 34/35 la *paragraphos* indicherebbe un cambiamento nel tono del discorso di un medesimo personaggio, e non il passaggio della battuta ad un altro. Nel facsimile del *volumen*³³ le *paragraphoi* in questione appaiono del tutto uguali a quelle (piuttosto numerose) usate nella funzione più comune: è dunque facile supporre che dall'impiego di uno stesso segno per due scopi così diversi avrebbero potuto nascere confusioni e malintesi, ad evitare i quali sembra invece indirizzato l'intero papiro, particolarmente curato dal punto di vista editoriale e critico. Concordiamo con Giangrande sui dubbi sollevati dalla presenza delle *paragraphoi* nei tre passi considerati, dove non sembra possibile un alternarsi del dialogo: ma il suo modo di risolvere tali dubbi non ci convince pienamente.

A conclusione dell'argomento, possiamo considerare come derivata dalla *paragraphos* la lunga linea orizzontale divisoria, estesa da un capo all'altro del rigo, che si incontra soprattutto

²¹Ni. 1-19 nell'elenco della Tanzi Mira.

²²Ni. 20-21 nell'elenco della Tanzi Mira. Cfr. in proposito R. Barbis Lupi, 'La *diplè* obelismene: precisazioni terminologiche e formali' in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25-31 May, 1986*, Athens 1988, vol. II pp. 473-476.

²³No. 22 nell'elenco della Tanzi Mira.

²⁴No. 23 nell'elenco della Tanzi Mira.

²⁵Ni. 31-32 nell'elenco della Tanzi Mira.

²⁶Conclusioni più profonde non è lecito trarre finora; basta di aver raccolto tutto ciò che presumibilmente è noto sino ad oggi, in attesa di altre scoperte che vengano a fissare direttive più sicure verso conclusioni positive' ('*Paragraphoi* ornate', *cit.*, p. 226).

²⁷A. Grohmann, 'Zur Paragraphos', in *Byz.Zeit.* XXX (1929/30), pp. 163-166. Con 'paragraphos' Grohmann intende il segno angolare >, equivocando su ciò che Gardthausen afferma, dopo aver menzionato la *paragraphos*, a proposito dei segni divisori a forma d'angolo trovati in alcune iscrizioni [*Griechische Palaeographie*, Leipzig 1911-1913 II ed. (rist.1978), p. 400], e mescolandovi quel che lo stesso Gardthausen annota poi circa la *coronis* (*ibid.*, p. 403).

²⁸Probabilmente, come osserva Wegener (Pap.Lugd.Bat. vol. III, p. 24), il segno indicava la fine dell'estratto di un processo tenuto alla presenza del prefetto.

²⁹Per segni divisori di tipo simile, cfr. ad es. P.Oxy. XLIV 3158 (II/IIIP), dove alcuni brevi scoli all'*Iliade*, trascritti uno di seguito all'altro, sono separati da una lineetta obliqua all'interno del testo. Lo stesso sistema ricompare circa tre secoli dopo in un testo cristiano conservato da PSI I 65, edito da Medea Norsa.

³⁰IIIP; Framm. di trattato gastronomico. Cfr. R. Seider, *Palaeographie der griechischen Papyri*, Stuttgart 1967-1970, vol. II, p. 101.

³¹'Preliminary Notes on the Use of Paragraphos in Greek Papyri', in *M.Ph.L.* III (1978), pp. 147-151.

³²P.Lond.Lit. 96 (135) (II/IIIP).

³³*Facsimiles of Papyrus CXXXV in the British Museum*, London 1892.

in papiri cristiani.³⁴ Il nome *paragraphos* datole, per brevità, da alcuni editori, non è propriamente corretto, ma risponde tuttavia bene a criteri oggettivi di chiarezza e di concisione: la stessa chiarezza e la stessa concisione che probabilmente ispirarono chi per primo fece uso di un piccolo tratto interlineare per suddividere un testo greco in *scriptio continua*.³⁵

³⁴Cfr. P.Beatty II, fol. 86 r, 19/20; 90 r, 19/20 (IIP; Lettere paoline); P.Ryl. III 464, 11/12 (IIP; Vangelo apocrifo), tav. 4; P.Genova I, r, 20/21 (III/IVP; *Psalm.* 21-23), tav. 1. Nell'ultimo caso si scorge solo l'estremità destra del segno, leggermente curvata verso l'alto: cfr. P.Mil.Vogl. VI 263. 6/7 (IIP; Aneddoti), tav. I, dove un segno simile è conservato completamente.

³⁵Merita segnalare, infine, in PSI XII 1283, col. I 11/12 (IIP; Filisto, *Sic.?*), tav.VI, una *paragraphos* definita *estigmenē* (⚭) dall'editore, Bartoletti (PSI vol. XII, p. 150). Formalmente, il segno ricorda sia l'*obelos periestigmenos*, sia un particolare tipo di segno riempitivo (cfr. in proposito R. Barbis Lupi, 'Usi e forma dei segni di riempimento nei papiri letterari greci', in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology, Cairo 2-9 Sept. 1989*, Cairo 1992, vol. I pp. 503-510). Il motivo del punto aggiunto sopra la *paragraphos*, che in questo modo si distingue dalle altre due presenti nello stesso papiro (col. I 4/5; II 10/11) rimane oscuro. Si potrebbe pensare ad un sistema di espunzione, non necessariamente in contrasto col metodo delle parentesi che già abbiamo visto rappresentato in P.Oxy. II 211 (cfr. nota 12): la gamma dei segni di correzione usati dagli antichi copisti è molto più vasta di quanto si possa immaginare, e costituirà senz'altro l'oggetto di un nostro prossimo studio.

L' INFLUENCE DES USAGES LITTÉRAIRES SUR L'ÉCRITURE DES DOCUMENTS : PERSPECTIVES

Jean-Luc Fournet

Depuis quelques années une tendance s'est affirmée, qui consiste à réduire l'opposition entre papyrologies littéraire et documentaire en tentant, quand c'est possible, d'analyser un papyrus littéraire dans les relations qu'il entretient avec des archives, en un mot de faire de ce texte un document.¹ Tout en restant à cette intersection si fertile, je crois que la démarche inverse devrait être poussée plus avant : celle qui considère le document sous l'angle du littéraire. Certes on s'est déjà essayé ponctuellement à étudier les influences littéraires sur certains genres documentaires, mais du seul point de vue du contenu² ou - plus rarement encore- de l'écriture ; aucun examen systématique n'a été entrepris, prenant pour objet les signes diacritiques, "prosodiques" -je prends le terme dans le sens que lui donnaient les grammairiens anciens,³ - qui, inventés pour l'étude et la lecture des textes littéraires, ont pénétré le domaine du document. Je me limiterai au surlignement, à l'apostrophe, à l'hyphen et surtout aux accents et esprits. Or c'est par l'étude de ces petites unités annexes de l'écriture que peut se mesurer objectivement l'influence du littéraire sur la rédaction des documents, influence jusqu'ici négligée : ainsi il est courant de lire que les accents et les esprits sont absents des papyrus documentaires.⁴ Or l'étude du dossier de Dioscore d'Aphrodité m'a montré que non seulement ils existent, mais qu'ils ne sont pas vraiment rares, ce qui amène à nuancer l'opposition traditionnelle entre littéraire et documentaire. Je me bornerai ici, en m'appuyant sur le dossier de Dioscore, à présenter quelques perspectives d'une recherche qui en est à ses préliminaires.

La première réside dans la chronologie : les signes précités, inexistant, dans les textes documentaires, à l'époque ptolémaïque, font des apparitions très sporadiques à l'époque romaine et n'acquièrent une certaine fréquence qu'à la période byzantine. Cette évolution résulte de la conjonction d'une double tendance, à la fois graphique et culturelle :

-graphique : l'érosion progressive de la pure *scriptio continua*, source de mécoupures, donc de mélectures. Le risque était plus important pour les textes littéraires, surtout poétiques en vue desquels Aristophane de Byzance passe pour avoir développé son arsenal de signes prosodiques ; les rédacteurs de documents y ont emprunté peu à peu ce qui pouvait faciliter la lecture, selon le principe de la διαστολή ("séparation" de séquences amphiboliques). C'est le cas de l'apostrophe (ou du point) à valeur diastolique qui apparaît dans les documents après la

¹ Cf. d'un point de vue général W. Clarysse, 'Literary Papyri in Documentary Archives', *Egypt and the Hellenistic World (Studia Hellenistica XXVII)*, Louvain 1983), p. 43-61 ; et pour l'application d'une telle démarche D.J. Thompson, 'Ptolemaios and the 'Lighthouse' : Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum', *PCPS* 213(1987) 105-121.

² Cf. par exemple -pour ne citer qu'une publication récente- Arkady B. Kovelman, 'From Logos to Myth : Egyptian Petitions of the 5th-7th Centuries', *BASP* 28(1991) 135-152.

³ Cf. le *Περὶ προσφωδιῶν* (supplément à l'*Ars grammatica* de Denys) : προσφωδίαι εἰςὶ δέκα · ὀξεῖα ´, βαρεῖα ` , περισπωμένη ˘ , μακρά ˘˘ , βραχεῖα ˘˘ , δασεῖα ˘˘ , ψιλὴ ˘˘ , ἀπόστροφος ´ , ὑφέν ˘˘ , ὑποδιαστολή ϑ (*Gr. Gr.* I¹, p. 105-106, 1, éd. Uhlig). On se reportera à l'étude de B. Laum, *Das alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem*, Paderborn 1928, p. 99-141.

⁴ Cf. par exemple V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*², Leipzig 1913, II p. 389 : "Akzente fehlen in den Papyrusurkunden" ; O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*², Milan 1988, p. 62 : "Nel testo non sono segnati né spiriti né accenti, se si tratta di documenti", etc. Fr. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I (Milan 1976), p. 327, n. 1, ne cite que trois documents accentués.

négation οὐκ/οὐχ⁵ ou entre des consonnes principalement géminées (τ'τ, γ'γ, λ'λ).⁶ Sa fréquence augmentera pendant tout le Bas-Empire pour culminer dans les textes d'époque arabe (je renvoie au dossier d'Aphroditô du VIIIe s.⁷).

-culturelle : le développement de la formation scolaire et de la culture livresque, atteignant son point fort à l'époque proto-byzantine. Elle se manifeste au niveau collectif par l'adoption généralisée dans l'écriture de tous les jours de certains usages limités jadis à l'enseignement de la grammaire et à la littérature. C'est le cas du surlignement présent très tôt dans les manuels de grammaire pour démarquer un mot qui n'a pas la même valeur littérale ou syntaxique que son entourage⁸ et qui, probablement par le biais des textes scripturaires et de la littérature patristique,⁹ entre dans la pratique documentaire dès le Ve s., au-dessus des anthroponymes et toponymes à consonance non grecque.¹⁰

D'autres signes sont plus rares (les accents et les esprits) et leur interprétation fait apparaître un élément subjectif et individuel : on manifeste volontiers sa culture, à l'époque byzantine, par l'utilisation, dans l'écriture quotidienne, de signes prosodiques qui, parce que réservés aux livres, font chic. Ainsi, par un piquant renversement, l'accentuation, inventée pour faciliter la lecture et l'interprétation de certains textes et confinée pour cela à l'étude scolaire,¹¹ devient la marque par laquelle on affirme sa culture et on confère au texte écrit un certain prestige. Ces signes prosodiques offrent donc un critère d'évaluation assez objectif de la culture du scribe. Ainsi en me limitant aux documents des P.CairoMasp. et P.Lond. V (papyrus d'Aphrodité), je relève 53 accents et esprits présents dans 16 papyrus : 35 apparaissent dans des papyrus de la main de Dioscore,¹² 8 dans une copie très fidèle qu'un

⁵ Cf Apollonios le Dyscole, *De Pron.* (=Gr. Gr. II¹, p. 52, 5-7). Le plus ancien exemple est donné par un papyrus d'Herculanum (cf. W. Crönert, *Memoria graeca Herculensis*, Leipzig 1903, p. 9) : il devance donc de beaucoup l'usage documentaire.

⁶ Ce type d'apostrophe a été diversement interprété : pour les uns (B. Laum, *o.c.* [n. 3] p. 417), elle facilite la lecture visuelle (évitant qu'on ne lise π ou μ à la place de ττ / γγ ou λλ) ; pour d'autres (C. Bonner, *The Homely on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis*, Philadelphie 1940, p. 11), elle a pour but d'aider à la bonne coupe des syllabes dans la prononciation. Il est probable que les deux finalités se soient entremêlées. Une étude, comme le souhaitait V. Martin (P.Bodm. II p. 26), reste à faire pour éclairer la chronologie et la fonction de cet usage.

⁷ P.Lond. IV 1332-1405 : l'apostrophe et le point prolifèrent à l'intérieur comme à l'extrémité finale de nombreux mots. Leur valeur est encore loin d'être claire.

⁸ Cf. dans le corpus d'A. Wouters (*The grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Contributions to the Study of the 'Ars Grammatica' in Antiquity*, Bruxelles 1979) le n°1 (P.Yale I 25) datant du Ie s. apr., etc.

⁹ Je fais allusion aux *nomina sacra* dans lesquels le surlignement signale à l'attention du lecteur le traitement non littéral qu'il devra faire de la séquence (cf. A.H.R.E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the first Five Centuries A.D. The Sources and some Deductions*, P.Lugd. Bat. VIII, Leyde 1959, p. 2 et 124) et surtout -pour la similitude d'emploi avec les papyrus documentaires- aux noms propres hébreux surlignés, comme dans les P.Bodm. VII (p. 3, l. 11 ; p. 5, l. 4), VIII (p. 12, l. 14 ; p. 15, l. 11), X (p. 52, l. 13) et XIII (p. 49, l. 10-15), tous du IIIe s.. La même pratique est attestée en latin, dans les écrits de Jérôme : cf. A. Souter, 'Greek and Hebrew words in Jerome's Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel', *HTR* 28(1935) 1 : "In the autographs of these works, it was his custom to place a line over the top of such words, as a sign that they were foreign (...) Good early Mss of his works in many cases preserve these horizontal lines".

¹⁰ Le fait, bien que non systématique, est extrêmement fréquent dans les papyrus d'Aphrodité comme l'a remarqué J. Keenan, 'On Language and Literacy in Byzantine Aphroditô', *Proc. of the XVIII Int. Congr. of Pap.*, Athènes 1988, II, p. 162.

¹¹ Cf. O. Bouquiaux-Simon, 'P.Mil.Vogl. 14 + PSI XV 1457 (*Iliade* VII 232-239, 244-250, 254-265)', *Miscellanea papyrologica, Papyrologica Florentina* XIX, Florence 1990, p. 112-113.

¹² P.Cairo Masp. I 67002, I 5 ; 19 ; II 7 ; III 20 ; 67031, 11 ; 67097, 52 ; 72 ; II 67166, 9 ; 67170, 11 ; III 67283, I 11 ; 67295 (de la main de Dioscore, d'après ma collation de l'original), I 6 ; 11 ; 24 ; 27 ; 28 ; II 2 ; 9 ; 10 ; III 8 ; 10 ; 13 ; 14 ; 16 ; 25 ; 26 ; 67325, 7 ; P.Lond. V 1677, 36 ; 1708, 17 ; 69 ; 171 ; 221 ; 245.

inconnu a faite sur un modèle écrit par Dioscore.¹³ Donc 81% des accents et esprits, dans un dossier qui compte des papyrus de très nombreuses mains, sont dus à Dioscore, ce qui ne fait que confirmer par une approche paléographique la culture du personnage connue depuis longtemps par la démarche littéraire. Les 9% restants, parce que disséminés, sont peu significatifs, à l'exception d'un groupement observable dans une lettre (P.CairoMasp. I 67077¹⁴) : or est-ce une coïncidence que le rédacteur parle, à la l. 13, de "son maître, le *grammaticos* " ?

Il est possible d'aller plus loin et de déceler, dans l'emploi de tel signe, l'influence de certains genres littéraires sur le scripteur. Ainsi l'usage de l'apostrophe après des anthroponymes non grecs terminés par une consonne¹⁵ trahit une imprégnation de la littérature chrétienne où elle est fréquente dès la fin du IIe s. après les noms hébreux.¹⁶ Le recours à l'*hyphen*,¹⁷ lui, oriente plutôt vers la littérature classique et surtout poétique.

Un autre intérêt de cette étude est de pouvoir évaluer le degré de valeur littéraire prêtée par le scripteur au document qu'il rédige. Les types documentaires les plus représentés dans mon relevé des accents et esprits sont la pétition¹⁸ et la lettre,¹⁹ deux genres qui se situent, surtout au Bas-Empire, à la frange du littéraire, accédant même pour le second au rang d'oeuvre à part entière²⁰ : ainsi pour schématiser, le recours à un vocabulaire poétique ou à des citations homériques²¹ a pour contrepartie paléographique l'usage d'accents, d'esprits et de points. La plus forte concentration de signes prosodiques dans le P.CairoMasp. III 67295, rouleau contenant une pétition et deux lettres, trahit même la nature anthologique de ce papyrus, petit corpus constitué par Dioscore pour prendre place dans sa bibliothèque.²²

Que dire des autres textes ? La présence d'accents et d'esprits n'y est jamais innocente : elle semble indiquer que le *διήγημα ἀποκηρύξεως* " conservé par le P.CairoMasp. I 67097

¹³ P.CairoMasp. II 67151, 29 ; 115 ; 195 ; 248 ; 252 ; 262 (je ne compte pas le οὐς de 225 dont la valeur n'est pas claire). Jean Maspero n'a transcrit que la copie (P.CairoMasp. II 67151), ce qui interdit de comptabiliser les esprits et accents qui doivent se trouver dans l'original de Dioscore (P.CairoMasp. II 67152).

¹⁴ L. 11, 13, 16, 18. On remarquera, de plus, l'usage répété du iota adscrit (l. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18), qui appartient, à partir du IIe s. (cf. W. Clarysse, 'Notes on the Use of the Iota adscript in the Third century B.C.', *CdE* 51[1976] 150-166 et surtout 150-151), exclusivement à la pratique littéraire et qui peut donc constituer un autre critère d'évaluation culturelle au même titre qu'accents et esprits.

¹⁵ P.Lond. V 1691, 4 et 16 : Ψιμᾶνωβερ' ; PSI VIII 933 (*idem*) ; P.CairoMasp. I 67090, 1 : Ενωχ'.

¹⁶ Cf. Turner, *GNAW*², p. 11. On citera, parmi les plus anciens, Van Haelst 315 (fin IIe/déb. IIIe s.), 293 (IIIe s.), 497 (IIIe s.), 426 (IIIe s.), 548 (IIIe s.), 599 (IIIe s.), 284 (fin IIIe s.).

¹⁷ P.Lond. V 1708 (main de Dioscore), 110 : ενοικειω L'*hyphen*, placé au-dessus contrairement à l'usage décrit par les grammairiens (cf. *De Prosodiis, Gr.Gr.* I¹, p. 113, 5-114, 1) prévient une éventuelle mécoupure (ἐν οἰκειῶ au lieu de ἐνοικείω).

¹⁸ P.CairoMasp. I 67002, III 67283, 67295 (pages I et II), P.Lond. V 1677.

¹⁹ P.CairoMasp. I 67077, II 67200, III 67295 (page III).

²⁰ Si l'on a très tôt constitué des recueils de lettres, indice de la dimension littéraire prêtée à ce genre, il n'en va pas de même des pétitions. Pourtant, elles n'échappent pas totalement à la mise en corpus si caractéristique de la vie culturelle d'époque tardive : ainsi une pétition, au prix de légères retouches, pourra rentrer dans un recueil épistolaire (cf. l'*Ep.* 104 de Basile). De plus, les *prooimia*, parties les plus littéraires dans les pétitions, ont dû probablement faire l'objet de compilations, comme l'indiquent peut-être le P.Monac. III 1 et les recueils de *prooimia* bien postérieurs (cf. R. Browning, *Notes on Byzantine Prooimia, Wiener byzantinische Studien*, I, supplément, Vienne 1966 : au sujet de l'*Oxon. Barocci* 131 du XIIIe s. Ce n'est pas une coïncidence si ce double recueil de préambules est accompagné d'un petit corpus de lettres-modèles). Sur la forte valeur littéraire des pétitions, cf. l'article de Kovelman cité n. 2.

²¹ P.CairoMasp. III 67295, III 2 (=II. VIII 539) ; III 28 (=II. II 489) ; I 67002, III 14-16 (échos de l'II. XVI 156-163).

²² Cf. J. Maspero, 'Horapollon et la fin du paganisme', *BIFAO* 11(1914) 173-174 et O. Masson, 'A propos d'Horapollon, l'auteur des *Hieroglyphica*', *REG* 105(1992) 231-236.

verso D (main de Dioscore) n'est probablement pas un authentique acte juridique, mais un exercice de rhétorique, un "morceau de littérature"²³ comme le pensait l'éditeur pour des raisons de contenu.²⁴ Elle incite à voir dans le P.CairoMasp. II 67151 (testament de Fl. Phoibammon) -et peut-être dans les testaments byzantins en général-, plus qu'un simple acte notarial, mais un texte très travaillé, aux connotations littéraires très nettes, offrant une présentation idéalisée du futur défunt dans l'expression ultime, donc essentielle de sa volonté.

Enfin, cette étude intéresse l'histoire de la prosodie appliquée, bien différente des présentations abstraites et synchroniques que nous livrent les grammairiens anciens. Ces derniers, en effet, nous font la liste des signes prosodiques sans que nous puissions savoir lesquels furent prioritairement utilisés, et ce à diverses époques. Or leur relative rareté dans les textes documentaires confèrent à ceux qu'on y lit une signification accrue. Ainsi les 53 signes mentionnés ci-dessus se répartissent en 35 esprits (32 rudes/3 doux) et 18 accents (tous circonflexes). On voit que la plus grande rareté de l'esprit doux, constatée depuis longtemps par la papyrologie littéraire,²⁵ est ici radicalisée : le doux n'apparaît que dans 8, 6% des cas où l'esprit est marqué, qui plus est dans un texte (P.CairoMasp. III 67295) dont on a vu qu'il n'a pas vraiment le statut de document, et toujours sur la négation οὐ.²⁶ Si le doux n'est quasiment pas employé, c'est qu'on jugeait inutile de marquer graphiquement l'absence d'aspiration. Son statut de signe prosodique n'est donc pas totalement reconnu dans la pratique. Quand il apparaît, c'est pour prévenir l'amphibolie, (la négation οὐ pouvant se confondre avec le relatif οὗ).²⁷ La différence de forme des deux esprits confirme cette analyse : alors que le rude a toujours la forme arrondie qui est la nôtre, le doux garde son tracé initial en forme de demi *êta* (),²⁸ comme si la forte utilisation du premier avait hâté son évolution paléographique contrairement au second qui, parce que rarement usité, a préservé son *ductus* originel.²⁹

L'esprit rude s'observe sur 32 mots, toujours -à deux exceptions près³⁰- l'article³¹ ou des mots subordonnants,³² autrement dit sur des mots grammaticaux. Voilà qui laisse entrevoir une très forte influence de l'enseignement scolaire, soucieux, du moins pour les mots-outils, de perpétuer le respect de l'aspiration à une époque où la différenciation entre aspiration et absence d'aspiration n'est plus vraiment ressentie, comme en témoignent de nombreuses graphies dans les papyrus documentaires.³³ La même constatation peut être faite pour les

²³ L'expression est d'E. Cuq, 'Un nouveau document sur l'apokéryxis', *CRAI* 39(1913) 220.

²⁴ P.CairoMasp. I 67097 v. D, comm. à la ligne 31. Cf. la discussion contradictoire d'E. Cuq, *l.c.* (n. précédente), p. 218-229.

²⁵ Turner, *GNAW* 2, p. 12.

²⁶ III 13, 25 et 26. Dans le dernier cas, il s'agit d'οὐδέ et l'esprit paraît se restreindre à un trait horizontal (οὐδε).

²⁷ Cf. Laum, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 329. On remarquera qu'il s'agit d'un cas traité dans les scholies homériques, donc abordé à l'école dans l'explication des poèmes d'Homère.

²⁸ Cf. Laum, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 128-131.

²⁹ Cf. Laum, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 131, donne une autre explication, de nature graphique, de cette différence observable aussi dans les papyrus littéraires.

³⁰ ὄλον (P.CairoMasp. I 67077, 11 ; 67110, 14 où l'esprit a la forme d'un trait horizontal) et ὑπομνη[σ]κον[τα] (P.CairoMasp. I 67031, 11).

³¹ Ὁ (P.CairoMasp. I 67077, 16 ; 18 ; II 67155, 17 ; 18 ; 67200, 3) et οἱ (III 67295, I 11).

³² Ἄς (P.CairoMasp. III 67295, II 9 ; 10 ; P.Lond. V 1677, 11), ἀτινα (P.Lond. V 1708, 69), ἦς (P.CairoMasp. III 67295, III 10), ὀ (P.Lond. V 1708, 17), ὀθεν (P.CairoMasp. I 67097, 52 ; II 67151, 262 ; III 67283, I 11), ὀπερ (P.CairoMasp. I 67097, 72 ; II 67151, 252, P.Lond. V 1677, 36), ὀπως (P.CairoMasp. III 67295, I 28 ; III 16), ὀσα (*ibid.* I 11), ὀσον (*ibid.* III 8), οὐ (*ibid.* I 27), ὦ (*ibid.* III 14), ὦν (*ibid.* II 2), ὦς (P.CairoMasp. II 67151, 248 ; III 67295, I 6 ; 24 ; 27).

³³ Cf. Gignac, I, p. 133-138, qui recense à la fois les cas d'oubli de l'aspiration (p. 134-135) et ceux où elle est introduite par erreur (p. 135-137).

accents parmi lesquels seul le circonflexe est représenté³⁴ : n'est-ce pas là la trace d'un enseignement qui fait -les papyrus le montrent- une place importante aux verbes contractes dont le circonflexe est une des marques les plus caractéristiques? Ne peut-on y voir aussi la preuve d'une attention toute particulière portée à la transformation de l'aigu en circonflexe dans certains paradigmes? Un fait est sûr : le circonflexe, comme l'esprit rude, ne joue plus un rôle préventif contre l'amphibolie, fonction originelle des signes prosodiques.³⁵ Et ce ne serait pas le moindre intérêt d'une telle recherche que de souligner la croissante indépendance de la "prosodie documentaire" par rapport à sa mission primitive au point de faire de ces signes non des béquilles pour le lecteur, mais un ornement culturel dont le rédacteur s'offre le luxe.³⁶

³⁴ Contrairement aux lettres des archives de Théophraste qui comportent un certain nombre d'aigus et de graves (cf. par exemple P.Herm. Rees 6). Dans notre dossier (P.CairoMasp. et P.Lond. V), les cas d'accents circonflexes sont les suivants : P.CairoMasp. I 67002, I 5 ; 19 ; II 7 (ᾠν) ; III 20 (μανιῶν) ; 67077, 13 (τῶι γραμματικῶι) ; 67120, 4 (Ροδοῦν) ; II 67151, 29 (ζῶ) ; 115 (μιᾶ) ; 195 (αξιῶ) ; 248 (θαρρῶ) ; 67166, 9 (ορνιθᾶ) ; 67170, 11 ([?Φυ]τοκοιλῆ) ; III 67325, 7 ([Π]ῶᾶ) ; P.Lond. V 1708, 171 (ᾠσιν) ; 221 (ορᾶ et ᾠν) ; 245 (οῖς).

³⁵ Πρὸς τε διαστολὴν τῆς ἀμφιβόλου λέξεως, nous dit l'auteur du *Περὶ τῆς τῶν τόνων εὐρέσεως καὶ τῶν σχημάτων αὐτῶν* (cf. Laum, *o. c.* [n.3] , p. 100, 1).

³⁶ Ainsi, dans l'un des plus vieux documents comportant des accents et des esprits (P.Lugd. Bat. XVII 14, IIe s.), les trois occurrences d'un esprit sont destinées à supprimer toute ambiguïté (l. 5 : η ; l. 15 : η η ; l. 24 : ους ουκ. Les deux derniers cas sont à cet égard significatifs). Deux siècles plus tard, dans les lettres du dossier de Théophraste, accents et esprits voient leur nombre considérablement augmenté : à côté des emplois "antiamboliques" (cf. par exemple P.HermRees 5 : εὐθύμει pour éviter qu'on ne lise εὐθυμεί), la majorité d'entre eux relève de la tendance "culturelle". C'est cette tendance qu'illustrent presque exclusivement les papyrus d'Aphrodité au VIe s.

IS ORATORY WRITTEN ON NARROWER COLUMNS? A PAPYROLOGICAL RULE OF THUMB REVIEWED

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As part of the standard training, young papyrologists often learn the rule of thumb that in Greek literary rolls oratory is usually written to a narrower column. But the rule has had its permutations over time and place. In *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* Schubart remarks that "short lines in surviving pieces occur conspicuously often in orations and in rhetorical and philosophical texts"; he goes on to say that narrow columns are much less frequent in historical writings.¹ In *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, on the other hand, Turner states that "oratory is often written in narrower columns than history or philosophy."² Looking back to notes from my own papyrological training,³ I find that oratory and history are said to be typically written to narrower columns, philosophy and others to wider. One suspects already that the local collection may have a substantial influence on the general impression one has. But it will be noticed that everyone, it seems, agrees at least that oratory is written to a narrower column, and thus the formulation of the question in our title.

I will first state summarily some observations from my own recent researches. In an investigation of scribes from Oxyrhynchus known to have written more than one literary roll, I have come upon a phenomenon of some relevance. The salient point is as follows: a given scribe seems to write prose columns of the same physical width, even when the rolls are different. We will not be surprised, perhaps, to find the same column width in the case of multi-volume works, as, for example, in P.Oxy. xvii 2100, where books 4, 5, and 8 of Thucydides are all written to the same column width. But the same practice seems to hold true when a scribe copies rolls of different authors. Thus the scribe of P.Oxy. vii 1092 and I 3676 writes both rolls with identical column and intercolumn widths, despite the fact that P.Oxy. 1092 is a roll containing Book 2 of Herodotus, and 3676 is a roll of Plato's *Phaedo*. I have isolated four examples where the same column width is used by a given scribe for rolls of different authors, and another four examples where the different rolls are from the same author. For full details, I refer you to my Yale dissertation.⁴ But two of the examples will arrest our immediate attention. In one case the scribe wrote to the same column width a roll of Demosthenes and one of Herodotus (P.Oxy. ii 231 and xiii 1619); in the other case a scribe wrote to the same column width rolls of Isocrates and Thucydides (P.Oxy. v 844 and x 1246). In these cases, at least, an individual scribe did not alter the column width as he moved from oratory to another genre. But the instances, however suggestive, are very few, and we should like to see how the evidence stacks up more generally.

¹ W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*² (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), p. 65.

² E. G. Turner, rev. P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² (London, 1987), p. 7. N. Wilson, "Greek Manuscripts," *CR* 24 (1974): 91-92, in a review of the first edition of *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, objected that the rule did not always hold. To this Turner (*GMAW* ², p. 7, n. 22) replies, "I emphasise 'often'"; but the rule is left to stand. The contrasting examples cited by Turner indicate that "narrow" is substantially less than 5 cm (the narrow example of oratory is 3.5 cm, the wide example of history and philosophy both 5.5 cm, and the aberrantly wide examples of oratory 5-6 cm). But see below, n. 5.

³ Prof. W. H. Willis, Duke University.

⁴ W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions. An Analysis of the Evidence from Oxyrhynchus* (Diss. Yale, 1992), pp. 84-111.

In Tables (a), (b), and (c), I have listed prose column widths by genre for 116 extant prose works among Oxyrhynchus literary papyri.⁵ As the number of examples in each genre is not quite equivalent, I have appended in Table (d) a summary by percentage (grouped by half-centimetre intervals). At widths below 5.0 cm, we find about 17% of the oratorical texts, 25% of philosophical texts, and 13% of the historical.⁶ 13% of our examples of oratory lie between 5.0 and 5.4 cm (inclusive), as compared to 20% of the philosophical texts, 15% of the historical. And indeed, as we move along the frequented part of the scale, we do not notice that the distribution particularly favours one genre or another. As a general proposition we can state that our sample lends no statistical support whatsoever to the notion that any one of these genres tends to be particularly wider or narrower than the others.

One may well wonder whether this is the whole story. Perhaps the distribution by genre becomes more noticeable if we consider date, or elegance of script? Tables (e) and (f) allow us to assert simply: no, it does not. The distributions of genre do not vary markedly by date or script, except that one may notice by the way the apparent general neglect of philosophical texts in Oxyrhynchus prior to the second century. Nor do we find any tendency for intercolumn or column-to-column widths to separate by genre. The Oxyrhynchus texts published to date simply do not support an association between oratory and narrower columns, and the same can be said for the other literary genres.

We might reflect for a moment on what method of book production *would* have produced a column width which was narrower for one genre than for another. Two possibilities seem worth mention. One is that the column width was governed by the function of the roll, and that the function was specific to a given genre.⁷ One might suppose, for instance, that a narrower column facilitated reading to an audience, and that oratory was more frequently recited. A alternate rationale for genre-determined column widths might be that copies were made line by line, and that texts of an author were descended from a set of "editions" of a given line length. Neither of these possible methods of book production are, to my knowledge, demonstrable from other evidence. Indeed, what evidence we have flies in the face of these propositions. That a given scribe copies different texts to the same physical column width surely suggests a tool of measurement and not variation by function or content. I have elsewhere argued on the basis of a variety of evidence that line-by-line copying was not the usual practice, at least among texts excavated in Oxyrhynchus.⁸

The evidence we have examined does not prove that this papyrological rule of thumb is necessarily wrong. Other papyri, after all, may show trends quite different from those exhibited by the Oxyrhynchus material. But the evidence does challenge those who believe the rule right. The supposition that oratory, or any other literary genre, was written to a narrower column, does not find support among extant works from Oxyrhynchus. Until convincing evidence from other collections is presented, I should think it wise to hold the rule in abeyance.

⁵ The fact that there are no examples of oratory in the sparsely populated region below 4.5 cm is happenstance. *GMAW* ² #67 (P.Oxy. ix 1182), which Turner offers as a typical example of oratory written to a narrow column, will not be included here since the papyrus is in Cairo, a collection I have not been able to visit. Turner lists the column as 3.5 cm wide, but if the photograph is indeed 1 : 1, I should measure it as approximately 3.8 cm. This may be seen as an instance of the different methods of researchers, some of whom measure the minimum width of a column, others the maximum, and others (as I) the notional right margin.

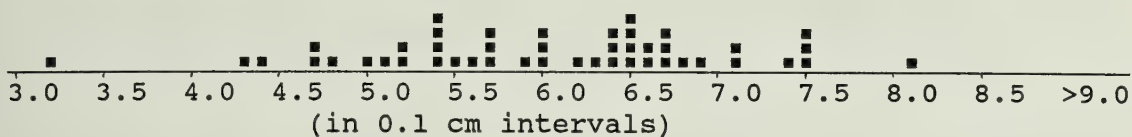
⁶ For the methods of measurement and estimation for the column widths, see Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll*, pp. 8-17; and for details on individual papyri, *ibid.*, Table 3.5.

⁷ I owe this point to R. G. Babcock, to whom I am grateful more generally for his helpful comments on this paper.

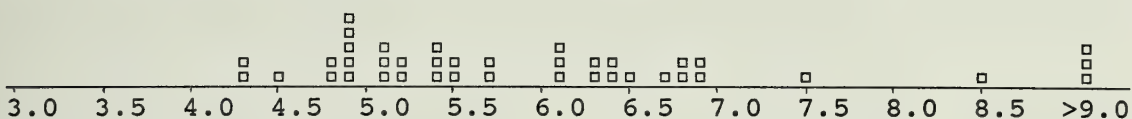
⁸ Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll*, pp. 117-133.

**Extant Prose Works from Oxyrhynchus
Column Widths by Genre**

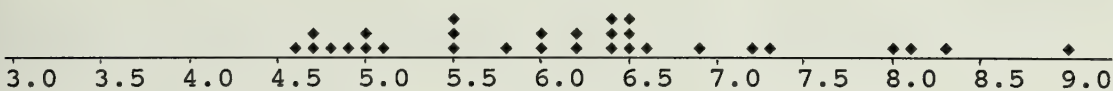
(a) History, 46 examples
(each symbol represents a papyrus)



(b) Philosophy, 40 examples
(each symbol represents a papyrus)

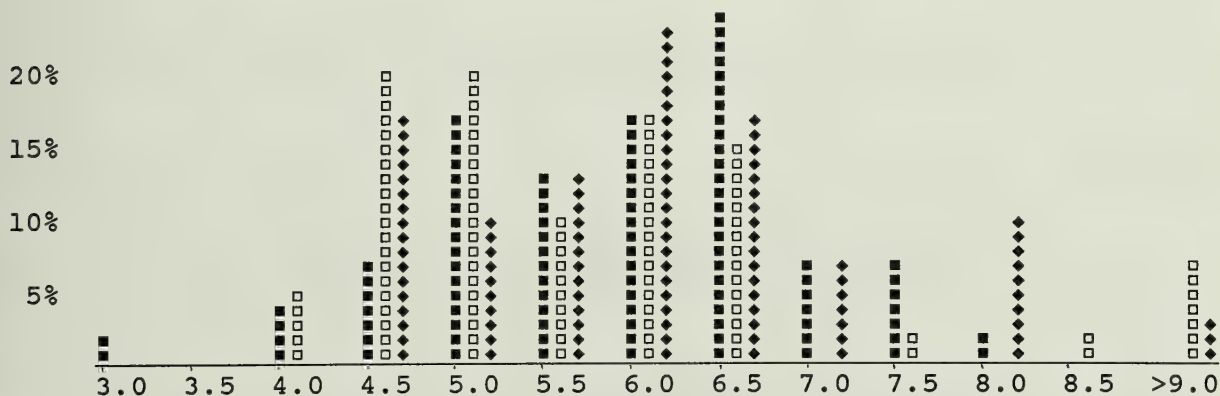


(c) Oratory, 30 examples
(each symbol represents a papyrus)



(d) Percentage summary, grouped by 0.5 cm intervals
(each symbol represents one percentage point)

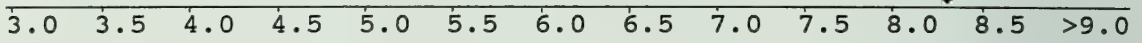
- = History
- = Philosophy
- ◆ = Oratory



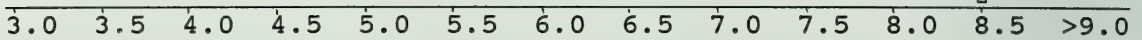
(e) Prose column width, by median date
 (Each square represents one papyrus at the median of the date range; a papyrus of AD i will be listed under AD 50, of AD i/ii under AD 100, and so forth; a date of late AD ii will be assigned to AD 150)

- = History
- = Philosophy
- ◆ = Oratory
- ◇ = Other

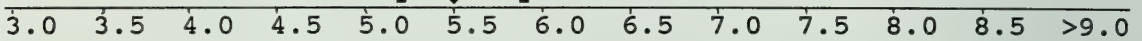
ca 50 BC



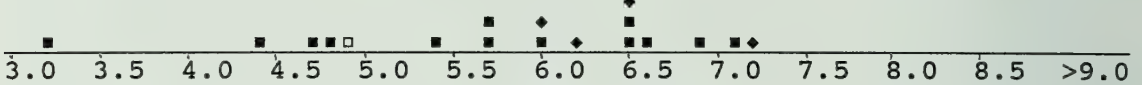
ca AD 1



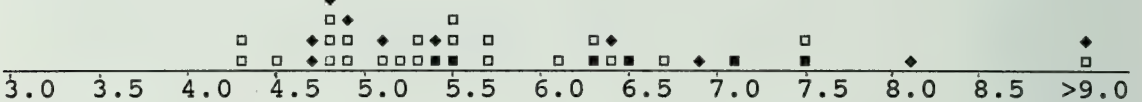
ca AD 50



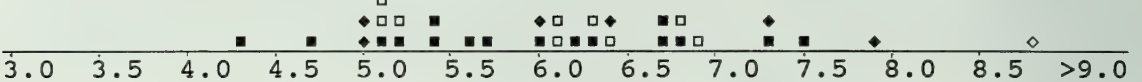
ca AD 100



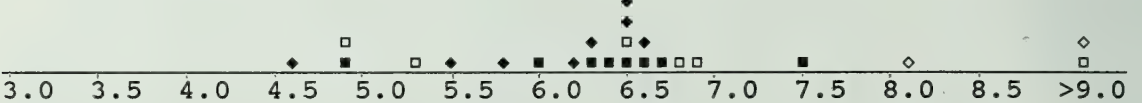
ca AD 150



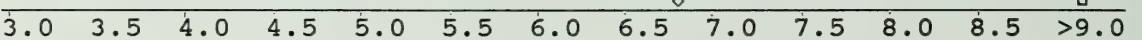
ca AD 200



ca AD 250



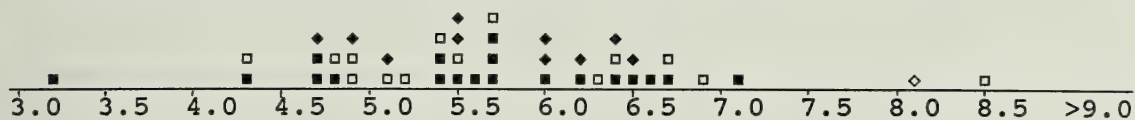
ca AD 300



(f) Prose column width, by genre & script formality, 119 exx.
 (Each symbol represents one papyrus)

- = History
- = Philosophy
- ◆ = Oratory
- ◇ = Other

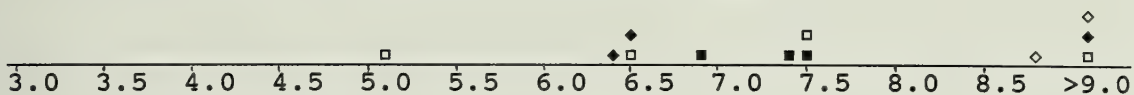
(1) Formal, semi-formal, pretentious, 44 examples



(2) Informal and unexceptional, 63 examples



(3) Substandard or cursive, 12 examples



PRESENTATION DE LA PROSOPOGRAPHIE DE L'ARMÉE ROMANO-BYZANTINE D'EGYPTE (260-642)

Jean-Michel Carrié, C.N.R.S.

Toute enquête prosopographique comporte des aspects d'aridité, d'ascèse, de sous-emploi apparent des facultés intellectuelles qui peuvent nous détourner de ce domaine d'étude ou nous inspirer une attitude condescendante, voire méprisante, à l'égard des inconscients qui s'y consacrent. Inévitablement, on en vient à douter que l'utilité finale de ce type d'enquête justifie le volume de travail requis : les énergies dépensées ne seraient-elles pas mieux employées ailleurs? ¹ Je suis, pour ma part, convaincu de l'utilité de telles recherches. Mais, surtout, le projet de rassembler la *Prosopographie de l'armée romano-byzantine d'Egypte* n'a nullement dépendu de mon libre arbitre. Il s'est imposé à moi avec toute l'évidence de la nécessité à partir du moment où j'entreprenais l'étude de cette armée provinciale dans ses divers aspects (documentaires, institutionnels, ethniques, onomastiques, socio-économiques, culturels). Cette étude (*Recherches sur l'armée romaine tardive d'Egypte, 260-642*, par la suite désignée comme *Recherches*) est en voie d'achèvement et de publication.

Conçue donc en fonction de ces *Recherches*, et communiquant avec elles par une intense circulation d'information réciproque, cette *Prosopographie* s'inscrit dans une perspective différente de celles de la *PLRE* ou, pour l'armée d'Egypte du haut-empire, des répertoires de *Cavaile* ou de *Devijver*. Le caractère unitaire de l'entreprise - recherches systématiques sur l'armée et répertoire du personnel - invoquerait donc plutôt le précédent de *Lesquier*.² Elle ne vise pas à fournir les bases pour l'étude future d'un groupe donné, étant elle-même la compagne de route d'une semblable étude, toute provisoire soit-elle. Cependant, une préoccupation constante a été de la rendre compatible avec les prosopographies déjà existantes, en particulier avec la *PLRE*. Parallèlement, la codification des notices individuelles a été conçue de manière à permettre leur intégration facile dans une prosopographie générale informatisée, si un tel projet revoyait le jour.³

1 - Plan de l'ouvrage

En matière de prosopographie il n'existe pas de solution théoriquement idéale et, comme toute collectivité prosopographique, l'armée romano-byzantine d'Egypte impose la spécificité de son support documentaire dominant - les papyrus - et les caractéristiques particulières du milieu sociologique qu'elle constitue. C'est sur ce terrain concret que peuvent s'opérer les choix méthodologiques, toujours mutilants, à commencer par le parti fondamental à prendre,

¹ Pour l'Egypte gréco-romaine, un plaidoyer vigoureux en faveur des études prosopographiques a été présenté par E. Van't Dack, 'Les études prosopographiques. Caractère et apport de la documentation en provenance d'Egypte' dans L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (éd.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto (Atti del Colloquio intern. Bologna, 31 agosto - 2 settembre.1987)*, Bologne, 1989, p. 177-211.

² A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. 1 : A.D. 260-295, Cambridge, 1971 ; J. Martindale, Vol. 2 : A.D. 395-527, Cambridge, 1980 ; Id Vol. 3 : A.D. 527-641, Cambridge, 1992; R. Cavaile, 'Prosopographie de l'armée romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien', *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), p. 213-320 ; J. Lesquier, 'Appendice VI' (p.518-559) de *L'armée romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* : 'Prosopographie de l'armée d'Egypte'.

³ Cf A. Tomsin, 'Projet de prosopographie de l'Egypte romaine' dans *XI Congresso*, p.195-208. Depuis la disparition d'A. Tomsin, le projet n'a plus connu de phase de réalisation, mais l'idée vient d'être reprise par l'Université de Londres, King's College, sous le nom de *CPRE* (Computerized Prosopography of Roman Egypt). Je remercie D. Rathbone pour les informations qu'il a eu l'amabilité de me donner au sujet de ce programme, dont il a la responsabilité.

comme le signalait Marrou, entre un Onomasticon ou Namenbuch d'un côté, et de l'autre une prosopographie proprement dite.⁴

Les exemples reproduits plus loin feront mieux comprendre l'exposé qui suit. Comme on peut voir, j'ai choisi de donner à mes lemmes l'apparence de nos modernes fiches individuelles de renseignements, l'adresse de l'intéressé étant représentée par les sources documentaires où il réside. De ces fiches informatisées, mes notices remplissent effectivement les fonctions de repérage, de dénombrement et d'étude statistique des individus composant le groupe. Le plus souvent, elles n'offriront donc pas le caractère de narrativité que peuvent alimenter des sources en majorité littéraires (*Prosopographie chrétienne*), ni non plus l'allure décharnée des simples répertoires (Cavenaile). Elles seront la justification de mes tableaux statistiques, et en mettant en vedette tout autant les documents (leur nature, leur indice d'isolement ou de fréquence, leur datation, leur provenance géographique) que les personnages, elles permettront de relativiser notre information, ce qui me paraît tout particulièrement nécessaire dans des domaines où la recherche historique ne peut se fonder que sur une documentation raréfiée et inégalement répartie. Cependant un caractère plus narratif - bien qu'éloigné de toute tentation "romanesque" - réapparaîtra dans le cas de personnages liés à des événements historiques connus par ailleurs, ou dont la carrière nous est connue d'une façon quelque peu détaillée - c'est le cas, par exemple, pour la notice THEODOSIUS 3.

Dans la mesure où tout ce qui fait appel à un raisonnement, à une critique documentaire, à des recoupements, à un élargissement thématique revient de droit aux *Recherches*, ce type d'argumentation, dans les notices individuelles de la *Prosopographie*, n'est repris que sous une forme résumée. Ainsi en est-il pour l'identification de l'unité dans la notice *Sarapion 16* ; dans celle de *THEODOSIUS 3*, pour le recouplement entre les sources papyrologiques et *Jean de Nikiou*, ainsi que pour la reconstitution des opérations militaires ; ou encore pour les raisons qui me conduisent à voir en "Απα ῚΩλ un bucellaire germanique, comme les autres personnages du document.

L'ensemble prosopographique ici envisagé, malgré son rassemblement autour de l'activité militaire dans un milieu géographique limité, ne présente pas la profonde unité typologique et chronologique de groupes tels que les détenteurs de fonctions sénatoriales ou équestres d'une province. Comme j'ai l'occasion de le souligner dans les *Recherches*, le tournant du IV^e au V^e siècle représente une coupure à plusieurs égards : coupure documentaire (la raréfaction du V^e siècle), coupure institutionnelle (avant et après la *Notitia Dignitatum*) et tout particulièrement coupure onomastique. Certes cette dernière ne peut se voir assigner une date ponctuelle : elle se développe en fait depuis les années 350 jusqu'au milieu du V^e siècle. Mais le fait qu'on puisse opposer nettement deux situations onomastiques fort différentes, celle du IV^e et celle du VI^e siècle, serait déjà une raison suffisante pour scinder l'ensemble prosopographique en deux périodes.⁵ Au demeurant, il ne s'agit que d'une coupure interne, qui n'affecte aucunement la conception unitaire de l'ensemble.

J'ai hésité entre plusieurs découpages possibles : 410 marque le début de la raréfaction des sources papyrologiques ; 395, date retenue comme terme du premier volume de la *PLRE*, aurait rendu complète une harmonisation par ailleurs non délibérée en ce qui concerne le point de départ de 260. Des considérations documentaires m'ont cependant engagé à placer la coupure en 450, non pas pour surévaluer l'importance de la mort de Théodose II, mais essentiellement

⁴ Préface au vol. I de la *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire* : A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303-533)*, Paris, 1982, p. 7.

⁵ Pour un sondage exploratoire, cf. R. S. Bagnall, 'Religious conversion and onomastic change in early Byzantine Egypt,' *BASP* 19 (1982), p. 105-124, et discussion par E. Wipszycka, 'La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianisation de l'Egypte: à propos d'une étude de R. S. Bagnall', *ZPE* 62 (1986), p. 181.

parce qu'en l'état actuel de notre connaissance les ostraka du volumineux dossier de Douch ont toute chance de s'étaler entre la fin du IV^e siècle et le début du V^e, sans possibilité de préciser davantage : on ne prend en tout cas pas de risques en les situant tous avant 450. C'est donc cette considération purement pragmatique qui a déterminé le choix final entre diverses solutions par force également arbitraires.

Dans le souci de faciliter la confrontation avec d'autres prosopographies existantes, mais aussi pour tenir compte des clivages internes du groupe militaire, j'ai établi une seconde division entre le commandement et les échelons subalternes. Ce système double permettra de distinguer du premier coup d'œil les officiers et responsables militaires supérieurs. Il offre d'autre part la possibilité d'uniformiser sous une forme latine, comme dans la *PLRE*, la prosopographie du commandement, d'exprimer le degré supérieur de romanisation de ce "personnel d'Empire", et de reproduire la langue même dans laquelle les officiers étaient connus de l'Empereur, du haut état-major et de leurs hommes ; pour ces derniers, au contraire, il importait de conserver la langue originale des documents, le plus souvent grecque. Ainsi se trouve assurée une harmonisation partielle avec *Cavenaile*.

Ce double principe de division interne ainsi adopté dans la présentation d'un catalogue par ailleurs uniformisé dans ses principes conduit à répartir la présente *Prosopographie* entre quatre sections :

- A - Le commandement (260-450).
- B - Les grades subalternes et la troupe (260-450).
- C - Le commandement (450-642).
- D - Les grades subalternes et la troupe (450-642).

La ligne de démarcation entre les deux "niveaux" de catalogue (A et C d'une part, B et D d'autre part, s'est conformée au seuil d'admission des militaires dans la *PLRE*, c'est-à-dire le rang de *protector*.⁶

Critères de sélection des entrées

Le critère primordial de sélection réside naturellement dans l'indication explicite d'une fonction militaire exercée à l'intérieur des limites chronologiques des *Recherches*. Cependant, je ne me suis pas contenté de compulsier les *indices* des publications. Une lecture attentive du corpus documentaire permet en effet d'enrichir le catalogue des individus certains d'un nombre non négligeable d'individus probables, en se fondant sur le contexte, ou l'onomastique. Inversement, les éditeurs et commentateurs de papyrus ou d'inscriptions tardives ont souvent considéré comme militaires des titres qui ne l'étaient plus à cette époque, ou englobé dans le groupe militaire des membres de la *militia* civile.⁷ D'autres titres ne constituent pas à eux seuls un indice suffisant de la condition militaire, surtout s'ils entrent dans des formules trahissant leur caractère honorifique : bien peu de *comites* du VI^e siècle étaient des militaires, et encore moins d'*ex comitibus* ou *ex praepositis*, ce qui n'empêche pas que certains *ex comitibus* aient été véritablement d'anciens commandants militaires. Il faut alors prendre en considération les épithètes accompagnant ces titres, mais aussi le contexte et la typologie du document. Des doutes peuvent cependant subsister, dans la mesure où les rédacteurs étaient inégalement informés ou inégalement soucieux de faire ressortir les différences de qualité recouvertes par

⁶ *PLRE 1*, 'Introduction', p. VI "excluding private soldiers and NCO's (circitores, biarchi, centenarii, ducenarii, senatores, primicerii, centurions and decurions)".

⁷ Mes *Recherches* m'ont conduit à étudier de plus près l'ambiguïté de cette notion de *militia* au IV^e siècle et plus tard. Selon les normes internationales de publication des recueils papyrologiques, un même index (n° IX) réunit indistinctement toutes les fonctions officielles, civiles et militaires, ce qui n'est pas compromettant.

des titres identiques, sans compter les registres et listes où le style abrégé fait disparaître toute nuance.

Pour éviter qu'on interprète comme des omissions de ma part l'absence de ces personnages, j'ai prévu de donner une liste des individus sciemment éliminés. D'autre part, je signale les catégories de personnel systématiquement exclues de la présente collection prosopographique :

- les *primipilares* dans les documents postérieurs à 280 environ, de même que les autres *officiales* des bureaux civils (mais non pas les militaires véritables qui s'y trouvent détachés), ainsi que les *stationarii* locaux.
- les porteurs de titres anciennement militaires, tombés depuis dans l'usage civil: *singulares* au delà du III^e siècle; *tesserarii* à partir du IV^e siècle; *stratelatai* dans les textes documentaires des VI^e-VIII^e siècles (mais non pas dans les textes littéraires de cette même époque).
- le personnel du *cursus publicus*.
- le personnel civil de l'*annona militaris*.
- les policiers (*riparii*, etc.), douaniers (*arabotoxotai*, *portarenses*), auxiliaires civils de la sécurité territoriale (*skopelarioi*, *burgarii*, etc.).

En revanche, j'ai incorporé dans la prosopographie les individus au sujet desquels on ne peut pas vraiment se prononcer - même si dans leur cas l'interprétation militaire du titre est incertaine ou peu probable.

Les anonymes n'ont été signalés qu'à propos des officiers (sections A et C), pour le cas où ces indications permettraient, dans le futur, d'éventuelles identifications à partir de données nouvelles. Ils ont été regroupés par fonctions ("*duces* anonymes", etc.) à la suite de la liste alphabétique. Les noms incomplets, c'est-à-dire lacunaires mais non restituables avec une forte probabilité, ont été conservés pour toutes les sections.

2 - Normalisation des notices.

A - Les entrées.

L'intitulé des notices doit nécessairement s'adapter aux usages onomastiques de la période, profondément différents de ceux de l'époque précédente. L'élément discriminant étant désormais le *cognomen* - et en cas de *cognomina* multiples, le dernier d'entre eux - c'est celui-ci qui a été retenu pour identifier chaque personnage. Afin d'uniformiser la présentation, les entrées correspondent donc au *cognomen*, suivi entre parenthèses, s'il est exprimé dans les sources, du *nomen* qui s'est uniformisé à l'époque tardive pour indiquer, dans le cas tout particulièrement des militaires, un statut et non plus l'identité.⁸ Le parti inverse aboutirait à une liste absurde,⁹ faisant succéder des centaines de *Flavii* à des centaines d'*Aurelii*, sans compter deux autres groupements moins fournis, ceux des *Iulii* et des *Valerii*, les autres entrées ne se singularisant en fait que par l'absence (omission ou lacune) de l'un de ces quatre *nomina* échelonnés chronologiquement et - pour les *Iulii* - spécialisés ethniquement.

Chaque catalogue se présente selon l'ordre alphabétique, latin pour les sections A et C, grec pour les sections B et D où dominent très largement les noms exprimés en grec : le "petit travail de translittération" que Cavenaille imposait au lecteur n'a pas pu être évité pour les listes B et D, mais le sens en a été inversé. Pour les noms latins, on cherchera donc Victor à la lettre O (Οὐίκτηρ), Piladelphus à F (Φιλάδελφος), Sergius (Σέργιος) avant Serenus (Σερήνος). Les inconvénients d'une numérotation continue des entrées ont été suffisamment

⁸ Cf. J.K. Keenan, 'The Names Flavius and Aurelius as status Designations in later Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 11 (1973), p.33-63; 13 (1974), p.283-304 ; I. Kajanto, 'The emergence of the late single name system' dans *L'onomastique latine* (Colloque Intern. CNRS), Paris, 1977, p.421-30.

⁹ Les inconvénients d'un ordre alphabétique des personnes fondé sur le gentilice apparaissent immédiatement, pour cette époque, dans la *Prosopographia Arsinoitica*.

mis en évidence par la *Prosopographie* de Cavenaile¹⁰ pour dissuader de suivre cet exemple. J'ai donc adopté le système de la *PLRE*, qui attribue aux homonymes un numéro d'ordre dans la série (voir les exemples ci-dessous : Sarapion 16, THEODOSIUS 3, etc).

B - Le repérage documentaire.

Dans chaque lemme, le nom du personnage est immédiatement suivi de la/des référence(s) du/des document(s) le faisant connaître. Quand les sources sont multiples, elles se suivent dans l'ordre chronologique, si celui-ci peut être établi. Chaque document sera alors affecté d'un symbole de référence : (a), (b), (c), etc., ensuite rappelé chaque fois qu'une information proviendra de tel ou tel d'entre eux (cf. la notice THEODOSIUS 3, ci-dessous). Les textes littéraires sont cités dans l'édition de référence ; les textes documentaires dans leurs principales éditions successives, en indiquant éventuellement les améliorations de lecture ("réed. corr.").

Viennent ensuite les indications de date et provenance du document. Pour les textes papyrologiques datés au jour et au mois près, un tel degré de précision n'a paru intéressant à conserver que pour les sections A et C. En cas de datation approximative, la mention "hyp. pers."¹¹ indique que je suggère une datation différente de celle de l'éditeur. Dans la formulation, j'ai adopté les conventions retenues par la *Prosopographie Chrétienne*,¹² en distinguant la datation du seul document et les dates d'attestation du personnage et de ses fonctions. Le lieu, indiqué ensuite, est celui de provenance du document, connu ou supposé. Il peut être différent du lieu d'exercice de la fonction, qui apparaîtra dans une rubrique suivante. Si le lieu d'exercice des fonctions est le seul à être connu, il apparaîtra également, entre crochets droits, comme indice de localisation du document.

Ainsi se présente la première partie du lemme, essentiellement occupée par les références documentaires. A ces indications habituelles dans une prosopographie, il a paru utile d'en ajouter une nouvelle : tout document où apparaît plus d'un militaire est affecté d'une sorte de coefficient de quantité d'information, indiquant entre parenthèses le nombre total de militaires répertoriés qu'il contient. Par exemple, dans la notice de Sarapion 16, *CPR V 13 + P. Rainer Cent. 165* (18) signale que ce document a fourni 18 entrées à la *Prosopographie*; de même *CPR VIII, 53* (20) dans la notice "Απα ῥΩλ υἱὸς Βουσσᾶ. Ainsi apparaît immédiatement le degré d'isolement ou, au contraire, d'appartenance à une série de l'information prosopographique traitée. Ce coefficient de quantité d'information trouvera son utilité principale en permettant de nuancer l'étude statistique des données, et en facilitant les recensements catégoriels.

C - La grille thématique et relationnelle.

Après cette mise en place des procédures d'identification vient, à proprement parler, le corps de la notice. Comme indiqué plus haut, l'information recueillie vise à ressaisir, par delà les particularités individuelles, des caractéristiques et des comportements collectifs analysés dans les *Recherches*. C'est pourquoi l'ensemble du corpus a été soumis à un questionnaire identique. Cette grille unique a révélé son efficacité heuristique dès la phase de rassemblement du matériel. Elle a ensuite assuré l'homogénéité de la présentation des notices, en même temps qu'elle les rendait directement prêtes à l'usage pour une exploitation thématique des données, en particulier sous une forme statistique.

¹⁰ Sur les difficultés rencontrées pour intégrer au répertoire de Cavenaile les corrections et remises à jour, voir N Criniti, 'Sulle forze armate romane d'Egitto : Osservazioni e nuove aggiunte prosopografiche', *Aegyptus* 59 (1979), p.193.

¹¹ "Hypothèse personnelle". Cette mention peut intervenir également dans d'autres rubriques.

¹² A.Mandouze dans *REL* 51 (1973), p. 291, et Préface de *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, cit. ; voir également *PLRE I*, p. XXII.

Dans cette seconde partie de la rédaction, chaque lemme se conforme à une série immuable de rubriques - très inégalement documentées selon les sources - identifiées par un indicatif numérique propre

- 1 - qualité : on y trouvera les fonctions et grades, transcrits en latin (avec date d'exercice, renvoi au texte correspondant, indication de la ligne, s'il s'agit d'un papyrus ou d'une inscription), l'unité d'appartenance et/ou le lieu d'exercice des fonctions (souvent différent du lieu de provenance du document). La mention "contexte", entre parenthèses, indiquera les cas où une fonction militaire n'apparaît pas explicitement, mais se déduit du contexte (par exemple : "Ἀπα ῥΩλ υἷος Βουσαῖ").
- 2 - données ethniques : soit que le document les signale, soit qu'elles transparaissent dans l'anthroponyme.
- 3 - données individuelles : entrent dans cette rubrique les informations démographiques (âge, maladie, décès, etc.), la situation familiale (mariage, enfants, composition du groupe familial) et tout particulièrement l'information relative à l'hérédité militaire ou aux traditions militaires familiales (frères ou autres parents militaires).
- 4 - données socio-économiques : les qualifications le plus souvent attestées seront ainsi libellées : "propriétaire", "tenancier", "exploitant agricole", "contribuable", "prêteur", "emprunteur", "acheteur", "vendeur", accompagnées le cas échéant de la localité et des montants (surfaces, valeurs, sommes, etc.).
- 5 - données culturelles : les qualifications de base seront "païen", "chrétien", *grammatos* (sachant écrire en grec), *agrammatos* .

A ces rubriques proprement informatives font suite trois rubriques relationnelles, mettant l'individu en rapport avec un "dossier", une référence bibliographique ou un développement dans les *Recherches* :

- 6 - appartenance à un dossier : lorsque l'individu se rattache objectivement à un groupe connu à la faveur d'une concentration documentaire ("archives" militaires ou civiles), mais aussi quand il est envisagé par les *Recherches* dans une perspective thématique particulière : à propos, par exemple, d'une localité géographique (Douch/Kysis) ou d'un groupement reconstitué par l'étude documentaire (bucellaires de l'Oxyrhynchite).

L'indication de ces deux types de dossiers (l'un au sens strict, l'autre en un sens plus large) dans les notices prosopographiques a une utilité multiple : en particulier elle constitue un moyen non encombrant - puisqu'il ne multiplie pas les rubriques - de faire intervenir la typologie du document, et par conséquent le genre d'informations a priori exclues (par exemple, il n'y a pas à attendre d'archives militaires qu'elles donnent des indications sur les données familiales, socio-économiques ou culturelles, si ce n'est d'une façon réglementaire : solde et *deposita*, cultes militaires officiels, etc.).

- 7 - références bibliographiques : cette rubrique commence toujours par la référence, quand elle existe, à la PLRE ou à un autre recueil prosopographique, dont elle signale, dans l'hypothèse contraire, la lacune.¹³ Viennent ensuite, citées dans l'ordre chronologique de parution, des références strictement limitées aux études mentionnant l'individu traité dans la notice, ou concernant les documents qui nous le font connaître, en précisant celles qui ont introduit des corrections textuelles ou qui ont rectifié la date du document, le nom du personnage, sa fonction, ses qualifications. Exception est faite pour les références concernant l'onomastique et l'origine ethnique, qui sont alors plutôt signalées à l'intérieur de la rubrique 2 (cf. la

¹³ Formules employées dans ce cas : "à ajouter à", "manque dans", "non retenu par..."

notice "Ἀπα ῥΩλ υἱὸς Βουσαῖ). Dans le cas des articles, leur titre n'est intégralement cité que s'ils portent exclusivement ou du moins en grande partie sur le personnage ; sinon, la référence se limite au nom de l'auteur et aux titre, volume et pages de la revue.

8 - références internes: cette rubrique renvoie soit aux *Recherches* (indication de la partie, du chapitre ou du sous-chapitre), soit à la présente *Prosopographie* (nom précédé de la section : A, B, C, ou D, éventuellement "Incertains" ou "A éliminer").

3 - La *Prosopographie de l'armée romano-byzantine d'Égypte en chiffres*

Dans son état actuel, la présente *Prosopographie* réunit un effectif d'environ 1 270 noms (auxquels s'ajoutent quelques dizaines d'anonymes), ainsi réparti : environ 240 entrées pour le commandement (environ 120 noms pour chacune des section~ A et C); environ 1030 entrées pour les grades subalternes et la troupe (650 en section B, 380 en section D). Afin de situer numériquement cette collection par rapport à quelques autres (réalisées ou projetées), je rappellerai que le recensement équivalent pour les trois premiers siècles de l'Empire, celui de Cavaillat amendé et enrichi par N. Criniti, atteignait environ 2 500 entrées en 1979.¹⁴ Une prosopographie générale mais géographiquement limitée à une région, comme la *Prosopographia Arsinoitica*, contient quelque 5 900 numéros pour une période moitié moins longue que celle qui est couverte ici (VI^e - VIII^e siècle). Enfin, Tomsin en 1959 estimait à environ 50 000 individus la matière potentielle de sa *Prosopographie générale de l'Égypte romaine*,¹⁵ chiffre naturellement réévalué depuis par les publications de ces 25 dernières années. La collection des *militiae equestres* de H. Devijver a produit environ 2.000 numéros pour l'Empire romain tout entier, dont 113 pour la seule Égypte.¹⁶

Dans certaines zones géographiques, surtout à haute ou moyenne époque, il arrive que l'élément militaire soit sur-représenté. Le rapport entre population militaire et population globale dans une région donnée est soumis au hasard des trouvailles - ou des publications - documentaires. Un seul registre fiscal peut allonger le catalogue des civils de plusieurs centaines d'individus ; un *pridianum* ou une *matricula* peuvent de même enrichir l'inventaire des militaires de plusieurs dizaines de références. Le rapport le plus faible entre l'effectif militaire recensé et l'effectif global est atteint dans l'Arsinoïte à l'époque protobyzantine: ainsi n'ai-je retrouvé dans ma *Prosopographie* militaire, pour les VI^e-VII^e siècles (dépourvus d'archives militaires), qu'une vingtaine d'individus sur les quelques 5 900 de la *Prosopographia Arsinoitica*.¹⁷

Par comparaison avec le volume d'informations retenu par Tomsin dans son projet de fichier électronique, je me suis limité à un nombre plus modeste de rubriques, tout en faisant place aux données culturelles, qu'il n'avait pas envisagées, et en diversifiant considérablement les données liées à la spécificité de la fonction militaire. L'expérience d'une prosopographie catégorielle comme celle-ci montre qu'une prosopographie générale de l'Égypte romaine, si le projet était un jour repris, devrait prévoir pour certains groupes un supplément de précision adapté à leur cas, de manière à permettre la confrontation des individus non seulement avec les autres catégories socio-professionnelles, mais encore à l'intérieur de leur propre groupe, ce qui requiert, pour la rendre pertinente, un degré sensiblement affiné de discrimination.

¹⁴ Décompte repris de N. Criniti, *cit.*, p.193-194 et n.8.

¹⁵ *XI Congresso*, p. 196. Le projet couvrait l'Empire jusqu'en 284.

¹⁶ Sur ce décompte, qui n'est pas celui de l'auteur, cf. mon compte rendu de *De Aegypto et exercitu romano*, *CE* 51 (1976), p. 362-364.

¹⁷ Proportion d'autant plus faible que bon nombre des fonctions considérées comme militaires par J. M. Diethart sont en fait purement civiles.

Une publication sous forme de livre de cette *Prosopographie* dans son état actuel est prévue pour une date que j'espère prochaine, mais l'enquête demeure, par définition, ouverte et, comme l'indiquait James Keenan, "the process of refinement is endless".¹⁸ Son évolution ultérieure sous forme de banque de données avec remise à jour permanente est à l'étude.

Quelques exemples de notices

Section A

SENECIO

P.Abinn.1, rééd. *ChLA III 202* ; entre IV-340 et III-342 ; Arsinoïte.

1 - auparavant *comes limitis Thebaidos* (l. 5-6, littéralement : *antehac comite limitis eiusdem provinciae* , faisant référence à *provinciae Thebaidos superioris* de la phrase précédente). A l'hypothèse des éditeurs, suivie par *ChLA III*, selon laquelle Senecio aurait été à la fois comte et duc de Thébaïde et d'Égypte, comme à l'interprétation de *PLRE I*, *comes (et dux) limitis Thebaidos superioris*, on préférera la conclusion de J.Lallemand, suivie par R.Rémondon, en faveur de l'existence temporaire d'un *comes limitis Thebaidos* distinct du *dux Aegypti* , à condition de ne pas suivre Abinnaeus dans sa désignation d'une *provincia Thebaidos superioris* qui n'a jamais existé. Dès lors, le duc *VALACIVS n'a pas été le successeur de Senecio, et nous ne pouvons plus déduire de son entrée en fonctions la date de départ de celui-ci. Les dates précédemment proposées pour le commandement de Senecio, vers 337 (R. Rémondon) ou en 337/338 (*PLRE*) sont encore plus fondamentalement remises en cause depuis que T.D. Barnes a fixé en 336 la mission à Constantinople d'*ABINNAEVVS, désigné précisément par Senecio. Cette date constitue donc actuellement le seul pivot chronologique autour duquel situer l'exercice de ses fonctions de *comes limitis* .

7 - *PLRE I*, p. 820, Senecio 3 ; J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile* , p. 54-55 ; R. Rémondon, *CE* 40,1965, p. 191-192 et 187, n° 6 ; T.D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 39, 1985, p. 368-374.

8 - II, 3, 1.

Section B

Sarapion 16

CPR V 13 + *P.Rainer Cent. 165* ⁽¹⁸⁾ ; 401 ; [castrum Psofthis] .

1 - poursuit la partie connue de sa carrière dans une unité de cavalerie indéterminée, vraisemblablement l' *Ala III Assyriorum* ; en 395, d'(eques) *munifex* , il est promu *in scholam catafractariorum* (Col.II, l. 7-8) ; en 396, de *catafractarius* , il est promu *decurio* (Col.I, l. 14), après 13 ans de service, puisqu'il en a 18 en 401, date de sa *missio causaria* : il est alors toujours *decurio* (Col.III, l. 11).

3 - rayé des cadres en 401, au terme de 18 ans de service, en raison de douleurs abdominales (*colicus*) ; a donc été enrôlé vers 383/384.

6 - Archives militaires latines.

7 - J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 56, 1984, p.79-88, reconstituant l'unité du document publié d'abord séparément comme *CPR V 13* et *P.Rainer Cent. 165* , a montré que ce rouleau reproduisait trois documents officiels relatifs à la carrière militaire de Sarapion.

8 - II,3,1 et 2 ; II,4,2 ; III,4,1 ; IV,3,2.

¹⁸ J.K. Keenan, *Class. World*, 76 (1982), p. 23.

Section C

THEODOSIUS 3 (Flavius Theodosius)

a) *PKFI (=SPP III) 111* ; 633 ? ; Arsinoïte. b) *P.Lond.I 113, 6 (c)*, p.215 ; Arsinoïte.
c) *P.Prag.I 64* ; 636 ; Arsinoé. d) *SPP X 249* ; date non indiquée mais voisine ;
Arsinoïte.

e) *Jean de Nikiou CXI (p.434)* .

1 - duc et augustal d'Arcadie, le premier qui nous soit connu antérieurement à la conquête arabe (*c*, 1.6-7 : ὁ εὐκλεέστατος στρατηλά(της) δούξ καὶ αὐγουστάλιος ταυτῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχ(ίας)) Jusqu'à la publication de *c*, le seul titre donné au personnage était *στρατηλάτης* (*a*, 1.1 ; *b*, 1.5 ; *d*, col.II, 1.8). A la réunification des sources papyrologiques, il faut encore ajouter le rapprochement avec Jean de Nikiou. On ne peut en effet douter que ce soit le duc d'Arcadie dont parle la *Chronique*, et que Maspero présente comme "l'un des principaux généraux qui résistèrent à l'invasion arabe". En position non loin de Nikiou au moment de la bataille perdue près d'Oxyrhynchos (?) par *IOHANNES 9 et *IOHANNES 10, il descend alors s'installer dans la forteresse de Babylone. Il périt dans la grande défaite infligée à Héliopolis par les Arabes aux troupes byzantines concentrées dans cette place. Mention est faite, peu après, de son successeur, *PHILIADES.

7 - *Pros.Ars.I, 2003* (doc.*d*), 2009 (doc.*a*) et 2010 (doc.*b*), à unifier et compléter en fonction de *c* ; J.Gascou, *BO* 39,1982, col.105, avait déjà suggéré que ce fût un seul et même personnage : hypothèse maintenant confirmée. La publication de *c* oblige à retirer Fl.Theodosius de la liste de stratélates/pagarques dressée par K.A.Worp, *CPR X, 127, Appendix* p.154.

8 - II, 3, 1 ; II, 5, 4 (pour la reconstitution des opérations militaires).

Section D

Ἄπα ὦνλ υἱὸς Βουσα̃

CPR VIII, 53 (20) ; V^e siècle ; Hérakléopolite ? .

1 - probablement soldat (l. 6), d'après le contexte.

2 - malgré son nom typique de la Thébàide, origine vraisemblablement barbare : pour le patronyme, cf. Schönfeld, p. 52 : Boso, franc et goth. Voir également les autres membres du groupe d'appartenance.

3 - probablement célibataire ; frère (et fils ?) de soldats : cf. *Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Βουσα̃.

8 - I, 5, 4 ; II, 2, 2 ; V, 2, 1.

ESERCITO ROMANO E SOCIETÀ CIVILE D'EGITTO

Sergio Daris

I modi di approccio al tema e l'angolo di visuale scelto ad inquadrarne la prospettiva possono risultare, di fatto, tanto differenti tra loro al punto che appare indispensabile un preliminare chiarimento.

I rapporti tra le istituzioni militari romane e la società civile,¹ nella quale l'esercito si trova inserito in terra d'Egitto, trovano la loro realizzazione a diversi livelli in una realtà tanto varia qual è quella riconoscibile per il tramite della documentazione papiracea, che ci offre una puntualità ed immediatezza di informazioni che invano cercheremmo nelle testimonianze delle altre province dell'impero di Roma.

Di qui la effettiva possibilità di precisare, sulla scorta non esigua di elementi oggettivi, i meccanismi che hanno regolato istituzionalmente le normali relazioni con l'amministrazione civile nonché quelle tra le strutture militari e singoli individui. E così nel primo caso, ad es., sarà concesso di valutare l'impatto e le ricadute del fenomeno sul piano economico,² e, nel secondo, la concorrenza tra il rispetto per le norme del diritto e la loro effettiva applicazione nella pratica del quotidiano. Accanto a questi, che figurano tra i grandi temi sull'argomento e che, in quanto tali, hanno catalizzato uno speciale interesse, sono molto numerosi gli spunti per altri motivi di ricerca, sempre strettamente connessi con la medesima tematica; questa suggerisce di percorrere strade nuove o non abitualmente battute, sempre nell'intento di dare una più netta evidenza al modo di attuarsi del rapporto tra società militare e società civile.

Una di queste vie meno consuete potrebbe condurre alla utilizzazione esclusiva e rigorosa, sempre però in funzione dello scopo proposto, dei documenti su papiro di contenuto privato e personale, nei quali è accertata l'appartenenza all'esercito romano di una delle parti, che si trova così ad agire in un contesto genuinamente civile. Al fine di rimuovere ogni residuo sospetto di legami condizionanti con la vita dell'accampamento, dovranno coerentemente essere ritenuti estranei ad ogni considerazione gli affari tra soldati per i quali esiste esplicita menzione di una loro stesura *in castris, in hibernis*, oppure altri atti, come i testamenti militari, che non solo spesso hanno una medesima provenienza ma soprattutto connettono i loro contenuti alle fortune conseguite durante la vita militare.

In altre parole, risulta meglio evidente il legame con la vita civile nel momento in cui meno intensa - se non addirittura ridotta a puro richiamo anagrafico - è la relazione con la vita militare.

La figura del soldato proprietario di terreni non appare una presenza tanto peregrina o rara come saremmo indotti ad immaginarla tenendo conto della scarsa attenzione dedicata al problema in date più³ o meno⁴ recenti.

Una serie di documenti, cronologicamente distribuiti nei primi tre secoli dell'impero - per non far parola degli sporadici riferimenti dei registri catastali o dei consuntivi fiscali - , illustra l'intervento di militari in affari che hanno per oggetto loro proprietà fondiarie; ciò può avvenire

¹H. Devijver, 'Egypte et l'histoire de l'armée romaine', in *Egitto e storia antica dall'Ellenismo all'età araba*, Bologna 1989, pp. 37-49; R. Mac Mullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge Mass. 1963.

²J.-M. Carrié, 'Le rôle économique de l'armée dans l'Égypte romaine', in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique*, Paris 1977, pp. 373-391; Id., 'Les finances militaires et le fait monétaire dans l'empire romain tardif', in *Les dévaluations à Rome, Époque républicaine et impériale*, I, Roma 1978, pp. 227-248.

³N. Lewis, 'Soldiers permitted to own provincial Land' *BASP* 19 (1982) pp. 143-148.

⁴S. Riccobono Jr., *Il Gnomon dell'Idios Logos*, Palermo 1950, p. 250 con la bibliografia precedente.

nel caso di affittanza o di vendita oppure per nuovi acquisti oppure ancora quando sia necessario per gli interessati confermare un possesso precedente del quale, in via temporanea, avevano perduta la disponibilità.

Le informazioni di carattere generale offerte dal complesso di questi materiali permettono di constatare che nelle vesti di proprietari terrieri figurano soldati in servizio effettivo nelle legioni o nei reparti ausiliari, senza distinzione alcuna.

I terreni oggetto dei contratti, possono trovarsi nel luogo medesimo nel quale il militare prestava il proprio servizio oppure in una zona diversa della provincia; di qui la duplice eventualità che il soldato intervenga personalmente alla stesura dell'atto oppure ricorra alla mediazione di un proprio rappresentante, quando gli obblighi di servizio costituiscono impedimento alla sua presenza.

Il titolo di proprietà dei fondi può provenire da acquisto, regolarmente perfezionato in un momento della carriera militare; altresì i terreni possono appartenere al patrimonio della famiglia del soldato, una condizione questa preesistente all'arruolamento del proprietario.

Va da sè che a precisare meglio la portata ed i risvolti della situazione prospettata da questa tipologia di documenti, risultano essere di gran significato soprattutto i papiri di data più antica, i quali formano il nucleo decisamente maggioritario.

Il contratto⁵ con il quale tre persone richiedono ad un decurione di avere da lui in affitto il prodotto di un vigneto, nella *meris* di Eraclide dell'Arsinoite, nell'anno 42 d.C., appare, al momento, l'esempio più antico tra quelli datati con sicurezza e mostra di configurare una operazione di assoluta normalità ed in termini di una provata consuetudine, per nulla resa speciale dalla condizione del locatore. Non risulta il reparto al quale il decurione appartiene e tutto lascia credere, anche in assenza di indicazioni esplicite, che il soldato sia presente di persona alla redazione del documento.

Nel ventaglio della relativa casistica, un rilievo particolare va riservato a P.Hamb. III 217, ancora molto utile, quantunque danneggiato assai dai numerosi guasti sofferti. L'attribuzione alla prima metà del I secolo d.C., suggerita dagli editori, deve essere considerata accettabile non meno dell'altra ipotesi, ben più impegnativa, che ritiene che il contratto sia stato preparato ad Ossirinco per una proprietà terriera verisimilmente però ubicata nell'Arsinoite, forse nel territorio di Filadelfia. Entrambe le parti sono rappresentate da due cavalieri della medesima *ala Augusta*,⁶ in forza a due *turmae* diverse. Akamas, nella qualità di venditore, si impegna a cedere al commilitone C. Sulpicius Niger, i diritti su alcune proprietà agricole con accessori annessi, per le quali dichiara i parametri fondiari; il pagamento per il passaggio di proprietà viene effettuato in contanti.

Come si è già visto per l'esempio precedente, non è tanto ad interessare, anche in questo caso, la disinvoltura sul piano giuridico con la quale viene gestita l'intera operazione da parte dei due soldati, quanto alcune constatazioni legate alle notizie di natura catastale, fornite appunto per determinare l'esatta ubicazione dei terreni in questione.

Il nome del venditore, Akamas, ricorre a designare due persone diverse nella serie dei padroni dei terreni confinanti ed è questo un particolare che sottolinea il legame intimo del cavaliere Akamas con il territorio nel quale si trova il fondo posto da lui in vendita e quindi il suo radicamento nella società del luogo, ancora attuale perché mai interrotto. Nulla vieta di pensare che il terreno posseduto da Akamas sia stato dallo stesso comperato in precedenza, ma la frequenza nell'ambiente del medesimo nome per altri individui, fa credere probabile l'ipotesi di una proprietà appartenente ad un nucleo familiare, insediato nel medesimo territorio, che probabilmente coincide con quello di origine del nostro cavaliere.

⁵H. S. Schibli, 'P.Mich. inv. 4354: Pachtangebot auf Olivenerte' *ZPE* 50 (1983) pp. 93-96, ora SB XVI 13012, cfr. S. Daris, 'Documenti minori dell'esercito romano in Egitto' *ANRW* II,10,1 pp. 726-7.

⁶S. Daris, 'Le truppe ausiliarie romane in Egitto' *ANRW* II,10,1 p. 751.

I documenti non sono quasi mai generosi di notizie - vuoi per reticenza vuoi per i guasti materiali subito dal testo - circa le dimensioni dei terreni posseduti, ma, se fossimo indotti a pensarli soltanto di proporzioni contenute o minime, ci troveremmo forse a correre il rischio di una sbrigativa generalizzazione. Lo stesso P.Hamb. III 217, appena ricordato, dovrebbe consigliare prudenza a questo proposito, ma un preciso avvertimento per una opportuna cautela non può non provenirci da P.Mich. IX 462, dell'anno 119 d.C.

Un soldato della *legio III Cyrenaica* che si definisce anche *frumentarius Romae*, concede in affitto per un periodo di tre anni alcuni terreni di sua proprietà ad un abitante di Karanis. Si tratta di appezzamenti a differente coltura: due arure seminate a grano, due piantate ad ulivi erano ubicate nella zona di Karanis; tre quarti di arura a grano si trovavano presso Bacchias, ancora ad uliveto erano tenute rispettivamente due arure a Karanis, due a Hiera ed una ancora ad Alkias.

La consistenza complessiva dei beni fondiari appare considerevole e non meno degna di nota è la loro disseminazione all'interno della *meris*.

L'esemplificazione dei documenti affini potrebbe continuare con annotazioni puntuali e interessanti ma non tali da arricchire di vere novità il quadro generale sin qui tracciato; a questo esame analitico sarà perciò da preferire la menzione di un testo, P.Wisc. II 70, tipologicamente del tutto estraneo al gruppo ma intimamente legato ad esso.

E' una lettera, databile all'inizio del II secolo d.C., di carattere privato, nonostante sia stata redatta in lingua latina, da parte di una persona di rango nella gerarchia militare. Lo scrivente informa il proprio destinatario, un decurione, di avergli concesso, anche per l'intervento dello stratego del *nomos* Coptite, un periodo di congedo di un intero mese dagli obblighi del servizio, che veniva evidentemente espletato nel presidio di Copto. Della massima importanza è la motivazione alla base di questa richiesta di permesso, sostenuta appunto anche dallo stratego: "ad intervisendas possessio[nes tuas] quas habes nomo Arsinoite" (righe 5-6). Al decurione viene riconosciuto il possesso di alcuni fondi che si trovano nell'Arsinoite, donde molto probabilmente egli proviene, e proprio per la cura del patrimonio fondiario la stessa autorità militare - pur senza trascurare un qualche possibile favoritismo - non rifiuta la concessione di un permesso esplicitamente finalizzato.

E questo si verifica quando dobbiamo ritenere in vigore e di piena attualità, il divieto proclamato dal Gnomon *dell'Idios logos*,⁷ e successivamente fatto proprio dalla dottrina giurisprudenziale⁸ per effetto del quale era negato ai soldati di acquistare proprietà nella provincia sede del loro servizio. Agli studiosi di diritto toccherà valutare le motivazioni per le quali le norme sembrano essere travolte dalla prassi corrente, ma contemporaneamente non è forse meno interessante constatare quanta luce queste operazioni gettino sulla partecipazione del soldato alla vita civile della società nella quale egli affonda le proprie radici che danno l'impressione di non essere state mai recise.

Risale a questi ultimi anni l'acquisizione dal mercato antiquario di numerosi ostraka - non ancora tutti editi - che, sebbene dispersi in differenti raccolte, presentano una compatta omogeneità di contenuti, a riprova di una innegabile unica provenienza.⁹

⁷ BGU V 1210. 243, per il commento v. BGU V,2 pp. 44-46.

⁸Dig. 49,16,9 pr. (Marciano), 18,1,62 pr. (Modestino), 49,16,13 pr. (Macrone). Cfr. nota 2.

⁹Per l'intera questione v. W. Clarysse, 'A Roman Army Unit near Thebes' *Atti XVII Congr. int. di Papirologia*, III, Napoli 1984, pp. 1021-1026.

Sono gli ostraka degli *skopelarioi*,¹⁰ i responsabili delle torri di guardia, poste a vigilare le vie del commercio, nelle zone dell'Alto Egitto, ipoteticamente individuate nel territorio tebano.¹¹

Il complesso documentario comprende testi di natura ufficiale confusi con altri di contenuto personale, costituiti questi ultimi da lettere private. La comune matrice degli ostraka è rappresentata dall'ambiente militare, quello dei *praesidia* e degli *skopeloi* del deserto, posti sotto la responsabilità di *curatores* militari, che, a loro volta, dipendono da un reparto effettivo della cavalleria ausiliaria;¹² di qui l'emaneazione di qualche ordine in latino.¹³

Nella forma certamente condizionata dal materiale scritto, ritroviamo la tipologia abituale dei testi militari con molte comunicazioni ufficiali di provvedimenti ed ordini di servizio; tra tutti, di meritata notorietà gode O.Amst. 8, che registra i turni di guardia degli uomini assegnati a diverse *stationes*, per un periodo di cinque giorni consecutivi.¹⁴ Quanto alle altre comunicazioni di forma epistolare, si deve ritenere che, al loro interno, siano più numerose di quanto non si creda, quelle ufficiali, che mimetizzano la loro natura con una tematica apparentemente più civile che militare.

Quando, ad es., in O.Florida 5 il decurione Aponios Didymianos scrive al *curator praesidii* Iulianus di mandargli, appena ricevuta la lettera, in tutta fretta, un cavaliere, su richiesta del loro comune superiore, abbiamo certamente da fare con una comunicazione ufficiale, non diversa dai molti ordini di trasferimento di persone, alcuni dei quali, tra gli stessi ostraka, sono scritti in latino a riprova della loro ufficialità.

Il filo conduttore, sin qui seguito, in una ricerca che vuole, come motivo di novità, privilegiare l'analisi delle attività private dei soldati nei confronti di quelle professionali, non può esimere del tutto dal rimarcare alcuni dati recuperabili da questi ostraka.

Sul piano delle antichità militari, la notizia più preziosa è quella relativa alla presenza degli *skopelarioi*, le guardie delle torri di osservazione, soprattutto perché si tratta di una testimonianza non più sporadica e che, per i nuovi tratti manifestati, richiede ancora un ulteriore approfondimento ed una corretta interpretazione. Innanzitutto il problema dello *status* degli *skopelarioi*. Accertata la loro organizzazione militare e la diretta dipendenza dall'esercito, essi appartengono ad un personale civile che svolge compiti di sorveglianza nel proprio luogo d'origine o di abituale dimora, nelle consuete condizioni di esistenza.

E' innegabile che, con essi, l'integrazione tra società militare e società civile abbia trovato anche una accelerazione di tipo istituzionale, in territori che si mostravano naturalmente disponibili a realizzarla. Basta solo riflettere sul numero esiguo di soldati dislocati nei vari luoghi, per immaginarne l'assorbimento da parte della circostante realtà civile, con conseguenze di marcata civilizzazione della struttura militare.

Che la linea di separazione tra le due società sia malamente riconoscibile, lo documentano, ancora una volta, gli ostraka dai contenuti rigorosamente personali. Cavalieri, *cibariatores*, *galearii*, si misurano in attività che nulla hanno di militare o per le quali la loro qualifica non riveste alcun significato.

¹⁰O.Florida pp. 25-27, R. S. Bagnall, 'Army and Police in Roman Upper Egypt', *JARCE* 14 (1977) pp. 71 sgg.

¹¹W. Clarysse, *op. cit.* p. 1022.

¹²Identificabile, secondo alcuni, con l'*ala Thracum Mauretana*, cfr. G. Nachtergaele, 'Quatre nouveaux ostraca de la collection Marcel Hombert' *Atti XVII Congr. int. di Papirologia*, III, Napoli 1984, pp. 905-909.

¹³Notevole anche la presenza dei numerali latini o in cifre o in lettere nella traslitterazione greca (πρίμα, σεκόνδα, τερτία, κόρτα) di O.Amst. 8.

¹⁴W. Clarysse, P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'A Military Roster on a Vase in Amsterdam' *Anc. Soc.* 19 (1988) pp. 71-96 e C. Gallazzi, 'Un nuovo frammento del vaso di Amsterdam O.Amst. 8' *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1990) pp. 185-192; J.R. Rea 'Vestigations' *ZPE* 82 (1990) pp. 126-128.

Sembra particolarmente opportuno insistere sull'importanza di questi ostraka per il nostro argomento, anche quando essi non ci prospettano una situazione di assoluta novità - infatti i paralleli contenutistici con altri gruppi di ostraka sono molto evidenti - quanto perché essi soli confermano, in maniera esplicita e come altrove non avviene, il contesto militare nel quale tutti si collocano. Quanto negli ostraka dello wadi Fawakhir¹⁵ è facilmente postulabile, diventa certezza nel caso di quelli sin qui ricordati.¹⁶

Il terzo gruppo di testi, che qui si vuole prendere in considerazione, appartiene invece ad una casistica del tutto diversa da quella rappresentata dai documenti precedenti; con la loro tipologia essi ripristinano il rapporto con le categorie del pubblico e dell'ufficiale ma su un versante particolare che permette di cogliere il momento nel quale il soldato, nelle funzioni concesse dalla sua qualifica, si apre ad attività che militari non sono, nella loro sostanza, e che, di norma, potevano, con altrettanta competenza, essere gestite da funzionari civili. Il settore di immediato riferimento risulta essere quello genericamente definito dell'ordine pubblico e della amministrazione della giustizia.¹⁷

I materiali a questo proposito non mancano. All'interno del loro numero non esiguo, a prevalere sono i documenti dei quali il soldato appare essere il destinatario, in quanto a lui si rivolge il cittadino per le proprie necessità, come suggeriva la prassi.

Eccezion fatta per qualche raro esempio,¹⁸ anche quando i documenti sono preparati a cura del soldato/funzionario, mostrano di essere la conseguenza diretta di una richiesta a lui presentata allo scopo di ottenerne l'intervento operativo.¹⁹

La presenza dei graduati, centurioni e decurioni, nell'amministrazione della giustizia, è fenomeno che si manifesta precocemente, sin dai primi decenni della presenza romana in Egitto; le testimonianze relativamente al periodo, sono assai poco consistenti sul piano numerico, e, ciò che più conta, il militare figura come uno dei tanti funzionari istituzionalmente delegati ad accogliere le istanze a livello locale.

Ad illustrare la situazione è di grande efficacia il gruppo dei P.Ryl. II 124-156, le petizioni di Evemeria degli anni 28/42 d.C.; oltre che allo stratego, in gran parte, esse sono indirizzate all'ἐπιστάτης φυλακτικῶν mentre una sola, P.Ryl. II 141, ha come destinatario un centurione, C. Trebius Iustus.²⁰

L'oggetto del documento - una controversia sfociata in rissa ed in un appropriamento indebito - rientra nelle situazioni proposte da tutti gli altri testi del gruppo e non pare perciò che la comparsa del centurione risponda ad una peculiarità del caso.

Questo starebbe a significare che il ruolo del soldato non è diverso da quello dell'ἐπιστάτης, del quale in questa circostanza prende il posto. Neppure l'onomastica, all'apparenza genuinamente romana, costituisce elemento per rassicurarci circa le origini del centurione, perché due suoi colleghi ἐπιστάται portano nomi altrettanto romani, come C. Arrius Priscus, o molto romani, come C. Iulius Pholos.

L'intercambiabilità appare assoluta, sia sul piano delle funzioni sia su quello dell'onomastica.

I termini numerici, con una evidenza che non può essere attribuita al caso, ci dicono che la presenza dei militari nella sfera civile, quali amministratori della giustizia, acquista ben altra

¹⁵O. Gueraud, 'Ostraca grecs et latins de l'wadi Fawakhir' *BIFAO* 41 (1942) pp. 141-196.

¹⁶Vedi ancora R.S. Bagnall, 'Papyri and Ostraka from Quseir Al-Qadim' *BASP* 23 (1986) pp. 1-60.

¹⁷R.W. Davies, 'The Investigation of some Crimes in Roman Egypt' *Anc.Soc.* 4 (1973) pp. 199-212; *id.* 'Daily Life of the Roman Soldier' *ANRW* II.1, pp.321-322; S. Daris, 'Documenti minori' p. 737 sgg.; R. Mac Mullen, *op. cit.* p. 52 sgg.

¹⁸P.Fay. 38= ChLA III 207 e P.Köln II 107.

¹⁹SB VI 9290.

²⁰R. W. Davies, *Investigation*, p. 201.

rilevanza nel corso del secolo secondo ed a tutta la prima metà del secolo terzo d.C.; per essi non sarebbe fuori luogo parlare di un ruolo prevalente e tale da soppiantare, di fatto, quello degli altri funzionari di grado inferiore allo stratego.

Un coinvolgimento di queste proporzioni nelle vicende della vita quotidiana non poteva non trasformarsi in una sostanziale integrazione con la società civile, nella quale centurioni e decurioni, proprio per l'ufficio loro affidato, si trovavano ad essere inseriti ed alla quale finivano con l'essere assai più vicini di quanto non fossero al loro ambiente militare, una matrice alquanto remota se non addirittura irriconoscibile.

Non sarà del tutto accidentale - pur ammettendo il naturale disinteresse e la limitata informazione degli scriventi al riguardo - che mai, in nessuno dei molti testi, viene indicato assieme al grado del soldato anche il suo reparto.²¹

La frequenza con la quale i funzionari sembrano essere sostituiti dai militari e quindi l'accentuata presenza di questi ultimi nella vita civile chiede di essere interpretata e più d'una potrebbe essere la chiave di lettura.

In primo luogo, questa civilizzazione dell'esercito è il segno di una politica militare che ha definitivamente rimosso ogni disegno di un esercito da combattimento, sempre meno attuale nella realtà della provincia egiziana. Da un lato le costanti geografiche del paese - confini e spazi interni -, dall'altro il rinnovamento della compagine militare, a seguito della coscrizione locale,²² favoriscono la costituzione di un esercito stanziato, con un organico contenuto, disseminato a presidio del paese, con un solo insediamento di forze ragguardevoli a Nikopolis. Lo stesso affidamento di compiti non militari, di intrinseca responsabilità per una corretta gestione dei rapporti sociali, rende assai probabile la prassi, non senza esempi, di graduati direttamente nominati dalla condizione civile.

Si è visto dall'analisi campione dei tre gruppi di documenti che l'intima integrazione con la società civile da parte dell'esercito romano trova fondamento nella leva locale, fenomeno del resto condiviso con altre province militarizzate dell'impero. Ma ciò che è giusto osservare è la precocità ed i modi della sua manifestazione, che, per buona parte, risalgono alla speciale collocazione amministrativa dell'Egitto. Non è stato mai rimarcato, ad es., con la necessaria sottolineatura, che abbiamo la prova dell'arruolamento locale come pratica corrente già per gli anni 37/43 d.C., da P.Mich. III 159; il papiro testimonia l'esistenza di un'*ala Xoitana*,²³ cioè di un contingente che derivava la propria denominazione da Xoïs, una località del Delta. Se a tale isolata testimonianza pensassimo di non attribuire peso decisivo per la nostra dimostrazione, dovremmo ancora riflettere sui documenti relativi ai soldati/proprietari. Per questa via non solo siamo in grado di confermare l'alta datazione del fenomeno ma di constatarne anche la reale intensità.

In Egitto, l'arruolamento all'interno della provincia nella quale i reparti erano dislocati, significava per i soldati la possibilità di mantenere inalterati i legami con il luogo della propria provenienza, al punto da conservare piena la facoltà di gestire gli interessi economici personali, non diversamente dagli altri abitanti civili del paese. Se tutto questo rientra nelle consuetudini già nella prima metà del I secolo d. C., le linee dello sviluppo successivo non possono essere che quelle sin qui individuate.

Anche per l'aspetto delle antichità militari romane, ci si è posti l'interrogativo se la provincia egiziana abbia occupato o meno una posizione eccezionale nell'ambito dell'impero

²¹M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, 'I centurioni della *Legio II Traiana*' in *Studi in onore di A. Biscardi*, IV, Milano 1982, p. 176.

²²Per il problema, alla luce dei dati più recenti, v. G. Forni, 'Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni' *ANRW* II,1, p. 383 sgg.; M.G. Angeli Bertinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²³S. Daris, *Le truppe ausiliarie*, p. 755.

romano; piuttosto che tentare di rispondere alla domanda - forse di per sè oziosa considerato quanto incide la specificità propria del territorio su ogni tipo di struttura organizzativa - sarà opportuno ricordare, una volta ancora, come veramente eccezionale dell'Egitto la qualità e la varietà del materiale documentario offerto, sul quale possono oggettivamente fondarsi le nostre considerazioni anche su questo tema.

SOLDIER AND CIVILIAN IN BYZANTINE HERMOPOLIS

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Between the years 340 and 538, the city of Hermopolis was garrisoned by a military unit, sometimes referred to in the papyri as a *vexillatio*, known as the Equites Mauri Scutarii.¹ Despite the unit's 'barbaric' title, the Moors were recruited from the local population.² The *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates the placement at the turn of the fifth century of a *cuneus equitum Maurorum scutariorum* at Lycopolis, in addition to a *cuneus equitum scutariorum* at Hermopolis.³ It appears, then, that the *equites Mauri* were a cavalry unit with more than one 'wedge' (*cuneus*). Thus the transfer, evidenced in two Berlin papyri, of Flavius Taurinus, son of Plusammon, from the *numerus* of Moors at Lycopolis to the *numerus* of Moors at Hermopolis, between A.D. 426 and 430, was a transfer within rather than between units.⁴ A century after Taurinus' transfer, between 538 and 548, his unit was either supplemented by, renamed as, or replaced at Hermopolis by, 'Justinian's Numidians', the *Numidae Iustiniani*, who, 508 men strong, were by the emperor's orders (through a 'pragmatic sanction') assigned to protect the Theban province and to repel 'every barbarian incursion'.⁵ If they continued to exist, the 'Most Noble Moors' come no more into evidence.

All during this time Hermopolis lay in the Egyptian province of the Thebaid, near its far northern border, first with the province of Augustamnica, then (after its late fourth-century creation) with the province of Arcadia.⁶ An important town with a population of perhaps 20,000, it was not the provincial capital. That honor belonged instead to Antinoopolis, located across the river on the Nile's east bank.⁷ Hermopolis was more a military town, with a 500-troop garrison and an unknown number of resident veterans.⁸ Though not the capital, its geographical closeness to Antinoopolis meant that traffic and connections between the two cities were common.⁹

And Hermopolis had its own advantages. Centered in a relatively large plain, eight to nine miles wide between the Nile's west bank and the desert's edge, it was an important agricultural center; its surrounding farmland was an attractive and convenient object for investment by better-off residents of Antinoopolis whose own nome had a narrower and more limited band for cultivation.¹⁰ Thanks to the Hermopolite land lists of the mid-fourth century, P.Landlisten, with discussion by Bowman (preceding note) and Jones,¹¹ there is evidence that over two

¹Earliest mention: BGU I 21 ii 19; latest: P.Lond. III 998 desc. + 999 (p. 270) = SB XVI 12488 (2 Dec. 538). Mauri as a *vexillatio*: P.Charite 7, P.Ryl IV 609.

²J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1912) esp. 48-52.

³*Not.Dign.*, ed. Seeck, Or. XXXI 23-24: *Cuneus equitum Maurorum scutariorum, Lico / Cuneus equitum scutariorum, Hermupoli*. The omission of *Maurorum* in the second entry has been traditionally accepted as a scribal ellipse or oversight, to be resupplied from the line above, e.g. P.Berl.Zill. 5.15 note.

⁴BGU XII 2137-38.

⁵P.Cair.Masp. III 67321, P.Lond. V 1663, SB V 8028. Cf. BGU XII 2197 intro., 2141.6 n.

⁶J.G. Keenan, 'The Provincial Administration of Egyptian Arcadia', *Mus.Phil.Lond.* 2 (1977) 193-202.

⁷'Antinoe, metropolis of the Thebaid': *Historia Monachorum* 7.1; extensive confirmation from later papyrological evidence, esp. for the sixth century.

⁸Cf., e.g., for resident veterans, BGU XII 2139 (432), SB IV 7340 (540).

⁹H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonn 1964) 296 and n. 21, 299 and n. 2, 323 and n. 19.

¹⁰A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd. edn., 248; Jones, *The Roman Economy*, ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford 1974) 248; A.K. Bowman, 'Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome in the Fourth Century A.D.', *JRS* 75 (1985) 137-63, at (esp.) 139.

¹¹*The Roman Economy*, chapt. 10, esp. 244-55.

hundred Antinoopolites invested in land in the Hermopolite arable. Scholarship on the lists has mostly focused on the size and spread of the landholdings of these Antinoopolites, and of the Hermopolites of the West Citadel Quarter, in the ongoing effort to detect in the larger fourth-century holdings precursors of the great estates of the sixth century. But there are other points of interest worth attention.

One is that landowners of both groups in the lists - the Antinoopolites and the West-Citadel-Quarter Hermopolites - are regularly identified by name and patronymic, but rarely by name and occupation. Among the exceptional cases will be found craftsmen of various types - dyers, carders, potters, beekeepers, smiths; and several soldiers of various ranks.¹² But far and away most numerous among those whose professions are identified are bureaucrats. These include many kinds of scribes and stenographers, heralds, *officiales*, *beneficiarii* and *ex-beneficiarii*. And while the craftsmen find themselves almost randomly in the Antinoopolite or the Hermopolite sections of the lists, the bureaucrats almost invariably find themselves recorded among the 'Antinoitic names' (ὀνόματα Ἀντινοίτικα), not among the Hermopolitan.¹³ Thus besides establishing Antinoopolite ownership of a significant part of the Hermopolite arable, the lists indicate that some Antinoopolite owners were provincial bureaucrats. They, of course, bear mention in a paper on soldier and civilian in Byzantine Hermopolis because, as is well-known, late imperial bureaucrats had come to have military rank and legal privileges modelled on those of soldiers on active duty.¹⁴

The leading example of a landowning provincial bureaucrat in fourth-century Egypt is Flavius Isidorus, whose dossier is preserved in the Leipzig papyri. Isidorus spent his career in service on the staff (τάξις) of the *praeses* of the Thebaid in Antinoopolis. He first appears in 368 as an *officialis*, then beginning in the mid- to late 370s as a *beneficiarius*. His retirement, reflected in the title 'ex-beneficiarius', came by 388.¹⁵ Though much travelled in his official duties, it is clear that Isidorus originated from Hermopolis, but was domiciled during his years of service at Antinoopolis. His dossier contains both public and private papers. The private papers include a series of leases that prove his ownership of an assortment of Hermopolite properties: (1) a one-aroura plot in the village of Monyris leased out for two years to a villager who owned adjacent farmland; (2) a $\frac{1}{6}$ share of a 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura plot in the marshland (ἔλος) near Thynis, leased out to a civilian-citizen of Hermopolis; (3) a farm of at least six arouras, probably near the village of Timonthis, let out on a 50% sharecropping tenancy to a Hermopolite citizen resident in Timonthis; (4) an undefined number of arouras, different from the plot just mentioned, near Thynis (it was in the 'field', not in the 'marsh'), leased out on another 50% sharecropping arrangement to a citizen of Hermopolis' West Citadel Quarter. In addition to this, Isidorus owned a two-storey house with a basement in the East Quarter of Hermopolis; an apartment in this, in the upper storey, he let out for two years to a Hermopolite citizen at an annual rent of 2,500 talents. Finally, Isidorus may have owned pastures, or at

¹²Jones, *The Roman Economy* 250, 252-53.

¹³Other evidence for Antinoopolite interest in Hermopolite land (e.g.): P.Antin. II 89 = C.P.Jud. III 517 (fourth century; Antinoopolite *bouleutes* owns and leases out Hermopolite land); PSI XIII 1341 (fifth century; Antinoopolites own land near Hermopolite village of Kleopatra); SPP XX 121 (439; for a 'farm called the Antinoite's'); P.Cair.Masp. III 67312 (567; *exceptor* of ducal *officium* owns Hermopolite land); 67169 *bis* (569; an Antinoopolite buys land at Magdola Mirê, Hermopolite nome); II 67151 (570; chief doctor of Antinoopolis owns vineyards near Ibion Sesembythis).

¹⁴Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

¹⁵P.Lips. 33 (368); 36 (376 or 378); 22 = M.Chr. 277 (388); 37 (389), for the progression in Isidorus' titles. In P.Lips. 17 (377), Isidorus' title is in doubt. P.Lips. 23, where Isidorus appears as an *officialis*, likely belongs to the earlier of two possible dates, 374 and not 389, because of the title, and also because Flavius Hermapollon, an ex-soldier who signs for the illiterate lessee of P.Lips. 17, does the same in P.Lips. 23. (See also BL VIII p. 170.) For a summary of Isidorus' career: A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964) 596. Cf. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* 323 and n. 19.

least run sheepflocks in pastures, near the village of Telbonthis.¹⁶ As an absentee, he apparently, in the mid-370s at least, managed his scattered properties through an overseer (*epitropos*) who was a retired *officialis*.¹⁷

Isidorus, therefore, a 'quasi-soldier' because of his position on the staff of the *praeses*, was a minor absentee owner of small, scattered properties. To judge from his dossier and from the Hermopolite land lists, 'bureaucratical soldiers' were far more likely at this time to be owners of land and property than regular soldiers. Some documents from the archive of Aurelia Charite, a generation before Isidorus' time, lend support to this impression. This is because there were occasions when Charite's dealings put her into contact with soldiers of the *Mauri Scutarii*. Besides providing wine for the troops under official requisition, she at times dealt with soldiers on private terms as lessor to lessee. In P.Charite 7 of 22 October 347, for example, Charite leases out to a *promotus* of the *vexillatio* of *Mauri Scutarii*, Flavius Kasios, fifteen arouras of land in the *perichôma* of Magdola Mirê for one year at a 30-artab rent in wheat.¹⁸ The following year, in a complicated rent receipt dated 27 May 348 (P.Charite 8), Charite acknowledges receipt of rents from Flavius Doratianus, cavalryman (*ἰππεύς*) of the *Mauri Scutarii* stationed in Hermopolis under Almesianus their commander (*praepositus*). This was a sharecropping tenancy by which Doratianus turned over to Charite 50% of the crop of two land parcels totalling ten arouras, a three-aroura plot and a seven-aroura plot, both presumably in the Hermopolite nome.

This arrangement, the lease of ten arouras to a cavalryman of the *Mauri Scutarii*, seems to have dismayed A.H.M. Jones since it indicated to him 'that discipline was rather slack',¹⁹ perhaps because he considered that the Moors belonged to the *comitatenses* rather than to the *limitanei*, where such an arrangement would have seemed normal.²⁰ One wonders what Jones would have made of P.Berl.Zill. 5 of A.D. 417. By its stipulations a woman named Aurelia Eirene rents from the heirs of a deceased *scholasticus* of the staff of the *praeses* of the Thebaid, for an indefinite term, two apartments (*τόποι*) in the upper storey of a house in the city's East Quarter. They are intended for the habitation and use of Lykarios, a soldier of the unit (*numerus*) of the Moors, but it is Eirene who obligates herself to pay the yearly 1,100 talent rent. The relationship between Eirene and Lykarios can only be guessed at - more slack discipline, perhaps, but the point is that common soldiers seem not to have been important property owners in the fourth to early fifth centuries.

It is only when we come to the Taurinus archive of the fifth century that the tables have turned and we find a real soldier as a Hermopolite landowner warranting careful discussion. He was Flavius Taurinus, son of Plusammon. The story of him and his descendants was nearly twenty years ago outlined by Herwig Maehler in BGU XII,²¹ but it is necessary for the completeness of my theme to review the salient details.

Taurinus, as mentioned above, appears early in his career as a soldier of the *numerus* of Moors at Lykopolis in 426. Shortly after, by or before 430, he was transferred from Lykopolis to Hermopolis and promoted from 'soldier' to 'biarch'. He continued to advance in military rank, becoming a *centenarius* by 446 and becoming before his death, by 457, the

¹⁶P.Lips. 20-23, 17, 37.

¹⁷Altering the resolution of *ἐπιτροπ()* from *ἐπιτροπ(ῆς)* to *ἐπίτροπ(ος)* in P.Lips. 17:29, cf. 23:32.

¹⁸Cf. P.Charite 6 (ca. 347/8), lease, probably of land, from Charite to another soldier.

¹⁹*Later Roman Empire* 662.

²⁰*Comitatenses*: A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* 655, 662, cf. J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1912) 47-48, P.Berl.Zill. 5.15 n. For the view that the *Equites Mauri* were *limitanei*: H. Maehler, BGU XII, p. xxiv.

²¹Einleitung to BGU XII (1974). Recently, more Taurinus papyri have been identified in the Berlin and in the Heidelberg collections; for this information I am grateful to Herwig Maehler and Bernhard Palme (respectively).

unit's *primicerius*. Thus, from being a common soldier at his career's beginning, he had by career's end become his unit's second highest officer. In the course of his lifetime he appears in private business, in a series of leases, as an owner and lessor of small properties in the Hermopolite countryside - two arouras in Ptemenkyrkis Poimenon, another aroura and perhaps a vineyard in the same village, and perhaps some land near Areos kome. In addition to his rural properties, Taurinus owned an *epaulis* in Hermopolis proper, with a barn and well and other appurtenances, in the East Citadel Quarter. This was rented out one year to a former (πάλαι) soldier of the Moors, Flavius Eudaimon, son of Victor. A single surviving contract of loan, though hardly establishing a pattern, suggests that Taurinus had enough spare cash to act as a smalltime moneylender.²²

The landleases and the loan put Taurinus into contact with Hermopolite villagers in a pattern that was described at the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology in New York.²³ The villagers are the lessees and the debtor in the Taurinus contracts. Taurinus, the polis-dweller, is the lessor and the creditor. Proceeds from these rentals and the loan generated an income to which Taurinus could add his military salary. But because the documents are so few and because only the tops of the landleases have survived, it is impossible to calculate the full extent of Taurinus' yearly livelihood. For his loan of 8 1/2 solidi, he received till the loan's repayment 8 1/2 artabs of wheat per year; for his *epaulis*, he received a year's rent of 1,800 myriads and the chance to nourish on green fodder - one goat.

We are in a much better position for questions like this when we come to the family's next generation. That generation's principal figure is Taurinus' son, John, first described in November 457, and subsequently in October 464, as being 'seconded [probably from the *numerus* of Moors] to the military *officium* of the Thebaid'. The point, as Maehler observed, is that John was not a line soldier for much of his career, but a military secretary. And as his father had advanced in rank as a soldier, so in his career did John advance as a member of the army's secretariat, becoming a *scriniarius* by 472 and ultimately attaining, as had his father before him, the military rank of *primicerius* of the *numerus* of Most Noble Moors. It appears, then, that some time before his discharge, in or before 485, John had been reassigned from the military *officium* back to the *numerus* of Moors.²⁴

John presumably inherited a good share of his father's property, and added to what he had gotten by right of inheritance. The documents show him owning and leasing out 4 1/2 arouras of Hermopolite village land in 457. In 464 he leased out for a six-year term six arouras to a villager of Terton Psake. Four of these arouras lay near village, the other two were near the village of 'White Tower', Leukopyrgos.²⁵ Land in the 'marshland' near Thynis was leased out at an uncertain date for a ten-year term to two farmers of that village. In 476 John leased out eighteen arouras for a six-year term to two farmers from Hermopolis, twelve arouras in one plot, six in another, both apparently near the city of Hermopolis itself. And there is more. At an uncertain date, John leased out three arouras at Ptemenkyrkis Poimenon to two villagers for a ten-year term. In 481 he leased out eight arouras in three different *topoi*, 'in the marshland', probably near Thynis, to two villagers for a seven-year term. Finally, in 488, he leased out one aroura of dry vineland in Terton Kana and half share of a cistern to villagers of Terton

²²BGU XII 2137, 2138, 2141, 2139, 2140, in that order.

²³'On Village and Polis in Byzantine Egypt', *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 479-85.

²⁴Details in BGU XII, p. xxv.

²⁵BGU XII 2146, 2147.

Kana for a three-year term.²⁶ He also apparently owned some flaxland, either near the village of Temeſeu or Ptemenkyrkis, not represented in his surviving leases.²⁷

As can be seen, term lengths of John's leases varied from three to ten years. On existing evidence, viewed in synchronic distortion,²⁸ he owned perhaps 35 to 40 arouras of land in small, scattered plots, near Hermopolis.²⁹ Some land that he did not own, but held in mortgage, he also put out on lease. For example, in 472 he leased out for one year six arouras, perhaps near Thynis, that had been pledged to him by a municipal senator (*bouleutes*).³⁰ The lease was for a short, one-year term, presumably because it was keyed to the loan's anticipated repayment. John may also have been responsible for the purchase of two arouras, probably near Ptemenkyrkis Poimenon, whose tax status remained a problem for the succeeding generations of his family.³¹

For land put out at lease, John appears to have preferred getting his rents in cash, and on the basis of existing evidence had a yearly income of at least thirty solidi to supplement his government salary.³² He once resorted to a sharecropping agreement that was calculated to bring him 36 artabs of wheat-barley (σιτόκριθον) every year for six years in Epeiph on the threshing floor of Terton Psake. In another lease, he took a base cash rent, supplemented by perquisites in kind, four artabs of lentils (φακός) and sixteen of aracus chaff, for six years.³³

There seems little doubt that John's lessees who were not polis-residents, but villagers, travelled to Hermopolis, and that John met them in person, in the fall of the year, for the drafting of their leases.³⁴ Witnesses to the leases of John's properties, and the writers called upon to sign for illiterate lessees, were civilian residents of Hermopolis, including a deacon, a priest, and two *grammatici*.³⁵ Whereas, therefore, in the Paternuthis archive soldiers of various ranks predominate as witnesses and writers in contracts,³⁶ civilians dominate in John's Hermopolite leases.

John's son, Taurinus (II), followed his father into the military bureaucracy in a pattern well-known for late antiquity, first serving as *commentariensis* (before 491), then as *scriniarius* (by 494). He apparently retired from service without further advancement, spent his time monitoring the family properties, finally (by 510) entering religious life as a priest of the Catholic Church of Hermopolis. His death soon followed. About his son, John (II), very little is known.³⁷

²⁶BGU XII 2152, 2151, 2153, 2155 (date of 481 confirmed as certain, BL VIII, p. 53), 2160. My discussion here is wedded to the original editorial datings of the documents. Subsequently, 2152, dated by indiction only, has been set as late as 512 (BL VIII, p. 52) and 2153 has been assigned to 493 (BL VIII, p. 53).

²⁷BGU XII 2161, pledge (ἀρραβών) of two solidi to John toward an advance sale of flax; date lost.

²⁸By 'synchronic distortion', I allude to the practice, common in papyrological history-writing (my own included), of adding up parcels of land without regard for any linear history of their acquisition or (possible) alienation.

²⁹Cf. BGU XII, p. xxii.

³⁰BGU 2150, cf. the note to line 7 for another similar pledge (of different land) from the senator to John.

³¹BGU XII 2150 and line 7 n.; 2168.

³²BGU XII 2146: x solidi less four karats; 2150: two solidi less three karats; 2151: 14 solidi less 18 karats; 2152: three solidi less four karats; 2153: 4-1/2 solidi less 13-1/2 karats; 2155: six solidi less x karats. The 30-solidus figure is obviously much rounded. It presumes no duplication in the properties in John's leases and assumes continual rental of those properties. One key figure, in BGU 2146; probably from four to six solidi (for four and a half arouras), is lost; and the evidence for John's holdings based on the landleases is not likely to be complete. Thirty solidi, therefore, besides being rounded, is likely to be short.

³³BGU XII 2147, 2151.

³⁴BGU XII 2160 (September); 2147, 2151, 2155 (October); 2146 (November).

³⁵BGU XII 2147, 2149, 2151, 2155 (Hermopolitans); 2151 (deacon); 2152 (priest, *grammatici*).

³⁶J.G. Keenan, 'Evidence for the Byzantine Army in the Syene Papyri', *BASP* 27 (1990) 139-50.

³⁷BGU XII, pp. xxv-xxvi; but if BGU 2152 belongs to the year 512 (see above, n. 26), this John (II), not his grandfather, was presumably a principal party to that lease.

Even before his father's death, Taurinus (II) began managing the family property. In 491, he leased out to a villager of Tlethmis a one-storey house and courtyard in the city's West Citadel Quarter for an indefinite term and a cash rent of one gold solidus (less three karats) and 4,100 or more silver talents.³⁸ The natural inference, made by Maehler, is that the family must have had at least one more house, its own residence, in addition to this rental property. Rather more impressive than its urban real estate was the family's ownership of a fairly large-sized farm - thirty-one arouras in the east part of Hermopolis, twenty-five of which Taurinus directly controlled.³⁹ This land was leased out in 494 to a farmer from Hermopolis for a four-year term, and to another tenant for an unknown term beginning (probably) in 498. Returns in annual rent were substantial. At the base were 100 artabs of wheat, but this was supplemented by other products: beans, chickling, lentils, hay, and other goods, some in substantial quantities.⁴⁰

Ownership of smaller plots was not apparently sacrificed to consolidate the family's largest plot. In 501, Taurinus leased to farmers from Ptemenkyrkis, three arouras of a six-aroura plot he co-owned with his brother, probably in Ptemenkyrkis, for a term of six years.⁴¹ Taurinus owned some akanthos plantations whose anticipated produce a tanner purchased in the year 510.⁴² The family continued the ownership of vineland first evidenced in A.D. 430.⁴³ In 512 Taurinus leased out for two years to a village vinedresser a vineyard of uncertain extent and location with all its trees, most notably its date palms.⁴⁴ It was a sharecropping arrangement from which Taurinus was to get each year 50% of the wine and tree fruits (including the dates), 80 knidia of new wine from the 'common pithos', a platter of delicacies worth 4,000 talents - and more. The impression one gets from all this is increased luxury, and a reversal of Taurinus' father's preference for rents in cash; but the curtain drops on the Taurinus family and its properties before we get any sense that they have become great magnates. Their properties were still not extensive enough to qualify, and the apparatus of the large estates, with their *coloni*, private prisons, *bucellarii*, and *autopragia*, is entirely lacking. The Taurinus family heads continued to the end engaging free farmers in contractual leases and selling their land's products to free artisans.

It just so happens that the dossier of another Hermopolis military family picks up shortly before the Taurinus archive runs out. Most of the relevant papyri come from P.Lond. III; the pivotal document is the *compromissum*, famous and often reprinted, P.Lond. 992 of A.D. 507.⁴⁵ Its participants agree to abide by an arbitration ruling to be made by two *scholastici* of the *forum* of the Thebaid in a division of family property. Significant, of course, is that the family had property to divide (though details are not given); but also important is that this document gives the prosopographical information to which the information from other documents of the dossier can be pegged.⁴⁶ On one side of the proceedings are to be found

³⁸BGU XII 2162.

³⁹ Therefore comparable in size to the 28-aroura farm owned by Flavius Samuel, soldier, and leased to Aurelius Phoibammon of Aphrodito in P.Michael. 43-44.

⁴⁰BGU XII 2164, 2172. The latter is a likely continuation of the former, on the same terms but under a different tenant. 2164 is complete horizontally, therefore preserving fewer of the lease's terms, but in much better condition. 2172 is better preserved vertically, with 26 instead of 2164's 11 lines, but only its right half remains. It adds more terms to 2164's, but they are almost always incomplete.

⁴¹BGU XII 2174.

⁴²BGU XII 2182.

⁴³BGU XII 2175, cf. 2138.

⁴⁴SB IV 7369.

⁴⁵*MChr.* 365, *Sel.Pap.* I 61, *FIRA* III 182.

⁴⁶See the stemma offered by P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Hellenika* 40 (1989) 382-83, on p. 383 (for this and other references I am indebted to N. Kruit). I would only add to Sijpesteijn's stemma the datum that Tyrannos had children who were his heirs (their names are unknown).

Flavius Silvanus and Flavius Sarapion, soldiers of the *arithmos* of Hermopolis, and their brother, a civilian, Aurelius Isakos, all sons of a certain Phoibammon. Isakos further acts in behalf of the children of their deceased brother, Tyrannos. On the other side are to be found Flavius Besnikon, a fellow soldier, and his wife, their sister, Archontia. Subsequently, in two receipts of uncertain date, Phoibammon's son, Silvanus, appears as receiver of money rents on land from farmers of the village of Senilais.⁴⁷ Four other documents of the dossier are tightly clustered in the years 537 to 539. In one of these, Flavius Silvanus, an ex-soldier by 538, has made an advance payment to John, a deacon from the Hermopolite village of Enseu, for 80 measures of wine, to be repaid at the vintage.⁴⁸ The other three documents concern Silvanus' son, Flavius George, also a soldier, and no doubt the individual responsible for safekeeping most, if not all, of the family papers that have survived, including the famous *compromissum*. In one of these, George submits a petition (*libelli*) on an unrecovered debt for which he is creditor. The other two documents are receipts for payment for goods in advance of delivery, one for wine from a certain Apollos, in 537. The other, dated 539, is for 1 1/2 artabs of wheat and ten knidia of wine from a vinedresser, Aurelius Kollouthos, from the village of Enseu. The grain is to be delivered at harvest in the month of Payni, the wine at the vintage in Mesore.⁴⁹ In later documents, George appears as a lessor of house property to a villager from Nagogis and as a landowner owed arrears of rent from a Nagogis farmer, no doubt on land in the vicinity of that village.⁵⁰ Finally, in a receipt of uncertain date, as 'brother George, son of Silvanus', George, acting in behalf of two nuns, receives an acknowledgement of rent on property in Hermopolis and an unnamed village.⁵¹

A few stray documents help round out the picture of soldiers as moderate landowners in the sixth-century Hermopolite. PSI IV 296 of A.D. 520, for example, is a lease in which Flavius Daniel, a soldier of the Moors stationed in Hermopolis, leases out five arouras with date palms, apparently located in reed land in the plain (*πεδιάς*) of the village of Enseu, to a villager, Aurelius Pinoution, acting at least in part as a sharecropper.⁵² The following year, on 24 May 521, Flavius John, son of Kollouthos, *ex-draconarius* of the Most Noble Moors, leased out a 3/4 aroura plot to three farmers from the village of Tarouthis for a five-year term.⁵³ The important point here is that Daniel and John were military men who were very modest absentee owners of village land. The same can be said for Flavius Menas, son of Phoibammon, seconded to the *arithmos* of Moors stationed in Hermopolis, who is party to a division of property in A.D. 507.⁵⁴ By this agreement between Menas and Aurelius Victor, son of Taurinus, an *adiutor* of Hermopolis, Menas receives a share of a walled vineyard, first written as a 4/15 share, then crossed out, and an amount of grainland whose extent is unknown because the text fails at the crucial juncture: once again, we have a soldier owning land, but not very much.

What, then, can be said by way of conclusion or elaboration about soldiers and civilians in Byzantine Hermopolis, confessedly based on evidence that more establishes ranges of possibilities than verifiable rules, on evidence that gives singles instances from which general

⁴⁷P.Lond. III 1316b desc. (in *Hellenika* 38 [1987] 35-37) (5th indiction); 1051 (p. 273) (12th indiction). For the village name: Marie Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite. Toponymes et sites* (Missoula 1979) 236-37.

⁴⁸P.Lond. III 998 desc. + 999 (P. 270) = SB XVI 12488 (2 Dec. 538).

⁴⁹P.Lond. III 1000 (p. 250) (Dec. 538); 997 desc. (12 Oct. 537); 1001 (p. 270) (14 Feb. 539). (A full edition of P.Lond. 997 desc. is being prepared by N. Kruit.)

⁵⁰P.Lond. V 1872 desc. (4 Nov. 548); 1766 (Jan. 559). In the former document, George oddly bears the nomen Aurelius, not the expected Flavius.

⁵¹P.Lond. III 1020 (pp. 272-73) (5th indiction).

⁵²The soldier Daniel also occurs in the unpublished P.Lond. III 867 of 20 March 505, another land transaction.

⁵³P.Strasb. VI 579.

⁵⁴P.Lond. III 1313 (p. 256).

principles are in danger of being drawn? One thing is that military and civil service tended to be hereditary and that the boundaries between military and civil service could be crossed. Moreover, not all sons of military families became soldiers or civil servants; some remained civilians.⁵⁵ The Most Noble Moors resided in Hermopolis, but it is hard on the basis of the papyri to say whether there was an actual military barracks or not. The apartment lease, P.Berl.Zill. 5, seems to argue the negative. It may then be that the *Equites Mauri* were not *comitatenses*, but *limitanei* - if that distinction carries any validity for the fifth and later centuries.

The Moors do at any rate seem to have been citizen soldiers, leading, like the soldiers of the Paternuthis archive, active family lives; full-time professional soldiering may only have come to Hermopolis with the introduction of the *Numidae Iustiniani* in the mid-sixth century. The Moors tended to stay in Hermopolis on retirement, perhaps because that is where they came from in the first place.⁵⁶ Men like these came to be landowners in the Hermopolite in the fifth and sixth centuries, but they were normally smalltime owners of scattered properties. When these properties were near Hermopolite villages, they were leased out to local tenants; when these properties were near Hermopolis proper, they were leased out to civilian Hermopolitans. On balance, this link between lessor and lessee seems to be the commonest form of soldier-civilian contact to be found in the Hermopolis evidence, though it could not have been the commonest form of contact between soldiers and civilians in everyday life itself.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Those who did received of course the status designation Flavius, those who did not remained Aurelii. *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63; 13 (1974) 283-304.

⁵⁶Though one of the Moors came from an Antaiopolite village. Aphrodito, P.Cair.Masp. I 67091. Retirement in Hermopolis: SB VI 7340 (540), lease of a bedchamber in a house in the East Quarter of Hermopolis to an ex-soldier, Flavius Ammonius; P.Lond. III 998 desc. + 999 (p. 270) (= SB XVI 12488); 1001 (p. 270).

⁵⁷I am deeply grateful to Clement Kuehn for help with Microsoft Word and to Nico Kruit, especially in his letter of 7 Jan. 1993, for bringing me up-to-date on the papers belonging to the dossier of the family of Flavius Silvanus.

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS, EPISTULAE AND PAPHYROLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Mira Mirković

The appendix to Nesselhauf's volume XVI of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* contains a number of papyrological texts referring, as do the military diplomas edited there, to privileges enjoyed by soldiers and veterans of auxiliary units and fleet. In addition to a *tabella honestae missionis* and several *epikrisis*-documents, it contains texts on veteran-privileges in general, such as the edicts of Octavian and Domitian.¹ A useful complement to this appendix - from the documents published subsequently - would be P.Clermont-Ganneau, *JJP* 4, 1950, and P.Oslo inv. 1518, presented and commented on by Martha Eliassen at the Sixteenth Papyrological Congress in 1981.² Both concern soldiers who had served in auxiliary units in Egypt.

A) P.Clermont-Ganneau

The Clermont-Ganneau papyrus is, like nos. 2-8 in CIL XVI Appendix, an extract from the *epikrisis*-document, ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεως. It refers to Titus Furius Victorinus, the former governor of Egypt, and dates from the twenty-third year of Antoninus Pius, i.e. after 160. A veteran, Marcus Antonius Pastor, wishing to settle in Syene together with his son, Marcus Antonius Valerius Antoninus, produced a bronze-tablet - copied from a bronze-column - as evidence that he had served as a soldier in the *Cohors I Praetoria Lusitanorum* from which he was honourably discharged, *missus honesta missione*, on 28 December A.D. 154. This is followed by an item of information not contained in the documents of the *epikrisis* contained in CIL XVI nor, it would seem, anywhere else. In a separate document, *deltos*, with the aid of witnesses, Pastor testifies that Valerius Ammonianus is his son, born in his absence.³ This part of the text merits particular attention as it raises several questions related to the privileges of children of veterans who had served in auxiliary units.

The editor added the following commentary on l. 24: "Le fils de Pastor, né cinq ans après la libération de son père est légitime. Il peut donc produire un 'extrait de naissance' en forme, la δέλτος προφεσσίωνος, au lieu de la δέλτος μαρτυροποιήσεως des spurii . . ." etc.⁴ This conclusion would be acceptable, or in fact the only viable one, if it could be proved that the son was indeed born five years after his father's discharge from the army, in the year in which the document was issued. The text, however, offers no indication that this was the case. There is no number beside the word ἐτῶν referring to the son in l. 17, as is frequently the case in this type of documents.⁵ On the contrary, the text supports the assumption that the son was

¹CIL XVI p. 143-146, Appendix nos. 1-15

²A. Bataille 'Un papyrus Clermont-Ganneau appartenant à l'Académie des Inscriptions', *JJP* 4, 1950, 327-39, now = *SB* VI 9228; Martha Eliassen 'A Veteran's Exemption from Epiképhalaia', *Proceedings of the XVI Int. Congr. of Papyrology*, Chico, 1981, 329-333.

³See ll. 24-26: καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δέλτος προφεσσίωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) δι' ἧς ὁ Πάστωρ ἀπὸν διὰ μ[αρτύρων ἐγγέγρα]φε τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ υἱὸν τὸν Οὐαλέριον [Ἀμμωνιανόν].

⁴Bataille, op. cit. p. 336, underlines the difference between *deltos professionos* and *deltos martyropoiēseos*, as did P. Schulze, *JRS* 32, 1942, 81 ff. See also O. Guéraud, *Études de papyrologie* 4, 1938, 31. The first would be the term for the birth-certificate of legitimate children, the second for the illegitimate. But this was not always the case and even in the legal text *Dig.* 22, 3, 29, 1 the term *professus* was applied to the illegitimate child. The difference between legitimate and illegitimate children disappeared, probably after 145 (see Wilcken *APF* 8, 1927, 293 and Vjereck and Zucker in *BGU* VII 205).

⁵Bataille, commentary on l. 17, op. cit. p. 334.

born during his father's military service: ultimately Pastor proves with the help of witnesses that it is indeed his son, born in his absence. This data cannot be ignored, as it is certainly the reason for issuing a separate document. The absence of the father was most likely to be linked to military service. This was to have certain consequences for the status of the children: all children born while their father was in the Roman army, whether in legions or auxiliary troops, were considered illegitimate. Nor could they subsequently be recognized and legitimized, following the father's discharge. They were, however, accorded certain privileges envisaged for the children of veterans, on condition that the father recognized them as *fili naturales* and could prove them to be so. Among the numerous documents of this kind CPL 159,⁶ dating from A.D. 135, may be treated as typical:

M. Lucretius Clemens eq(ues) coh(ortis) I Thra(cum) tur(mae) Silvani testatus est eos qui signaturi erant iuravitque per I.O.M. et numina divorum Augustorum geniumque Imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti naturalem sibi filium in militia natum esse Serenum ex Octavia Tamusta VII Kal. Maias ann(o) XI Imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augu(sti). [Idcirco hanc testationem interposuisse se dixit propter distractionem mi(litiae)] ut possit post honestam missionem suam ad epicrisin suam adprobare filium suum naturalem esse. Actum castris hib(ernis) coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) contra Apolinospoli Magna Thebaidis Kal. Maiis ann(o) s(upra) s(cripto) - Witnesses' signatures are appended.

The *deltos* mentioned at the end of P.Clermont-Ganneau could have been just such a document as that offered in testimony by Marcus Antonius Pastor at the time of his *epikrisis* in order to prove that his son was born while he was in the army. It may be surmised that this was a *filius naturalis* from the name Valerius (mother's name?) which the son bears in addition to his gentilician name Antonius.

The rule that children born during their father's absence in the army were considered illegitimate applied equally to legionaries and those serving in auxiliary troops, *alae* and *cohortes*. Nevertheless, birth-certificates for children born while their father was in active service were usually issued for the offspring of soldiers in auxiliary units. The explanation lies in the fact that children of soldiers of the *alae* and *cohortes* or serving in the fleet were granted Roman citizenship following their father's discharge from the army up to 140 A.D. This was already sufficient reason to require proof of the birth of such children. It did not as rule apply, however, to soldiers in the legions. Roman citizens themselves, they usually married Roman citizens, so that by birth their offspring automatically fell into the same category. In rare and exceptional cases where children of legionaries did not possess *civitas* this was granted them by the emperor's constitution to them as it was to auxiliary soldiers. One such case is illustrated by a document which preserves Domitian's edict on veteran-privileges.⁷

The edicts of Octavian and Domitian also number *civitas* among the privileges accorded to veterans and their families.⁸ *Civitas* had by itself brought freedom from the poll-tax into the provinces.⁹ The rule that soldiers' children were themselves considered *cives*, if recognized by their father as *fili naturales* and if their mother was a Roman citizen, undoubtedly remained

⁶Now edited by P. Schubert *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes et textes apparantés*, (PTA 39, 1990) no. 1. For the similar texts see S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell' esercito romano in Egitto*, 1964, p. 35, note on no. 3.

⁷*W.Chr.* 463 = Dessau, ILS 9059 = CIL XVI App. no. 12.

⁸See preceding note and *WChr.* 462 = Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 239 = CIL XVI App. no. 10.

⁹In a group of documents in P. Cattaoui, dating from the time of Trajan and Hadrian, (BGU I 144 + P. Catt., *MChr.* 372 = Daris, op. cit. no. 3) and dealing with individual cases of status among soldiers' children, *civitas* was not crucial in deciding their legal position: born during their fathers' military service, they remained illegitimate for all time. They could nonetheless inherit from their father and could even claim citizenship, provided that their father and mother were Roman citizens.

in force even after the year 140, when the regulation according *civitas* to soldiers' children disappears from the formula on military diplomas.¹⁰ Traces of provision for such cases and evidence testifying to the soldier's paternity are probably contained in the texts of fragmented military diplomas issued after A.D. 140.¹¹ In any case, documents providing evidence of soldiers' sons born while their fathers were on active military service retain their importance subsequent to that year, as may be seen from the P.Clermont-Ganneau. What is beyond all doubt is that this document ensured a place for the son in the privileged group of citizens during the census, together with his enrolment in the *epikrisis* -lists. He was most likely a Roman citizen; the name Valerius, besides his father's name Antonius, was probably his mother's gentilician name. This circumstance would also indicate that he was a *filius naturalis*.

Those on the *epikrisis* -lists were in an advantageous position as far as taxation was concerned. The proof that someone was the son of an ex-soldier and apparently a Roman citizen through his mother, gained an importance when the said son became of age to pay taxes. It might therefore be supposed that Pastor's son, around A.D. 160 when his father intended to settle in Syene with him, was a least thirteen, so that he would have been born by 147 A.D. at the latest.¹²

To sum up: it seems that P. Clermont-Ganneau indicates that the fiscal privileges for veterans' children provided by the emperors in the first century A.D. were still in force even after A.D. 140, on condition that the veteran could prove that the child, born during his military service, was his.

B) P.Oslo inv. 1518.

In this document, produced as evidence in claiming the right to fiscal privileges, the most important element was military service in excess of twenty-five years, with an *honesta missio* for those who served a shorter time due to being invalided out or for other reasons. This could be proved in various ways, among them the bronze-tablet of the military diploma.¹³ These tablets bore witness to the rights of *civitas* for the ex-soldier, *conubium* with peregrine wives and *civitas* for the children up to A.D. 140. There were also documents which testified only to the soldier's *honesta* or *nomima missio*. But as the text of P.Oslo inv. 1518 illustrates, it was only military service of more than was twenty-five years that was important for the administration as far as tax-exemption was concerned. Up to a point, this text is more significant for what it fails to mention than for what it contains. In a letter sent by one Aurelius Petronius [. . .] - possibly a clerk in the chancellery of the prefect of Egypt - to the royal scribe of the Herakleides Division of the Arsinoite Nome, the only data relevant for the exemption from taxation (*epikephalia*) of Achilles, son of Harpokrates, a cavalryman of the *Ala Vocontiorum*, was his military service of over twenty-five years. It was this which enabled him to enjoy the emperor's *charis* in the matter of fiscal immunity.

The text of P.Oslo inv. 1518 dates from the year A.D. 149, a time when military diplomas were still being issued. Such a diploma is not mentioned here; it is neither specified whether this is the case of a soldier *missus honesta missione* nor whether he had acquired *civitas* while

¹⁰See Nesselhauf, CIL XVI p. 161; K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, 1951, p. 117.

¹¹CIL XVI 132 and *Ann. ép.* 1960, no. 103. See Nesselhauf, *Historia* 8, 1959, 434; H. Wolff, *Chiron* 4, 1974, 47; M. Mirković, *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle.* (Passauer historische Forschungen 2) 1986, p. 177.

¹²There are documents from the time of Diocletian, e.g. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2855 with the application to register a child of an honourably discharged soldier turned thirteen. In this case, it is requested that he be numbered among the *dodekadrachmoi*. The year 161 was the year of census in Egypt (see M. Hombert and Cl. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romain*, 1952, p. 53; J. Bingen, *CE* XXXI, 1956, p. 117).

¹³See CIL XVI App. nos. 1-7.

in the army or on his discharge.¹⁴ It is true that while in the army he had changed his name from Oronnous son of Raphalion to Achilas son of Harpokrates; this, however, does not provide sufficient basis for assuming that he had become a Roman citizen, as his new name was not Roman either. On the other hand it is hardly likely that he would have been exempted from taxation if he had remained a peregrine. We may accordingly continue to assume that military service in excess of twenty-five years carried with it the privilege of Roman citizenship.¹⁵

There is no mention in the text of *honesta missio*, as this was obviously assumed after twenty-five years of service. P.Oslo inv. 1518 is not the only document in which the length of military service is the only data of significance to ensure a privileged position. Similarly in one of the *epikrasis*-documents, CIL XVI App. 8 (P. Boak = SB iv 7362 = *Sel. Pap.* II 315), an ex-soldier proves that he was discharged from the army *nomima missione* and is therefore a veteran. This could have been a case of service shorter than twenty-five years. *Civitas* (πολιτεία) is not mentioned here either. He was discharged from the *Cohors II Ituraeorum* in A.D. 177, and a copy of the *epikrasis*-list was issued ten years later, in 188 apparently when, now a veteran, he decided to settle in the Arsinoite Nome. A δέλτος χαλκῆ is not cited here in evidence, as is the case with other documents of this kind, CIL XVI, App. 1-7. Instead, this ex-soldier cites a letter, ἐπιστολὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν,¹⁶ of his commanding officer, Pactumeius Magnus. On the basis of this he entered what was, for taxation purposes, a privileged group. The letter was probably sent, just as the one preserved in P.Oslo inv. 1518, for the information of the tax-collectors.

The editor of P.Oslo inv. 1518 raises the question of whether this was not another case of the category of veteran referred to in some second-century documents as χωρὶς χαλκῶν, i.e. not in possession of a diploma.¹⁷ It is possible, but this text still does not advance a solution to the problem. As is hinted from the sequence of the data given on *epikrasis*-documents, which starts off with veterans who have received *civitas* for themselves and their children and *conubium* with peregrine wives, then follows with those accorded *civitas* only for themselves, the χωρὶς χαλκῶν would be veterans to whom neither *civitas* nor *conubium* had been accorded. They may therefore have been soldiers who were already *cives Romani* and married to Roman citizens.

¹⁴M. Eliassen is probably right in seeing here the veteran: Wolff's view, *Heer und Integrationspolitik*. (Passauer historische Forschungen 2) 1986, p. 102 n. 150, is that the soldier in question had not yet been discharged officially.

¹⁵See the military diplomas until about A.D. 110 issued to soldiers of the auxiliary troops and of the fleet still in service, *qui militant* (G. Alföldy, *Historia* 17, 1968, p. 15 ff.).

¹⁶For *epistula missoria* see M. Absil et Y. le Bohek, 'La libération des soldats romains', *Latomus* 44, 1985, p. 836 ff.

¹⁷CIL XVI App. no. 4 (A.D. 140) and no. 5 (A.D. 148) - For long discussion on this subject see K. Kraft, *op. cit.* note 10, p. 132 ff.

UPON VETERANS' EXEMPTION FROM EPIKEPHALIA

A.H. El-Mosallamy

The aim of this paper is to discuss points of interest raised by Eliassen concerning P.Oslo. inv. 1518 of A.D. 149. Petronius, an official belonging to the staff of the prefect in Alexandria, notified the royal scribe that he should give a written order that, in accordance with the grant of the emperor Antoninus Pius, Achilles is exempt from paying the epikēphalia.¹ Eliassen also wondered about this cavalryman's adoption of a Greek instead of a Roman name.² In fact Petronius, in his official notice, simply described Achilles as ἰππεὺς εἴλης (l. 4), using no term of ἀπόλυσις.³ All he mentions is that Achilles (ἐ)δηλώθη ἐστρατεῦσθαι ἔτεσι πλείοσ[ι εἴκοσ]ι πέντε (ll. 7-8), while service in the auxilia was for a 26 years' period.⁴ There is no indication that this cavalryman was legally discharged and underwent epikrisis before the prefect or his delegate.⁵ This makes us believe that Achilles was still awaiting the completion of his papers and, consequently, could not style himself a Roman.⁶

It is said that auxiliary soldiers acquired Latin status and could take Latin names.⁷ Soldiers, as well as civilians,⁸ could change their names without changing their condition.⁹ This appears clearly in the case of an Alexandrian, who served in a cohort under the name Octavius Valens, which can not be his name on enrollment, claimed the *civitas Alexandrina* for his children since τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξανδρέως.¹⁰ It was thought that the ala Vocontiorum, in which Achilles served, enjoyed the Latin status, but we meet some of its cavalrymen with peregrine names, such as Didas son of Damnaus in A.D.116,¹¹ whose name is suggested to be Egyptian.¹² We even meet veterans such as Aurelius Abous, soldier in the ala Vocontiorum and veteran in Arsinoe in the 2nd - 3rd cent. A.D.¹³ Names of the soldiers in the auxilia do not assert personal Latin status, since Latin names were not general in one and the same body; some were tria nomina, others peregrine or even mixed of both.¹⁴ We

¹M.H. Eliassen 'A Veteran's Exemption from Epikēphalia' *Acta XVI Int. Cong. Pap.*, 329 sqq.

²His name before military service was Oronnous, son of Raphallion, his mother was Temestremphis.

³cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 2760 (A.D. 179-180) Διονυσίου Ἀμυντιανοῦ ἀπολυθέντος ἐξ ἰππέων εἴλης Ἀδριανῆς.

⁴N. Lewis *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* p. 20

⁵ὁ προγεγραμμένος οὐετρανὸς δηλώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐστρατεῦσθαι ἐν σπείρῃ Ἴτυραίων ἐπέδειξεν Πακτουμίου Μάγνου τοῦ ἡγμονεύσαντος ἐπιστολὴν ῥωμαικὴν δι' ἧς ἐδηλοῦτο στρατευσάμενον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ σπείρῃ νομίμῃ ἀπολεύσει ἀπολελύσθαι ἀπό+date (*Select Papyri* ii 315, A.D. 188).

⁶Gnom. Id. Log. 56: οἱ στρατευόμενοι καὶ μὴ νομίμην ἔχοντες ἀπόλυσιν, ἐὰν χρηματίσωσι ὡς ῥωμαῖοι τεταρτολογοῦνται.

⁷Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* ii p. 402f.

⁸Civilians could change their names, under restrictions, into Greek, μηδενὸς δημοσίου ἢ ιδιωτικοῦ καταβλαπτομένου (*W.Chr.* 52). Punishment for violating the provisions: οἱ παρὰ προστάγματα βασιλέων ἢ ἐπάρχων τι πράξαντες ἀκαταλλήλως ἐζημιώθησαν (*Gnom.* 37). Change to Roman names was denied peregrini: *peregrini condicionis vetuit usurpare Romana nomina dumtaxat gentilicia* (*Suet. Claud.* 25), cf. Wilcken *APF* IV p. 129; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* iii p. 126.

⁹Gnom. 42; Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 627. Since Romans also served in the auxilia (cf. *CIL* XVI p. 159; P. Oxy. 1022 = *W.Chr.* 453), study of the auxiliary onomasticon raised difference between the scholars. Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* p. 84f) suggested that those who possessed Latin status acquired it by birth. Herschfeld (*Gall. Stud.* p. 59) suggested that they received it on enrollment.

¹⁰P. Catt. I col. 4; = *W.Chr.* 372. cf. Mommsen, op. cit. p. 84f; Meyer, *APF* iii p. 81f; Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Gnom.* p. 194; Taubenschlag, *Law* p. 628.

¹¹*Année Epigraphique* 1911, no. 121

¹²Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 81

¹³BGU 14

¹⁴Cf. Lesquier *L'Armée*, 223; I. Biezunska-Matowist, *Acts IX Congr. Pap.*, 279 sqq.

sometimes meet soldiers using a latin name besides their names of origin.¹⁵ Veterans sometimes bear peculiar names.¹⁶

Veterans were sometimes better known by their local names after returning to their birthplaces.¹⁷ Prosopography of auxiliary soldiers and veterans shows many of them with peregrine names.¹⁸ So, Achilles was not an exception to common practice when he adopted a Greek name.

If Achilles was not yet legally discharged, this means that he was accorded the imperial grant while he was spending his last months in the army. This was not impossible. The *tabula honestae missionis*, which serves to prove that the *missio* was neither *causaria* nor *ignominiosa*, i.e., a certificate of good conduct and given by the prefect in the name of the emperor.¹⁹ This *tabula* was neither formally connected nor confused with the diploma, which includes an extract of the imperial constitution relevant to the privileges, the veteran's name, civilian status and reference to the list of veterans included in accordance with the edict and was accorded only by the emperor.²⁰ This interpretes why the privileges were sometimes accorded to veterans *dimissi honesta missione*,²¹ sometimes to soldiers still in service,²² and sometimes to both in one and the same act.²³ Soldiers could not enjoy their privileges except in retirement, therefore, according these privileges meant nothing before legal discharge.²⁴ Soldiers who were about to end their military service could discuss their immunities with the prefect.

Where, then, does P.Osl. inv.1518 stand in the procedures of discharge of an auxiliary soldier? It is neither the *tabula honestae missionis*²⁵ nor the *diploma* itself.²⁶ It is almost the executive notice sent from the office of the prefect to the local authority conveying the grant of

¹⁵e.g. Asclepiades qui et c(. . .) . . . (CIL III 6581 A.D. 199); Nepherus qui et Nephos (P.Hamb. 39,76)

¹⁶About παρά Γαίου Θέωνος Ὀρίωνος οὐτρανοῦ (P.Hawara 401), see the discussion on BGU 180 (A.D. 172); P.Oxy. 1451; APF V 295; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 164. It is said that his discharge was *causaria* so that he did not receive the *civitas*.

¹⁷Marcus Vettius was known as Vettius son of Petes (P.Mich. 225, 2760) and Julius Nepotianus as Nepotianus son of Pikiobi (P.Mich. 224, 4070); see H.C. Youtie 'Callimachus in the Tax-Rolls' *Acta XII Congr. Pap.* 547. The same may be said about Apion *qui et Antonius Maximus*, and his father, the former soldier of Cohors Apamenorum, being only known by the name Epimachus (BGU 423 = *W.Chr.* 480); cf. Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 85 and 220 n. 2. For the recruited soldiers in the fleet at Misenum see Gnom. 55; cf. Rowell 'The Honesta Missio from the Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army' *YCS VI* 73 sqq.

¹⁸e.g. Achilles Achillis; Agenor; Antenor Achillis; Arsechis Nechtherotis; Bisario Isidori; Heliodoros; Isas Sarapionis; Isidorus Apollonii; Julius Agathodaemon; Julius Chaeremonianus; Lysarion Pasautis; Memnon Psenpretis; Mences Anubadis; Naarosis Milonia; Onnophris Colluthi; Orsenuphis Annarii; Paesis Deheutis; Petermuthis Orsenophis; Pertermuthis Palamati; Poteminis Psenosiridis; Sarapion Petermuthis; Sopater Dionysii; Theodoros Antiochi (all P.Hamburg 39, A.D. 179); Aurelius Sarapion (SB 4370; CIG 5028); Didymus Argentis (P.Grenf. 48); Diogenes (P.Lond 1157; CPR 225; P.Ryl. 39; O.Petersb. 9); Isidorus (= Julius Martialis, P.Catt. I col. 4); Mithridates (CIG 5057); Nepheros (P.Fay. 105); Paninutas (P.Fay. 105); Syron (CPR 243); cf. Iza Biezunska-Małowist 'Le droit de cité romaine en Égypte' *Acta IX Cong. Pap.* 277sqq.; H Devijver 'l'Égypte et l'histoire de l'armée romaine' in *Egitto. storia antica dell' ellenismo all' età araba*, 1987, 44. About Egyptians using Roman or Roman and Egyptian or Roman and Greek names, see *Acta IX Cong. Pap.* 279-280

¹⁹Cf. the *honestae missio* accorded by the prefect Haterius Nepos to L. Valerius Noster, a cavalryman of the ala Vocontiorum (*WChr.* 457, A.D. 122). In P.Oxy. 1508 a veteran was discharged by the triarch, certainly a commission delegated by the prefect, cf. Mommsen, *CIL Suppl.* p. 2016.

²⁰Cf. Henzen 'Zwei Militärdiplome d. K. Domitian und Hadrian' *Jahrb. des Vereins v. Altertumsfreunden in Rheinlande XIII* p. 97sq.; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 291.

²¹e.g. Dipl. 1; cf. Mommsen *CIL III*, p. 906 sq.

²²Dipl. 19 (14).

²³Dipl. 27 (19), cf. Dipl. , 5 and 7, where the emperor intervenes when the *honestae missio* and the diploma come at the same time.

²⁴De Ricchi et Gerard, *Rev. des Ét. de droit* = *WChr.* 457.

²⁵cf. *WChr.* 457; P.Oxy. 1022.

²⁶Lesquier, *L'Armée* 291.

the emperor in order to exclude the name of Achilles from the files and registers pertaining to the taxes from which he became exempt. It could be sent while Achilles was in the station expecting the completion of his papers and the arrival of the diploma awarded to him. When the mission of legionaries, whose *civitas* was suspended, discussed their immunities with the prefect Caecina Tuscus, he ordered them to return to their station and write separate petitions in order that he may write to the strategoi of their nomes about the ὀλόκληρος χάρις, which will be delivered κατὰ τό ἐκάστου δίκαιον.²⁷

It may be suggested that P. Osl. inv. 1518 represents the context of the privileges in the diploma accorded to Achilles and, perhaps, the privileges awarded to all his fellows, as a part of the ὀλόκληρος χάρις.²⁸ A similar situation, however, occurred in A.D.114, when the emperor Trajan accorded personal *civitas* without children to Longinus and Cornelius Antas.²⁹ It has been suggested that the same thing happened not only to *cohors I Thebaeorum equitata* but to all the *auxilia* of Egypt.³⁰ The peregrines recruited in the *auxilia* surely received *civitas* and, consequently, privileges of inferior quality than that of the Romans in origin.³¹ This may be deduced from three points of evidence. When the constitution of Octavius accorded veterans exemption from the tribute and their immunities were extended in A.D.87 by Domitian, the most favourite persons were meant by that immunity. The edict of Titus, about ten years later, limited that in lands given by the emperor at a certain date.³² This means that not all the veterans were meant, but the most favourite Romans in origin, by this exemption. On the other hand, Liberalis, who became a Roman after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, was obliged to pay the instalments of *laographia* till he had paid the whole 60 drachmas.³³ This may indicate that the *CA* granted to the population of the Empire a general Roman citizenship of much inferior quality.³⁴ Moreover, the Roman administration allowed both discharged soldiers and soldiers in service to dispose of their property both by Roman and Greek wills and to use what name they choose,³⁵ while Romans were not allowed to write a Greek will.³⁶ The papyrological evidence attests that the great shift towards local recruitment after the visit of Hadrian to Egypt rendered the *civitas* in many cases not more than a legal fiction to the extent that a veteran puts stress on being Antinoite more than a veteran.³⁷ So, one may expect Antoninus Pius, who

²⁷P. Fouad 21 a copy of which is SB 8, 9668; P.Yale inv. 1528 (C.B. Wells, *JRS* 28, 1938, 41 sqq.= SB 5, 8247). Cf. Wells, *Acta V Cong. Pap.*, 521.

²⁸P. Fouad 21, 11-17: οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοία οὐδὲ ἡ αὐτὴ . . . ὑμῶν ὑπόθεσις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν εἴσιν ἐκ λεγεῶνων [οὔτρα]νοι, οἱ δὲ ἐξ εἰλω[ν, ο]ἱ δὲ ἐκ σπειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρετικοῦ, [ὥστε μ]ὴ εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ πάντων δίκαιον· μελήσει μοι περὶ τοῦ[του], ἔγραψα τοῖς κατὰ [ν]ομὸν στρατηγοῖς ἵνα ἡ χάρις ὀλόκληρος [. . . .]ου ὑμῖν τηρήθ[η] κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου δίκαιον. A similar distinction in the *disciplina* is mentioned in P.Yale inv. 1528 (= SB 5, 8247): ἄλλη ἡ ἀγωγή ἢ τῶν λεγεωναρίων, ἄλλο ἢ τῶν χορταρίων, ἄλλ(λ)ο ἢ τῶν κοπηλατῶν (*l. κοπηλατῶν*). The δίκαιον of each soldier was recorded on a bronze-plaque or diploma written in Latin. PSI 9, 1026; N. Lewis *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 214-15.

²⁹P. Catt. V col. 3.

³⁰WGrd. 402; Jouget 'Επίκρισις 42; Lesquier *L'Armée* 170, 319.

³¹About the favoured position and importance of Romans serving in the legions and acquiring privileges which men of the *auxilia* and the fleet did not have, see H.T. Rowel, *YCS* VI 80sq. About the unaffected legal status of Romans in the legions or the *auxilia*, cf. SB 9636; N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, 21 sq. Roman soldiers were liable to degradation (BGU 696 = *Select. Pap.* II 401, 22, A.D. 156).

³²Lesquier, *L'Armée* 333-348.

³³P. Mich. inv. 5503 (ed. O. Pearl 'A late receipt for syntaximon' *TAPA* 82, 1951, 193-95).

³⁴M. Hombert *CE* 55, 1953, 393; H.I. Bell, *JEA* 28, p. 49.

³⁵Gnom. 34: τοῖς ἐν στρατείᾳ οὔσι συνκεχωρηκεῖται καὶ κατὰ ῥωμαϊκὰς καὶ ἑλληνικὰς διαθήκας καὶ χρῆσθαι οἷς βούλωνται ὀνόμασι, ἕκαστον δὲ τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ καταλείπειν καὶ οἷς ἔξεστιν.

³⁶Gnom. 8: οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν ῥωμαίῳ διαθήκην ἑλληνικὴν γράψαι. cf. Gnom. 18; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 222.

³⁷A. Segré, 'Il diritto dei militari peregrini nell' esercito romano' *Rend. della Pont. Acad. Rom. di Arch.* 17, 1940, 167 sqq.; N. Lewis, *Acta X Cong. Pap.*, 72-73. On the decrease between service in the legions and the *auxilia*, see Lesquier, *L'Armée* 222; Devijver, *L'Égypte et l'histoire de l'armée romaine*, 44.

limited the privileges of many distinguished classes,³⁸ to grant just the exemption from the epikēphalia not only to Achilles but to all the auxiliary veterans.

What does the exemption from the epikēphalia mean to a cavalryman who was either candidate to *civitas* or actually *civis*? Pliny tells us that a person who was accorded Roman citizenship by an imperial favour, was consequently exempt from the poll-tax, *capitatio*.³⁹ When the emperor Gaius granted reduction in laographia, the registers show that no payments of laographia, chalkoi, pig-tax and dike-tax were credited to the ἀπολύσιμοι or to any other person.⁴⁰ These were called capitation taxes, based on the Roman census instituted under Augustus and regulated under Tiberius, and those granted the *civitas* were exempt from paying them.⁴¹ The papyrological evidence attests that *cives* were exempt from certain other capitation-taxes.⁴² So, one may ask whether the emperor Antoninus Pius exempted Achilles from taxes which each person who acquired *civitas* did not pay or he meant by his grant something different. This in fact is a problematic question in the absence of parallels. The diplomas of the auxiliary veterans do not mention exemption from epikēphalia.⁴³ In this respect, we may ask about the situation when the auxiliary diploma did not mention exemption from epikēphalia, and whether one who acquired the *civitas* had to pay for it.⁴⁴

It seems necessary to try to see what the epikēphalia was and what it means. The term ἐπικεφάλαιον is attested in the papyri since the 3rd cent.B.C. in a long account of payments of taxes in a government bureau, among which one talent for the ἐπικεφαλίων, which the editors considered a tax different from the poll-tax.⁴⁵ It is difficult, however, to assume a general poll-tax similar to the Roman laographia in this period.⁴⁶ In a group of documents from the last quarter of the 2nd cent.B.C., this term was taken by the editors to mean 'a summary list of crops, or actual total quantity' of payments of crops on crown lands, perhaps, based on persons,⁴⁷ since the circumstances of this period obliged the administration to resort to certain methods of collecting the revenues.⁴⁸ One may deduce from such documents that the epikēphalaion, which was not confused with the laographia, indicates any 'personal dues assessed per capita'. It seems that this meaning of epikēphalaion began to prevail whenever collection of taxes was based on persons. In an account of payments in corn and money of the

³⁸Antoninus Pius had limited, for example, the privileges of the rhetoricians, at first outside Egypt, but later this was applied to this country as well. See Wallace, *Taxation*, 120; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 347.

³⁹Pliny, *Ep.* X 5-7; Wallace, *Taxation*, 106.

⁴⁰A.E. Hanson 'A Reduction in Laographia' *Acta XVI Cong. Pap.*, 347 sq.; cf. G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Egypt*, *American Studies in Papyrology* 18, 1978, 46 sq.

⁴¹Eliassen, *op. cit.* 330.

⁴²Romans and Alexandrians were exempt from the poll-tax and were not subject to ordinary census; cf. P.Oxy. 225; WO I p. 240; Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 532; Wallace *Taxation* 103, 399; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 189 sq.; Wallace, *Taxation*, 106, 119. For a general survey of capitation taxes, see Wallace, *op. cit.* chapters IX, X, and XII.

⁴³cf. H. Nesselhauf, *CIL XVI*; Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 291sq.; Marquardt, *Organ. milit. chez les romains* (trad. française) 313; Mommsen, *CIL III* p. 906; *JJP IV* 330sq.

⁴⁴Exemption from capitation taxes principally means exemption from poll-tax and its relevants. The prosecution of the Jews in the time of Philopator consisted in enrollment in the census for payment of *laographia*, see Macc. II 30. It is said that the Jews could become ἰσπολίται Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, since Alexandrians, as well as Romans later, were exempt from the poll-tax. see Josephus, *BJ II* 16 (385); *SPP IV* 62; *Gnom* 59; Wallace, *Taxation*, 407 note 24, 106, 119. Persons selected to support parents and officials render service to the state and were thus exempt from *laographia* (P.Oxy. 1210 and introd., I.B.C. - I A.D.)

⁴⁵P.Tebt. 701, 183sq., 285 and note ad 186.

⁴⁶The editors of P.Tebt. 701 suggest a distinction between ἐπικεφάλαιον and ἐπικεφάλαιον, taking the first as a noun including a general and wide meaning of taxes, cf. Rosttovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 1392; Cl. Préaux, *Éc. royale des Lagides*, 382 sq.; H.I. Bell, *JEA*, 1937, p. 135.

⁴⁷e.g. P.Tebt. 67 (118-7 B.C.); 68 (117-6); 89 (113 B.C.); 174 (112 B.C.); 70 (111-110 B.C.).

⁴⁸For the circumstances in the later 2nd century B.C. see P.Tebt 5 (118 B.C.).

2nd cent.B.C. we find the term ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων,⁴⁹ which is considered by the editors as a kind of tax levied per capita on the owners of catoecic land,⁵⁰ The same term ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων is recorded in the 2nd cent. A.D., mentioning payment of 16 dr. 4 ob.,⁵¹ and it is suggested to be equivalent to the ἀριθμητικὸν τῶν κατοίκων, which was attested since 9 B.C. It seems that the difference between the two terms is that ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων indicates payment based on persons, i.e., personal dues, while the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων is based on land, the same as ἀριθμητικὸν κατοικικῆς γῆς, paid by all the owners of catoecic land.⁵² What sounds very important is that the owners of catoecic land were never exempt from this charge, since its payment had nothing to do with the social or civic status of the land owner.⁵³ We meet a Roman, Statia Petronia, who pays it.⁵⁴ The rates paid in the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων, which was also called ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων, were not low,⁵⁵ and the exemption from paying them certainly needed an imperial edict. It is worth noting that the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων ceases to be attested at the end of the 2nd cent.A.D.,⁵⁶ while the term ἐπικεφάλαιον continued to prevail and became more comprehensive .

Whenever the tax was assessed on land the term ἐπικεφάλαιον was not used, while it was used when it was based on persons. So, in P.Sakaon 9 (=P.Thead.48): ἐξ ὧν π(ριμι) π(ίλου) ἐπικεφαλίου κγ (ἔτους) (δραχμαί) βχ but καὶ ὑ(πέρ) π(ριμι) π(ίλου) γῆς ὑ(περ) κγ (ἔτους) (ταλ.) α (δραχμαί) Γυ.⁵⁷ The sums mentioned here may show that the ἐπικεφάλαιον was an additional charge and so based on persons. Moreover, it is clear that the cases mentioned above have nothing to do with the capitation taxes.⁵⁸

It seems that the term ἐπικεφάλαιον began, especially in the 2nd cent.A.D., to be used with more flexibility, since the grounds of taxes based on person were similar to those of the usual capitation taxes. This surely caused perplexion to the editors of the documents about its real meaning and nature. In a list of arrears of taxes, a document of the 2nd cent.A.D., three persons have disappeared καὶ ἐπικεφαλίων τινῶν [ἀναχωρησάντων] εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους. The details preserved about only one person mention a long list of arrears of taxes, where the ἐπικεφαλία is used as a collective name for λαογραφία, χωματικόν, δεσμοφυλακία, ἐπιστολικόν, ἑξαδραχμία ὄνων etc.⁵⁹ In a petition of a donkeydriver, he sums up his personal dues stating that he διέγραψεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰ ἐπικεφάλια αὐτοῦ.⁶⁰ Moreover, many documents show the ἐπικεφάλαιον used to denote payments equivalent to the rates of laographia,⁶¹ For this reason, the editors tried to find a distinction between ἐπικεφάλαιον, which they took as a noun of more general meaning and including various taxes

⁴⁹P.Tebt. 119 (103-1 B.C.).

⁵⁰cf. P.Tebt. 119 note ad 30-31; Taubenschlag, *Law*, 612 note 15.

⁵¹SPP XX 67 verso (2nd cent. A.D.)

⁵²PSI 906 (A.D. 45-6); Wallace, *Taxation*, 127.

⁵³SB 4415. Wallace, *Taxation*, 406, n. 13.

⁵⁴Wallace, *Taxation*, 176 sqq.; 430, note 32.

⁵⁵Wallace, *Taxation*, 176 sqq.

⁵⁶Wallace, *Taxation*, 176; 430 note 30.

⁵⁷About the meaning of ἐπικεφάλαιον as ἐπικεφάλαιον (sc. τέλος) see SIG 1009 where ἐπικεφάλαιον is taken as an adjective, see P.J. Sijpesteijn - K.A. Worp 'P.Thead. 48 and the ἐπικεφάλαιον' *CE* 101, 1973, 148-9.

⁵⁸About the primipilus, see Lesquier, *L'Armée*, 345.

⁵⁹P.Oxy. 1438 (2nd cent. A.D.)

⁶⁰BGU 983.(2nd cent. A.D.), cf. P.Oxy. 2131 (A.D. 107).

⁶¹e.g. O.Leid. univ. 16; 150; 443; 444; 141; O.Bodl. 439; 441; 442; 446; 440; 447; 448; 449; 437; 436 (all 2nd.3rd cent. A.D.)

based on persons, and ἐπικεφάλαιον, which they took as an adjective and refers to the *laographia*.⁶²

Milne interpreted the ἐπικεφάλαιον in Ostr.136 as equivalent to χειρωνάξιον which Wallace put among the capitation taxes.⁶³ It is said that the tax on craftsmen, χειρωνάξιον, was assessed on every person, male and female, engaged in any occupation or profit, including apprentices aged fourteen and over.⁶⁴ So, what was the case when the son of L. Pompeius Niger, who was a *civis* due to the grant of citizenship his father acquired in A.D.44,⁶⁵ was apprenticed to learn the art of weaving in A.D.48.⁶⁶ But the fact that a father, whose minor son was apprenticed in trade, had to pay the χειρωνάξια τῆς τέχνης,⁶⁷ and a female weaver paid the χειρωνάξια to the nomarch's account,⁶⁸ while neither had to pay the *laographia*, made Wilcken suggest that χειρωνάξια was, in effect, a licence-tax.⁶⁹ So, the son of L. Pompeius Niger, in case he practices that art will pay the licence-tax, which was also called ἐπικεφάλαιον. The same could be said about *cives*, who directed or owned establishments of weaving, as we may understand from the Latin list of salaries paid to weavers and labourers and a master of a weaving workshop of considerable size,⁷⁰ though we have no general information about Romans who were interested in producing various materials.⁷¹ We meet, however, weavers with Roman names practicing the trade.⁷² The soldier who purchased a loom for 13000 drachmae certainly exploited it and, consequently, was liable to the taxes due on the trade.⁷³ The soldier Valerius Petermouthis sold a loom for 2 talents and 1000 drachmae of silver coin to Aurelia Eudaemonis also called Apollonia, *matrona stolata*, i.e., a Roman wife and mother of honourable standing, who can possess, use, hire and sell it (P.Oxy. 1705. A.D.298). Apollonia and her children can use the loom and pay their dues.

The μερισμός, which was a capitation tax, was the principle means for making good any deficit in revenues and called either μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων or μερισμός ἐπικεφαλίου ἀνακεχωρηκότων, or ἐπικεφάλιον ἀνακεχωρηκότων.⁷⁴ It is said that the μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων assessed on land is first attested early in the 2nd cent. A.D., in the reign of Trajan, which was also marked by the extension, if not the institution, of the liturgy system,⁷⁵ and was last attested in the last year of Antoninus Pius.⁷⁶ But, on the other hand, the term ἐπικεφάλαιον continues to be attested in the 3rd and the 4th cent. A.D. and even later,⁷⁷ to

⁶²cf. P.Tebt. 701 note ad 183 sq.; P.Oxy 1438.

⁶³Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, p. 153 sq.; cf. P.Ryl. 191; BGU 881; Wallace, *Taxation*, 191; 411 note 70.

⁶⁴N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, 171.

⁶⁵J.G. Whitehorne 'More about L. Pomponius Niger' *Acta XVIII Cong. Pap.* 445 sqq.

⁶⁶P.Fouad 37 (A.D. 48).

⁶⁷χειρωνάξια τῆς τέχνης: P.Oxy. 276; PSI 871 (both A.D. 66); P.Oxy. 1647 (2nd cent. A.D.); Wallace, *op. cit.* 192 sq. It was sometimes replaced by the term δημόσια (P.Oxy. 275, 16) cf. P.Heid. 228; *JJP* XVI-XVII 127.

⁶⁸PSI 1055 (A.D. 66); Wallace, *op. cit.* 162.

⁶⁹Wallace, *op. cit.* 195 sqq.

⁷⁰P.Oxy. 737; Wallace *op. cit.* 199.

⁷¹cf. *Acta IX Cong. Pap.* 282.

⁷²*Acta IX Cong. Pap.* 284.

⁷³N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, 21. One may enquire why οἱ ἐν στρατείᾳ ὄντες ἀναπόγραφ[οι] οὐ κρατοῦνται, γυναῖκ[ε]ς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα εὐθύνοντ[αι], *Gnom.* 62; cf. *Gnom.* 109; Wallace, *op. cit.* 103. Were they liable to taxations?

⁷⁴N. Lewis 'Μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων: an aspect of the Roman oppression in Egypt' *JEA* 23, 1937, 63-75; Oertel, *Liturgie*, 284-6. μερισμός ἐπικεφαλίου ἀνακεχωρηκότων O.Leid. 181 (A.D. 129-30), μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων O.Leid. 114 (A.D. 134); ἐπικεφαλίου ἀνακεχωρηκότων P.Oxy. 1438, cf. P.Oxy. 2112.

⁷⁵PSI 1043; P.Fay. 35 (A.D. 105).

⁷⁶N. Lewis 'Μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων: an aspect of the Roman oppression in Egypt' *JEA* 23, 1937, 73.

⁷⁷O.Leid., O.Bodl., P.Oxy. *passim*.

denote various taxes based on person. It seems that the practice rendered the Roman administration to favour more and more the system based on persons, and gradually to make it perpetual, instead of occasional, till at last the fiscal system of capitation was introduced in Egypt around A.D. 350.⁷⁸ The term ἐπικεφάλια began to embrace many various taxes. In the commentary on O. Tait. 436 (A.D. 241) it is, rightly, said that the epikephalia is 'toutes sortes de taxes levées par tête'.⁷⁹⁽⁶⁾

In this way, we may say that Antoninus Pius granted Achilles exemption from paying the epikephalia, i.e. all taxes based on the person, whether they were capitation-taxes or not. This may mean that Achilles, when he was legally discharged, had to pay only the tribute, i.e. the direct taxes or δημόσια.⁸⁰ The auxiliaries, as well as the legionaries, were professional soldiers. The character of their life, as a distinct group, enabled them to raise a capital. They were integrated in the life of the village and practiced activities subject to taxes.⁸¹ Moreover, Romanized persons, who acquired the *civitas*, could be proprietors and at the same time have another occupation in the economic activity in the country and in Alexandria. Such activities were subject to various taxes,⁸² of which many were inserted under the term ἐπικεφάλια. P. osl. inv. 1518, therefore, could be considered evidence of the kind of the privileges granted to an auxiliary soldier when being legally discharged. He is exempted from paying any personal dues based on the person, whether these dues were capitation taxes or of a different kind. Thus the favour of Antoninus Pius is a significant one.

We may ask whether Achilles was χωρὶς χαλκῶν. This category included certain groups of soldiers: The Romans who served in the legions and the auxilia received no bronze plaque since they needed no further attestation,⁸³ those who get personal *civitas* but have not yet received their diploma (οἱ νῦν),⁸⁴ and those whose discharge was *causaria* and who did not receive any bronze plaque.⁸⁵ BGU 113, BGU 265 and PSI 1026 attest that the χωρὶς χαλκῶν, unless their discharge was *causaria*, get personal *civitas*. But the fact that Achilles got a grant makes us suggest that he later got his diploma and became a *civis*.

⁷⁸R. Rémondon 'La date d'introduction en Égypte du système fiscal de la capitation', *Acta XII Cong. Pap.* 431 sqq.

⁷⁹*CE* 109-110, 1980, 302, 304-5.

⁸⁰About the constitutions of Octavius and Domitian exempting veterans from paying the tribute, and the edict of Titus limiting this immunity, Lesquier, *op. cit.* 333-348.

⁸¹Lesquier, *op. cit.* 228; J.F. Gilliam, *CP* XLIII 1952, 92; *JJP* III 181; J.F. Gilliam 'The Role of the Army' *BASP* II 1965, 66. About the soldiers' engagement in trades see *JRS* 28, 1938, 46 note 18.

⁸²*Acta IX Cong. Pap.* 281.

⁸³N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, 214-15.

⁸⁴BGU 265 = *WChr.* 459 (A.D. 148)

⁸⁵O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 1973, 235-6; Degrassi, 'οὐετρανοὶ οἱ χωρὶς χαλκῶν' *Riv. di Filol. Class.* LXII 1934, 144; Taubenschlag, *Law*, 621; Lesquier, *op. cit.* 296-7; N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, 214-5.

THE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT

Observations on Some Military Camps and Place Names in Upper Egypt

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A few toponyms occurring in § 31 of the section on the Orient in the *Notitia Dignitatum* and in the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* are the subject of the following paper. I have made a number of similar observations on military camps and place names in Lower Egypt in an article already published in the ZPE.¹ My work in this field was inspired by an invitation to serve as a co-editor of a new topographical lexicon to be published by A.M. Hakkert. Such a task is greatly facilitated, of course, by the fact that thanks to the efforts of S. Daris the great project of A. Calderini's *Dizionario dei nomi Geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* has now been completed and though this work has not always found acclaim,² one should be grateful to the compilers of the *Dizionario*, as their collection of materials is a real 'Fundgrube'.

First a few general remarks: it is well known that the part dealing with the Orient in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (hereafter the *Notitia* 3 is a source of paramount importance for our knowledge of the disposition of army units in early Byzantine Egypt.⁴ § 31 of this part lists the army units under the command of the *Dux Thebaidos* and their disposition, while § 28 contains a similar list of troops under the command of the *Comes limitis Aegypti* and their disposition. The border line between the two territories appears to coincide with the boundary between the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes; i.e. the Oxyrhynchite nome is the southernmost part of Lower Egypt ('*Aegyptus*' in the terminology of the *Notitia*.), whereas the Hermopolite nome is the northernmost part of the Thebaid or Upper Egypt.⁵

I need not enter here into the complex question about the date of the compilation of the *Notitia*. Let it suffice to assume that the *Notitia* was compiled originally toward the end of the fourth century.⁶

Editors and other students of the *Notitia* have always tried to identify place names occurring in this source with toponyms mentioned elsewhere in classical and post-classical literature. Of outstanding interest in this respect is the so-called *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*

¹ZPE 87 (1990) 291-295.

²Cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite. Toponymes et sites* (Missoula 1979), xii: "Le Dizionario --- ne constitue, de plus en plus, qu'un travail de compilation hâtive et sans critique."

³I have used the edition of the *Notitia* by O. Seeck (Berlin 1876, repr. Frankfurt 1962).

⁴Essential bibliography: J. Maspero, *L'armée romaine de l'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Cairo 1918; D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantiniennne*, Paris 1952; idem, 'L'occupation militaire de la haute Égypte sous Dioclétien', *Roman Frontier Studies 1967. Proc. VIIIth Internat. Congr.* (Tell Aviv 1971) 123-27; R.M. Price, 'The Limes of Lower Egypt' (in: *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum, Papers presented to the conference at Oxford, December 13 - 15, 1974*, ed. by R. Goodburn & P. Bartholomew, BAR Suppl.Ser. 15 [1976]) 143-154; A.K. Bowman, 'The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian', *BASP* 15 (1978) 25-38.

⁵Actually, § 28 of the *Notitia* contains also an indication of a contemporaneous further sub-division of *Aegyptus* into the provinces of (a) *Aegyptus* 'properly speaking', (b) *Arcadia*, and (c) *Augustamnica*. For *Augustamnica* cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse*, pp. 53-54; originally (i.e. starting with A.D. 341) it covered the same area as the former *Heptanomia* or *Aegyptus Herculia* (i.e. the Oxyrhynchite, the Arsinoite and possibly the Herakleopolite nomes) and the Eastern half of the Delta; later on (after A.D. 386, but before A.D. 399) its territory was limited to only the Eastern Delta, while the area of the former *Herculia* was re-baptised as *Arcadia*. Price, *op.cit.* pp. 145-46, convincingly demonstrates that by shifting ll. 37-39 to a place in between ll. 24-25 or 25-26 a distinction between *Augustamnica* and *Arcadia* can be made. I have expressed my acceptance of Price's idea already in my ZPE article referred to above in fn. 1.

⁶Cf. Price, *op.cit.* [fn.4] 146.

(hereafter the *Itinerarium*),⁷ primarily a list of place names with indications of the distance between each place and the next one in this same list. There is no doubt that the list (in its present form compiled ca. A.D. 300, i.e. a century before the *Notitia* were compiled) referred to the locations of *mansiones* where travellers could stay.⁸ Furthermore, since the publications of documentary papyri started to enrich our knowledge of the topography of Graeco-Roman Egypt these have been taken into account for our better understanding of both the *Notitia* and the *Itinerarium*, of course. Very informative in this respect are the famous *P.Panop.Beatty* published in 1964.

Thanks especially to these documentary papyri many place names in the *Notitia* have become, notwithstanding their sometimes garbled form, familiar enough to us now, but in a few cases toponyms in the *Notitia* have raised problems and - though identifications have sometimes been proposed - I think that the last word as regards these identifications has not yet been said.

Some names in § 31 are easily recognizable: l. 23, *Lico* = Lycopolis; l. 25, *Tentira* = Tentyra (Dendera); l. 28, *Lato* = Latopolis; l. 32, *Cusas* = Koussai; l. 34, *Apollinopolis superior* = Apollinopolis Ano; l. 37, *Filas* = Philae; l. 39, *Hermunthi* = Hermonthis; l. 43, *Poisarietemidos* refers, of course, to the well-known Speos Artemidos (Beni Hassan). A more problematical item, however, occurs in line 53 of this paragraph, where one reads:

Ala octava , Abydum - Abocedo.

(Ms 'V': ABECEDO before correction)

In a footnote one finds that E. Böcking suggested⁹ correcting this latter name to '*Abotide*' (ablative of a place name '*Abotis*'), but this correction does not help much to answer the question what the relationship between the preceding name *Abydum* and the following name '*Abocedo*' (or '*Abotide*') is. Moreover, as regards this place '*Abotis*' no more is known¹⁰ than that it was the name of a place in Egypt (mentioned by two classical authors, i.e. Hecataeus and Herodian), but it is not known where in Egypt it should be looked for. This is not very illuminating. On the other hand, there is not a single further attestation of the place name '*Abocedo*' in any other (semi)-literary source or in a documentary papyrus, and I have therefore come to think that we are dealing here with a corruption in the manuscript tradition of the *Notitia*. If one supposes that in an early manuscript the letters were written in uncials, an E and a C must have looked quite similar. Furthermore, one may suppose that an I and the vertical hasta of a following D were conflated. These considerations lead me to suppose that the original reading was '*AB OCC<I>D.*', developing into '*ABOCEDO*', and one can understand this as meaning that a military unit, viz. an 8th *ala* of the ... (name lost), was located in a military camp at Abydos, i.e. to the West of it, or - perhaps a bit less attractive - that it was located at Abydos 'on the West bank'.¹¹ Unfortunately, this entry is the only one in this part of the *Notitia* presenting such an 'extra' piece of information about the precise location of a military camp either at some point outside of a major town or on the Nile bank; moreover, we do not seem to have any archaeological report of remains of any military camp found to the

⁷ I have used the edition by O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, I (Leipzig 1929), esp. pp. 21-23.

⁸ Cf. D. van Berchem, 'L'itinéraire Antonin et le voyage en orient de Caracalla (214-215)', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 1973, pp. 123-126.

⁹ In his edition of the *Notitia*, published between 1839-1853.

¹⁰ Cf. the entry in A. Calderini, *Dizionario Geografico*, I 1 4 and J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Cairo 1942) 167.

¹¹ The entry in A. Calderini, *Dizionario Geografico*, I 1 4, should be corrected accordingly. As regards the 'mechanics' of the corruption one may compare the critical apparatus of l. 44, where the manuscript 'M' reads 'PESELA', whereas other MSS read 'PESCLA', i.e. here, too, we have confusion of an uncial E and an uncial C. At the same time one should remember that there is a well-known village Pesla in the Hermopolite Nome; for this village cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* 204f.

West of Abydos, though this place has been excavated pretty well. Nevertheless, I hope that my endeavour to remove a corrupt name in the *Notitia* is convincing.

One may well ask whether there are more such place names in this paragraph of the *Notitia*, where one can try to improve upon our predecessors and get closer to the original reading. My answer is positive, but before proceeding I should like to say something about the arrangement of the *Notitia* on the basis of those place names which can be identified with certainty (see the map at the end of this article). The list of localities in the Thebaid where *alae* belonging to the *laterculum minus* (l. 42) were stationed - referred to in ll. 43-57 (they are the black circles on the map) - are apparently listed mostly 'clockwise', i.e. their listing starts in the North of the Thebaid on the East bank and goes to the South, crosses the Nile at Syene, and is carried on going downstream on the Left bank until one reaches the North of the Thebaid again. The only element that slightly disturbs this neat scenario comes in l. 57 where the reference to Prektis (supposedly situated on the East bank)¹² entails jumping from the West bank back to the East bank. So, while starting out from the assumption that there originally was some system in the listing of *alae* in the *Notitia*, one has to reckon with an occasional departure from a rigid application of the supposed system. I shall come back to this point later.

A second place name to be discussed here is *Pampane* (l. 52), between Contra-Apollinopolis (l. 51, on the East bank) and Abydos (l. 53, on the West bank). This has been identified by all scholars working in this field with *Papa* on the West bank, situated 8 miles to the South of Contra-Coptos and 30 miles to the North of Hermonthis (cf. *Itinerarium* 159.4). On the map one arrives at the area on the West bank of the Nile opposite Thebes. In fact, in O.Stras. 780 one finds a payment through the '*kollubistike trapeza*' at *Papa* to a praktor of the Memnonia (also on the Left bank of the Nile opposite Thebes); this presupposes that there was a close connection indeed between *Papa* and this part of the Left bank. On the other hand, there is a London papyrus from Syene which mentions a monastery at *Pampane* (P.Lond. V 1724); clearly one is dealing with two **separate** localities, viz. *Papa* and *Pampane*.¹³ On the authority of the geographer Ptolemaeus (*Geogr.* IV 5 31) *Pampane* was situated indeed on the West bank of the Nile, somewhere between Tentyra and Hermonthis; maybe one should not be surprised, if at some moment *Pampane* turned out to be the original (Egyptian) name for the place which is called '*Contra-Copto*' in the *Itinerarium* (159.3).

A third rather unfamiliar geographical name in this part of the *Notitia* may be that of *Psinabla* (l. 54) but it is comforting to know that this locality is also mentioned in the P.Panop.Beatty¹⁴ as a fort where a Roman garrison was stationed; the editor of these papyri already made a convincing argument for putting this fort on the Left bank of the Nile opposite modern Akhmim in the Panopolite Nome.¹⁵

Now we take leave of the section on the *alae* and have a look at the *cohortes* stationed in the Thebaid. Already earlier I mentioned a slight departure from a neat scenario concerning the 'clockwise' listing in the section on the *alae*; the section on the *cohortes* (ll. 58-67) seems to show another case of such a departure. First, let us try to reconstruct such a 'clockwise' listing similar to that of the *alae*. Place names like *Theracon* (l. 58) corrupted from *Hieracon* (Wesseling's correction of the *Notitia*'s manuscript text proposed in his edition of the

¹²Cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* 223.

¹³For this question one may now also consult S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, IV 1822-23 s.n. *Pampane*, who makes the same distinction that I do. The *Dizionario Geografico*, IV 33 s.n. *Pampanis*, still identifies *Pampane* with *Papa*.

¹⁴For references cf. *Dizionario Geografico*, V 162.

¹⁵Cf. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, IV 2038-39. It is unclear to me whether one should identify this place with the place *Psinabla* located on the East bank in the plain of el-'Amarna on a map in A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Wien 1959) 45.

Itinerarium [at p. 167.2] must be accepted), and *Muthis* (l. 59) are found in the same order on the East bank in the *Itinerarium*; I prefer to pass over *Silili* (l. 60) for just a minute, but *Peamu* (l. 61), too, is situated correctly on the East bank, though more to the South (opposite *Abydos*),¹⁶ and even more to the South one finds *Syene* and *Elephantine* (ll. 64-65) on the East bank; the '*Castra Lapidariorum*' (l. 66) may be related to the stone quarries near modern Aswan (every tourist is offered a tour to the so-called 'unfinished obelisk'), but the name is so unspecific, that one may perhaps also reckon with a quite different locality.¹⁷ On the other hand, it is certain that *Diospolis* (l. 67) was situated far more to the North on the Left bank. But what of places like *Nitnu* and *Burgus Severi* (ll. 62-63), if they should be looked for somewhere between Peamu and Syene? There are no other attestations of these place names in this region and, though there is a considerable distance between these two places, it would seem to me that the military camps already known between Peamu and Syene are located at such regular intervals that there is hardly much space and need for two extra camps at this side of the Nile. The *Dizionario Geografico* does not list a separate entry '*Nitnu*', but elsewhere in the same work one finds¹⁸ a suggestion that '*Nitnu*' should be taken as a corruption for '*Nithine*', in the *Itinerarium* (154.2) spelled '*Nitine*', a place situated in the Western Delta between Andropolis and Hermopolis parva. This idea of the *Dizionario* compilers simply cannot stand, as the '*Nitnu*' of the Notitia was situated in the Thebaid. Another proposal was made by D. van Berchem,¹⁹ who suggested to identify '*Nitnu*' with Antinoopolis. Such a hypothesis presupposes that one is willing indeed to reckon with some departure from the normal sequence of the listing of cohorts' locations (as Antinoopolis lies to the North of Hierakon, one would expect '*Nitnu*' before l. 58). Now, van Berchem's idea of an interruption in the expected sequence of place names seems acceptable. Moreover, in itself it seems likely enough that at some time in the 4th century there was a military garrison in Antinoopolis (after all, it was the capital of the Thebaid). But even so van Berchem's proposal does not seem fully convincing, as it entails a rather far-going corruption of the well-known place name *ANTINOOPY* (i.e. the complete disappearance/omission of the initial A-, a transposition of the letters -TI- > -IT- and the disappearance of the -O- after the 2nd -N-).

In fact, as far as palaeographical and linguistic considerations are concerned, there is another place name in documentary papyri which may be adduced for an attempt to identify '*Nitnu*', viz. *NETNHOY*. In this connection it should be remembered that in the Greek pronunciation of this period the -ε- and the -ι- are often confused and the -N- preceding the Eta may have caused the loss of that letter (also consisting of two vertical *hastae* with a connecting stroke) in the process of copying the Mss. This village is mentioned in a few Oxyrhynchite papyri,²⁰ but it may have been situated in the border region between the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite Nomes and it may be assumed that at various times it was considered to belong to either nome. If this idea is correct, it would entail that ll. 62-63 would have to be transferred (to in between ll. 67 and 68?) and that '*Nitnu*' would have to be situated to the North of

¹⁶Cf. P.Beatty Panop. 2.291-92.

¹⁷E.g. the stone quarries at Akoris on the East bank? But then the line stands out-of-order.

¹⁸*Dizionario Geografico*, III 355, s.n. 'Nithine'.

¹⁹*L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* 67.

²⁰For its location somewhere in the Oxyrhynchite nome cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri habitati dell' Ossirinchite*, 119; the attestations listed there date from A.D. 442/3 - 557); cf. BASP 18 [1981] 44-46 where the reference to Netneu given in connection with the Hermopolitan nome in P.Laur. III 75 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 574), ll. 13-14 is discussed. The Greek text reads:

Νετνη[οὔτος τοῦ Ἑρμου-]
πολίτου [.] χ[αίρειν.]

The ending -πολίτου in l. 14 excludes restoring Ὁξυρυγχίτου. J. Gascou, however, suggests to restore Νετνη[οὔτος τοῦ Νέου Ἰουστινο-] πολίτου.

Hermopolis, which was so far the most Northern army camp on the Left bank of the Nile in this paragraph of the *Notitia*.

One more remark on *cohortes* on the Left bank of the Nile in the Thebaid: once a restoration [Contra] Syene (cf. *Itinerarium* 162.2) is accepted in l. 65, where Seeck's edition reads:

'Cohors quinta Suentium, [quinta], Suene'

there will be no question as regards its location, on the Left bank of the Nile opposite Syene.

Now we turn back to *cohortes* on the East bank of the Nile. There are, again, a few names which deserve our further attention. Problematical is *Silili* (l. 60). In Seeck's *Notitia* edition one finds his assumption that this place name is identical with *Selinum*, a place situated according the *Itinerarium* (166.4) on the East bank at a distance of 16 miles to the North of Panopolis. Though I have tried to demonstrate that text corruptions in the manuscripts of the *Notitia* do occur, it is still not very easy (at least not for me) to make the jump from 'SELINO' (*Itinerarium*) to 'SILILI' (*Notitia*) and one might feel attracted to accept as yet the idea of d'Anville to read SIL<S>ILI (cf. Seeck's *app.crit.* ad loc.), though this would entail another interruption of the regular geographical sequence (for this very reason the idea was rejected by Seeck); the stone quarries at Silsile are located some 15 miles to the North of Omboi, and they should come, then, after Peamu in l. 61. Now, I have tried to demonstrate already that in ll. 59-67 there may be disturbances in the order of the various cohort camps listed (cf. the case of 'Nitnu/Netneou') and as a consequence one does not need to follow Seeck's line of thought. On the other hand, it should be remarked in favour of an identification *Selili* '=' *Selino* that one almost expects a camp somewhere between Muthis (to the North of Antaiopolis) and Thmou (slightly to the South of Panopolis), as the distance between these places, according to the *Itinerarium* 44 miles, almost calls for a military camp located in between these two camps (cf. below); on balance, therefore, that identification may have to be retained²¹

Secondly there is the '*Burgus Severi*' (l. 63). Again, other sources do not indicate where this locality should be looked for, and I can only point to two toponyms in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, Πύργου and Σεουήρου ἐποίκιον.²² **IF** these were in fact referring to the same village and if that village could be situated in the border region between the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite Nome (cf. the case of the village of 'Nitnu/Netneu' discussed above),²³ there would be no further problem; the Latin word '*burgus*' seems to denote much the same as the Greek 'ἐποίκιον'. In terms of a geographical distribution of troops over the area it would be most fitting, if this camp at '*Burgus Severi*' were situated on the East bank of the Nile (closing off the 'clockwise' listing which started on the East bank; cf. the situation with the *alae* ll. 43-57), but with so many hypotheses piled on top of each other one cannot be certain.

The map listing the distribution of the army units in the Thebaid shows clearly how the defense forces were distributed. At a glance it becomes apparent that the Egyptian limes-system was based upon a distribution of forces on both sides of the Nile with rather regular intervals between the various posts and fortifications often being located opposite each other. Syene corresponds, of course, with Contra-Syene, Apollinopolis with Contra-Apollinopolis,

²¹I have wondered whether there is an alternative for d'Anville's suggestion in the following hypothesis. viz. an identification of this name of *Silili* with the Hermopolitan village of *Selilais*, located to the North-East of Hermopolis (cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 236ff.). Though nothing about a military camp in this village is known to date, I may point out that in this region there seem to be other camps not known so far, cf. the case of the village of *Adelphiou* and the new reading proposed by J. Gascou for a 4th century papyrus (SB XVI 12825 ii.15), where the *ed.princ.* reads Ἀνυσίῳ πραι(οσίτῳ) εἰπ(όντος) Ἀδελφίου; Gascou proposes to read εἰλ(ης) Ἀδελφίου while admitting that nothing is known of an *ala* located at *Adelphiou*. The principal argument against this speculation can be found in the fact that *Selilais* seems to be situated on the West bank of the Nile, rather than, as expected, on the East bank.

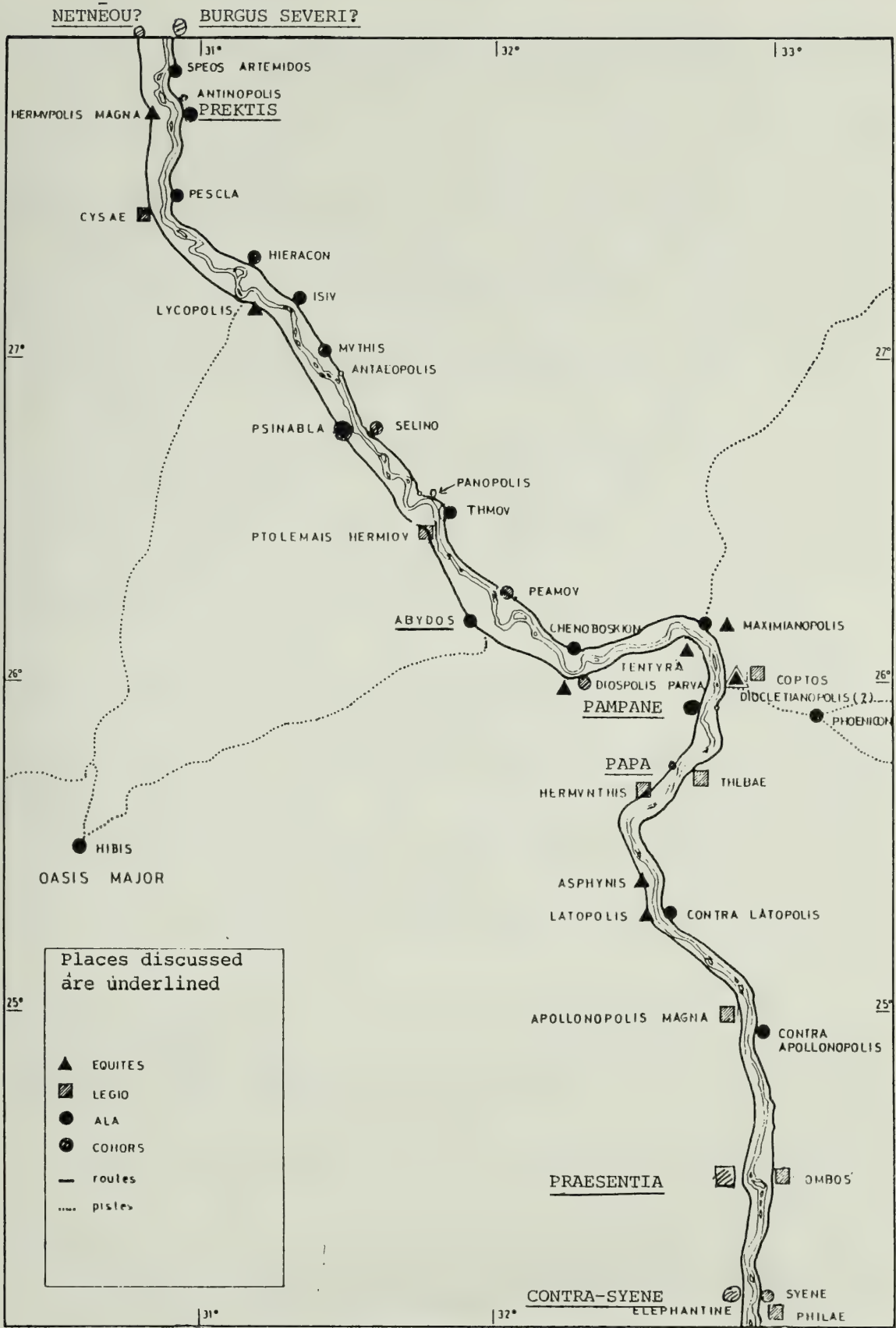
²²Cf. P. Pruneti, *I Centri abitati*, 158, 175.

²³Their precise location is at present not yet known.

Latopolis with Contra-Latopolis, Hermonthis with Thebes, Tentyra with Maximianopolis, Diospolis Parva with Chenoboskion, Abydos with Peamu, Psinabla with Thmou, Lycopolis with Isiu and Hierakon, Cussae with Pesla, and Hermopolis with Prektis. At the same time it becomes apparent why it is probably correct to locate the camp of *Praesentia* (l. 33) opposite Omboi, i.e. because of the large gap in the defense line which would arise otherwise.²⁴ I should be inclined to put Pampane to the North of its supposed 'alter ego', Papa, opposite Koptos/Diocletianopolis. Finally, Nitnu/Netneu and the Burgus Severi may mutually correspond and supplement each other at the Northernmost border of the Thebaid in order to close off the South-bound ways into the interior of Southern Egypt.

On the West bank the average distance between each military camp in the Thebaid is 25.5 miles. The largest distance between two adjacent camps, viz. that between Praesentia (IF that is to be identified with Contra-Omboi) and Syene, counts about 43 miles, while the next largest distance, viz. that between Cussae and Lycopolis, counts about 35 miles. Likewise, on the East bank the largest distance between two adjacent camps is about 44 miles (between Koptos and Thebes), while the average distance between camps is about 27 miles.

²⁴This camp at Praesentia (cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 7 [1924] 105 on SPP XX 83 iii.4 [cf. Verso ii.6,11]: "Wahrscheinlich lag Praesentia neben Omboi") may be identical with a place name *Persentia* occurring in SPP X 198.5, where a ship is being attributed to a certain Theodorus 'from Persentia'. The editor of the *Dizionario Geografico* (IV 107 s.n. Persentia) states that the place may belong to the Hermopolitan nome, but I wonder what the basis for this attribution is, as there are no other Hermopolitan place names mentioned in this papyrus. For the bishopric of ΠΕΡΣΕΝΤΙΑ in Coptic sources cf. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, IV 1902. To be sure, I do not think that the identification of Praesentia with the Roman camp at Nag el-Hagar (on this cf. P. Zignani's paper given at the 1991 Congrès d'Égyptologie de Torino [I owe this reference to the kindness of B. Meyer, Paris] is assured.



FROM: Roman Frontier Studies 1967 (Tell Aviv University 1971) 125
 [D. van Berchem]

THE POLL TAX OF SERGIUS OF NESSANA

Mostafa el-Abbadi

Only a few aspects of the organization of taxes in early Islam can claim general agreement; in many cases we seem to be dealing with theories rather than with facts. The reason is of course, the paucity of contemporary documents. Besides, the evidence of documents stands often in sharp contradiction with the authoritative statements of early Arab historians and jurists who wrote more than two centuries after the events they described. P.Nes. 59 is a case in point.¹ It is a tax receipt which concerns a resident of Nessana by the name of Sergius, with missing patronymic. The name is not uncommon in that village, due to the presence in it of a church dedicated to St.Sergius. For the sake of clarity therefore, we have called our man, Sergius of Nessana. In spite of a few lacunae as well as the loss of the heading of the document, the main points are clear. Sergius' total annual tax was 12 solidi, which is the sum of two equal amounts: 6 solidi for the land tax (δημόσια) and 6 solidi for the poll tax (ἐπικεφάλιον). The stating of both taxes together, is of interest, as it reveals the continuation of the late Roman *iugatio* and *capitatio* system of taxation on lands and persons² which the Arab administration renamed *kharaj* and *jizya*. In our receipt, the tax collectors in Gaza acknowledge having received in full, the six solidi of his land tax and remind him that he still owes the six solidi poll tax. The document is dated in October of a thirteenth indiction, which the editor tentatively sets in A.D. 684 = A.H.65. This early date places the document within less than half a century of Arab rule in Palestine, shortly before the sweeping reforms of Caliph Abdel-Malik (685-705 = A.H. 66-87).

There is no doubt that we are dealing here with the annual assessment of the two taxes and that, as the editor observed, the information afforded in this piece is the most concrete evidence so far, available for taxes in Palestine and Syria.³ Yet the equal amount for the two taxes, constitutes a problem. For, whereas the *demosia* was proportional to the size, productivity and kind of crop, the *epikephalia* was unified per capita. Guided by this principle and relying on an incomplete expression (1.6 ὑπὲρ το[. . . .]ει αὐτοῦ ἐνός) the editor concluded that the amount of six solidi for *epikephalia* is evidence for the uniform rate of poll tax in effect in Palestine at the time.⁴ He knew of course, that his proposition would conflict with the maximum rate of four dinars/solidi fixed by Caliph Omar (circa A.D.640 = A.H. 18/19).⁵ In the face of such a discrepancy, he suggested that the tax of six solidi paid here by Sergius, either showed that the rate had been raised by 50% after a subsequent census, or that the Arabic statement of a maximum was inaccurate.

This seems to me to be a rather arbitrary conclusion, for the expression in question, line 6, governs in fact the entire total of 12 solidi for which Sergius *alone* was responsible in that year and the ἐνός should not be restricted to the six solidi *epikephalia* only. The situation in fact, was not so simple. Arab historical tradition preserves an interesting history for the practice of

¹ Casper J. Kraemer Jr., ed. *Non-Literary Papyri, Excavations at Nessana*, volume 3 (Princeton 1968). For a good survey of the controversy see Daniel c. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, (Harvard University Press, 1950) pp. 3-14.

² A.H.M.Jones, *Capitatio and Jugatio in the Roman Economy*, ed. P.A. Brunt (Blackwell Oxford 1974) ch. 13, pp. 280-292; André Deléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1945) pp. 182-6; F. Lot, *L'impôt foncier et la Capitation Personelle* (Paris 1928) pp.26-40.

³ P. Nes. 70 and 77, where ἐπικεφάλιον is written, no exact payments or rates are preserved.

⁴ P. Nes. 59, introd. p. 172-3; the editor even applied the 6 solidi poll tax on all the village men, P. Nes. 76 introd. p. 219.

⁵ Ibn Abdel-Hakam, *The Conquest of Egypt and North Africa*, ed. A.M.Amer (Cairo, 1961) p.205.

jizya (i.e. poll tax) and its evolution in early Islam. Its legislation, in principle, is ratified in the Quoran with no indication of a specific rate : “ Fight (non Moslems) .. until they pay the *jizya* (tribute) after having been humbled”.⁶ The expression here echoes the social stigma attached to the late Roman *capitatio* as reflected in the phrase “*plebiae capitacionis injuria* ”.⁷ It first occurred in 629 = A.H. 8, after a triumphant encounter with the Byzantines at Mu'ta, when the Prophet imposed on Aila (Ilat) a tribute (*jizya*) of 300 dinars (*solidi*) at the rate of one dinar on each adult male. The same rule was applied to the neighbouring towns of Tabuk, Adhruh and Maqna.⁸

With the progress of the Arab conquest of Palestine and Syria during the following decade, separate settlements were made with the various cities and districts. There was no universal rule in all the cases, but it seems that the imposition of a fixed one-dinar *jizya* on adult males was the common custom;⁹ it has been reported in the agreements with Jordan,¹⁰ Qinnasrin,¹¹ Damascus,¹² Hims,¹³ Antioch,¹⁴ Manbij, and Aleppo¹⁵ The one-dinar tax (*jizya*) has also been reported for other regions, as in Mesopotamia¹⁶ and Tiphlis in Armenia (one dinar on each family).¹⁷

Once the conquest of Iraq and Syria was completed, Caliph Omar (c. 640 = A.H.19) undertook a general census and is accredited with having thoroughly reorganized the taxation system. He graded the poll tax so that the well-to-do paid four dinars in gold or forty dirhams in silver, while the middle and poor classes of the adult male population, paid proportionately less.¹⁸ Another version of the same decree gives the rates in silver at 48 dr. for the well-to-do, 24 dr. for the middle class and 12 for the poor;¹⁹ the ratio in gold dinars would thus be, 4 : 2 : 1 respectively.

In order to find out how Sergius was classified, we have to know more about his financial status within the society of Nessana. A peculiar feature of the Nessana documents is that the size of land property is no where specified, nor is apparently a land unit ever used. As the *demosia* was necessarily -among other things-, proportional to the area of land taxed, we can work out a rough estimate by comparing Sergius' six *solidi* land tax with the amounts paid by two other proprietors who happen to bear a similar first name, but whose patronymics are known. One of them is Sergius son of Menas, who in April 11, 682 (?) paid 4 1/3 *solidi* for his annual *demosia* for the tenth indiction [P.Nes. 55, l.4: τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ δη[μ]όσια τῆς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰ]. As the collectors state in their receipt that the money paid included “additional fees”, the editor suggests that the net tax amounted to 4 *solidi* whereas the extra 1/3 *solidus* would be the “additional fee” (ἐχοντία).

⁶ Quoran, IX *Repentance*, 29.

⁷ Cod. Theod. XIII, 10. 4.

⁸ Baladhuri, 59; Yâqût, *Geography*, s.v. Tûr Sinâ.

⁹ cf. Dennett, op.cit. pp. 54-58 for useful discussion and bibliography.

¹⁰ Tabari (Leyden) [Year A.H. 15] Capture of Hims, l. 2392 = (Cairo) 3, p. 97.

¹¹ Baladhuri, 144.

¹² *ibid.*, 1224 ; Tabari, as in note 10.

¹³ -v. note 9.

¹⁴ Baladhuri, 147.

¹⁵ Ya'qubi II. 161.

¹⁶ Baladhuri, 173-4 ; Abu Yusuf, *Al-Kharaj*, p. 23.

¹⁷ Tabari (Cairo) [Year A.H. 17] 4, p.53 ; [Year A.H. 22] 4. 162; Yaqût, *Geography*, s.v. Tiphlis, II. p. 36.

¹⁸ Al-Hakam p. 205.

¹⁹ Al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam As-Sultania* (State Institutions), (Cairo 1978) p. 1161-162.

The other proprietor is Sergius son of George whom the tax-collectors deferentially address as "master" (κυρίου).²⁰ The document is of special interest, it begins with eight names, all Christians (ll. 1-5) who, as members of the Nessana tax commission, were village notables and landowners, collectively responsible for gathering and transmitting taxes. This is a survival of the Byzantine tax administration carried on well into the 'Umayyad period. Next comes the crucial tax-receipt statement in which the collectors acknowledge "to having received from you, master Sergius son of George 37 1/2 solidi, fee included, which you owed, following the Arab land survey (l. 8, γεωμετρία τῶν Σαρακηνῶν) due on lands given to you by our lord the governor Moslem from the land-holding formerly listed as belonging to Bani Wa'r (ll. 9-11, ἐκ τῶν δοθέντων σοι ἐκ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Μεσλεμ συμβούλου ἐκ τῆς γεωμορίας τ[ῶν] Β[αν]υ Οὐαρ +)". We can safely assume from this statement that Sergius son of George was a distinguished large landowner of Nessana who was favourably treated by the new Arab administration and granted extensive lands. We have no means of knowing how big a property he previously owned. With regard to his recently allotted land, we can approach a rough estimate on the basis of the tax paid. By a curious coincidence, we possess in a tax account from Aphrodito in Egypt, a near identical payment of 37 1/2 1/3 solidi as land tax on 146 arourae,²¹ i.e. at the rate of 6 1/12 carats (= circa 1/4 solidus) per aroura. We should bear in mind the fact that tax rates were customarily proportional to productivity and that good arable land at Nessana yielded seven-fold the amount of the sown seed²² whereas in Egypt the average yield was ten-fold,²³ the ratio being 7:10. We can accordingly surmise that Sergius son of George paid 37 1/2 solidi on about 210 arourae (i.e. 146 x 10/7). In the same way we can estimate by Egyptian rate, that Sergius son of Menas paid 4 1/3 (or only 4 solidi) on about 24 arourae, while our Sergius of Nessana, paid 6 solidi on approximately 36 arourae. In the light of these results, we may perhaps safely suggest that "master Sergius son of George" belonged to the upper class, whereas the other two Sergii were of the middle one.

I now wish to turn to the other 6 solidi of Sergius' epikcephalion and consider what it could stand for. Fortunately, we possess an important register of men liable for poll tax in Nessana [l. 1: + ἀναγρ(αφή) ἐπικεφαλαίω(ν) Νεστάνω(ν)].²⁴ The register is incomplete, perhaps only one third of the original has survived, however for our purpose, its arrangement is instructive. The basis of classification is by households with the head of each family listed in a general alphabetical order. This pattern is interrupted by dependants (sons and brothers) whose names follow under the main entry. This is clearly a survival of the earlier system when census records were drawn up of households and were registered under the names of their landlords or family heads responsible for the taxes due on their households (the usual *iugatio* and *capitatio*).²⁵ One obvious change is conspicuous in the Nessana register which is that only males paid the poll tax, whereas under the Romans, both men and women were taxable in Syria.²⁶ Another point worthy of note is the treatment of the clergy. In the fourth century, the clergy with their families and servants had been exempted from *capitatio*, later in 398 and after, this immunity was curtailed²⁷ and the taxing of the clergy continued under the Arabs. This is

²⁰ P. Nes. 58 (late VII)

²¹ P. Lond. IV. 1427. 12 (716= A.H. 92).

²² P. Nes. 82 (VII) for a variety of seed rates and yield, ranging between 5 to 7 fold.

²³ See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 767 and note 2 for sources and bibliography.

²⁴ P. Nes. 76 (687 - 689).

²⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Census Records of the Later Roman Empire*, in his *Roman Economy*, (Blackwell, Oxford 1974) p. 240.

²⁶ Digest, L. XV. 3 ; cf. Jones, loc. cit. 231.

²⁷ Cod. Theod. XVI, ii, 33 ; Cod. Jus. I. iii. 16 (date A.D. 409); cf. Jones, *Capitatio and Iugatio*, p. 284, see note 2 above.

evident in the case of the two clergymen, a priest and an archdeacon, who had to pay poll tax at Nessana (lines 26-27). A third feature of the Nessana register is the relative small number of adult males in the recorded households; of the 36 main entries, the layout is as follows:

- 21 : family heads only
- 11 : family heads + 1 dependent each
- 3 : family heads + 2 dependants each
- 1 : family head + 3 dependants

Among the 18 dependants, as the editor observed, there are more brothers than sons, ten and five respectively, a phenomenon hard to explain.²⁸

Finally, let us consider the case of Sergius of Nessana and his payment of 6 solidi in the light of the household arrangement of the poll tax register. If the fixed one-dinar rate of the earlier Arab historical tradition was still functioning in 684, it would follow that his household comprised six taxable adult males, which is unparalleled in the Nessana documents. On the other hand, it is more probable that Sergius' property, estimated above at 36 arourae, placed him in the middle class. Thus, according to the graded poll tax system ascribed to Caliph 'Omar, he would be rated at 2 dinars/ solidi. If so, the total of 6 solidi were levied on three adult males, namely himself and two dependants, which would be a normal feature in the register of Nessana.

²⁸ Young sons do not figure in the register; in P. Nes.21, a father has one grown up son by a former marriage and three minor sons by his present wife.

LE RÉGIME ADMINISTRATIF DE L'EAU DU NIL DANS L'ÉGYPTE GRECQUE, ROMAINE ET BYZANTINE

But recherché et problèmes posés.*

Danielle Bonneau †

L'occasion de faire un court bilan de trente ans de recherches sur le fleuve Nil, fondées à peu près uniquement sur la documentation papyrologique, m'est donnée aujourd'hui. Pareille occasion m'avait été offerte lors d'un colloque européen sur l'eau autour de la Méditerranée, à Athènes, en 1988.¹

Ce bilan se trouve inclus dans la présentation d'une bibliographie de tout ce qui a été écrit sur le Nil depuis la "Description de l'Égypte"; il rassemble environ 200 titres et tend à montrer ce qu'il reste à faire. Depuis, les recherches en ce domaine ont proliféré; j'ai moi-même écrit plus de dix petites études sur le sujet; certaines sont parues, d'autres sont livrées à des revues, ou à des volumes de mélanges, et sont toujours "sous presse". D'une étude à l'autre, je m'efforce de corriger mes erreurs selon l'occasion. Et je suis d'ailleurs reconnaissante à ceux qui me les signalent, parce que je m'aperçois que, le plus souvent, je n'ai pas été suffisamment explicite, ce qui engendre des contresens.

C'est donc avec satisfaction que je présente le livre dont la Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft veut bien subventionner la parution. Son titre à lui seul indique les points de vue qui en sont écartés. Tout d'abord, les problèmes de l'eau dans les Oasis égyptiennes n'y sont pas abordés. Les disparités entre l'administration de l'eau dans la vallée et celle de l'eau dans les Oasis sont telles qu'il faut traiter ce point à part.² L'état actuel des problèmes soulevés par la gestion de l'eau dans les Oasis égyptiennes est illustré par la publication en cours des Ostraca de Douch³ et les compte rendus de fouille de Michel Reddé qui exposent le système d'irrigation autour de Douch à l'époque romaine.

Le titre du livre que je présente indique aussi qu'il n'y est pas question de religion autour de la crue du Nil bien que certains points soient indissociables de l'administration de l'eau

* The present paper is undoubtedly the last to have been given by Danielle Bonneau before her death on the 26th October 1992. With characteristic modesty she expressed her intention with the paper as 'faire un peu de publicité' for her latest book, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine*, which is being printed at Brill's.

I am grateful to her grandson, P.-A. Grenade, who at my request found the almost finished version on her computer. Danielle Bonneau had worked on the paper until shortly before her death and only details in editorial practice have been changed. A.B.-J.

¹ D. Bonneau, "État des travaux de recherche sur le Nil d'Égypte, d'après la documentation grecque (papyrologie et littérature)", dans "L'eau dans les pays méditerranéen et la Mer Noire dans l'antiquité, de l'époque mycénienne (XVI^e siècle avant JC) au règne de Justinien (VI^e siècle après JC)", Athènes, 20-24 mai 1988, sous presse.

² On trouvera une esquisse du sujet dans la thèse de Guy Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte, à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* (recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques), paru au Caire (IFAO) en 1987.

³ H. Cuvigny - G. Wagner, *Les ostraca grecs de Douch III*, Le Caire 1992.

(Nilomètre, temple). En fait certains égyptologues s'y intéressent : par exemple, pour l'époque pharaonique,⁴ pour l'époque gréco-romaine⁵ et pour l'époque copte.⁶

Dans le titre de mon livre, "Régime administratif" montre qu'il ne s'agit pas d'économie, mais de l'administration de l'eau, à savoir son organisation, son fonctionnement; il ne s'agit en effet pas des résultats de production, ni des orientations politiques, ni de l'évolution de la situation hydraulique.

Le mot "administratif" est celui sur lequel s'appuie mon étude. Naturellement ce mot évoque l'organisation juridique du réseau hydraulique. Un de mes principaux sujets de recherche demeure l'ensemble des questions de droit qui se posent au sujet de l'eau du Nil, il y a 2000 ans.

C'est à la lecture de la thèse (restée inédite) de droit romain de Pierre Braun (1959), "L'acquisition de l'eau en droit romain", que je décidai de m'y consacrer. Cette thèse ne traite pas de la question pour l'Égypte, bien que ce pays ait été province romaine pendant plusieurs siècles et que certaines règles du droit de l'eau propres à l'Égypte aient été intégrées aux Codes (aux V^e et VI^e siècles). La complexité de ces problèmes juridiques génère des recherches tout à fait actuelles. Une preuve toute récente a été fournie, il y a deux mois, par le colloque de l'Association Internationale du Droit de l'Égypte Ancienne (A.I.D.E.A.) qui s'est tenu en France et dont le thème était "Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau dans l'Égypte ancienne".

Le livre que j'annonce se place chronologiquement dans ce champ de recherche. Au début du colloque de Vogüé, le professeur Jean Yoyotte a dressé l'état des difficultés pour ce qui est de cette recherche quant à la période pharaonique et quant à la documentation démotique. Dans la conclusion du colloque, le juriste papyrologue Joseph Modrzejewski a insisté sur les difficultés que pose une optique juridique, non seulement vis-à-vis de l'héritage proprement égyptien, indéniable lorsqu'il s'agit d'eau, mais aussi vis-à-vis du droit grec, puis du droit romain à propos de l'usage de l'eau en face des réalités égyptiennes auxquelles notre documentation papyrologique nous confronte.

En Égypte ancienne, il n'existe à proprement parler pas de droit administratif, mais des services administratifs chargés de l'application de ce que nous appelons "droit" public ou privé en ce qui concerne l'eau. Cette notion de droit étant, dans le monde occidental, fortement influencée par le "droit romain", les ambiguïtés sont innombrables et m'ont causé beaucoup de souci. C'est pourquoi l'étude que j'ai entreprise ne comporte pas de théorie juridique, mais seulement la description des applications pratiques des règlements, dans la mesure où la documentation le permet. Il est donc paru nécessaire, dans une telle complexité de "droit" de rester hors de certaines discussions. De la multitude de renseignements fournis par les papyrus, je retiens deux incidences sur mon travail : la première est que je n'ai pas pris comme ligne de travail la recherche d'une évolution (qui se serait déroulée depuis Alexandre jusqu'à la conquête arabe). Les changements sont signalés selon l'occasion, mais ce que j'en dis est généralement le résultat de tous mes travaux antérieurs. Ceci est particulièrement vrai pour l'étude des personnels impliqués dans la gestion de l'eau. La plus grosse difficulté, non résolue, reste la distinction entre ceux qui sont liturges et ceux qui sont fonctionnaires. Cette difficulté n'est pas spécifique de l'administration de l'eau; elle me paraît d'ailleurs insurmontable pour un esprit occidental qui place les cadres et les exécutants administratifs dans une hiérarchie rationnelle. Et pourtant, il ressort de cette étude que l'administration de l'eau est centrale, en ce sens qu'elle

⁴ C. Chadeffaud, "Le fleuve Nil dans l'imaginaire de l'Égypte antique", dans un colloque récent (Lyon, "Le fleuve et ses métamorphoses", mai 1992).

⁵ J.F. Pécoil, "Le Nil, réalité et divinité", même colloque. D. Bonneau "Continuité et discontinuité notionale dans la terminologie religieuse du Nil (d'après la documentation grecque)" - *Mélanges Etienne Bernard*, Paris 1991 p. 25-35.

⁶ Dominique Benazeth, "Le dieu Nil", dans *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 5 (1991) 9.1764-1765.

prend sa racine dans le pouvoir du Souverain, et que les décisions importantes, à l'époque qui nous préoccupe, sont prises à Alexandrie. Et pourtant encore, la hiérarchie semble suivre la divisions en nomes puis en villages car elle est adaptée à un réseau hydraulique administrativement préexistant, et les divisions antérieures, à savoir nomes, mérïdes, toparchie, villages, subsistent en filigrane ... mais il n'existe pas d'administration uniquement pour l'eau.

Ainsi, pour ce qui est de la maîtrise globale de l'eau, qu'une bonne administration devait pouvoir engendrer, elle ne me paraît pas avoir été atteinte, malgré des tentatives locales (Fayoum) qui à long terme se sont soldées par des échecs : pas d'invention technique majeure qui aurait pu changer la physionomie de cette administration de l'eau; rien de magistral depuis la XIII^e dynastie (ou la XI^e ?) vers 2000 avant notre ère (où des changements ont eu lieu).

Quel a été le rôle du pouvoir des souverains ? Quel rôle a eu le climat ? Les égyptologues n'en savent pas plus.

Toutefois l'administration de l'eau a eu, dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine, les qualités qu'on demande à une administration : elle a été **active** à tous les échelons, selon les opérations auxquelles se livraient les organes d'application des règlements, car elle était amenée à prendre des mesures d'exécution à tous les niveaux : liturges ou fonctionnaires, le personnel était responsable. Cette administration a été **inspectrice**, parce qu'elle contrôlait ou surveillait tous les degrés de la hiérarchie. Elle était **contentieuse** aussi puisqu'elle était chargée d'assurer à chaque terre, à travers chaque tenancier, le respect et l'application des règlements. Elle n'était **délibérative** qu'au niveau des relations entre l'estimation des besoins en eau et l'estimation des ponctions fiscales sur le produit. N'oublions pas la quasi-équation qui prévaut dans l'économie agricole égyptienne: "**Tant d'eau = tant de blé**".⁷ Et comme ce rapport intéresse tout le pays à travers le pouvoir du souverain, la délibération appartient à l'autorité suprême sur le sol d'Égypte : au roi, à l'empereur...

La seconde incidence née de la complexité des notions juridiques à utiliser a été la nécessité de relier les indications fournies par la documentation papyrologique à la réalité concrète. De ce fait, le déroulement même de l'année agricole en fonction de la crue du Nil devient le fil conducteur de mon étude⁸. Les Égyptiens à l'époque pharaonique divisaient l'année agricole en trois saisons qui révèlent une gestion du pays orientée vers la production et non pas vers la maîtrise de l'eau : inondation, semailles, récoltes. C'est un autre état d'esprit que montrent les **trois saisons administratives** : 1) attente de l'eau, 2) présence de l'eau, 3) utilisation de l'eau. L'année ainsi considérée commence avec Tybi dans l'année sothiaque (Tybi-Mécheir à l'époque romaine). On peut en tirer des conclusions pour la fiscalité. Je ne l'ai pas fait. Pour relier l'administration de l'eau aux réalités concrètes, il fallait préciser les innombrables termes qui la concernent. D'où la présentation, dans un chapitre de ce livre, de la terminologie de l'eau, de l'inondation, des différentes étapes de la crue, des différents travaux, des différents appareils hydrauliques. Une amorce de nomenclature se trouvait déjà dans "La crue du Nil",⁹ qui ne s'en tenait guère qu'aux auteurs classiques, et ne tirait aucune conclusion de ce constat philologiquement inorganisé.

Dans "Le Régime administratif", le relevé de ces termes, surtout papyrologique, est présenté selon le cycle chronologique d'une année d'inondation. Ce n'est encore qu'une étude terminologique provisoire, et j'ai entrepris, à destination des Papyrologica Bruxellensia, un "Lexique Hydrologique", organisé alphabétiquement, qui permettra de tirer de façon consciente des conclusions sur la spécificité des termes grecs d'Égypte et sur l'évolution de ce vocabulaire.

⁷ D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil*, 1971, p. 214.

⁸ Pour une vue schématique de cette attitude de recherche, D. Bonneau, "Le cycle du Nil, aspects administratifs à l'époque gréco-romaine", *Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie* 120 (1991) p. 7-24.

⁹ D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire*, 1964.

Le livre que je présente comporte une troisième partie assurément déroutante sous plusieurs aspects pour les historiens habitués à des coupures chronologiques en rapport avec le changement de domination politique.

Si l'on s'attache à l'observation de la continuité du phénomène géographique que fut l'inondation annuelle du Nil jusqu'en 1964 et à la quasi-stagnation de la maîtrise de l'eau au cours de l'époque gréco-romaine, il m'a paru inutile de faire une coupure à l'époque byzantine; mon étude s'est donc poursuivie aussi longtemps que la langue grecque a été utilisée en Égypte, et le dernier papyrus que j'utilise pour l'administration de l'eau date de 713 de notre ère. De même, l'emploi continu de la langue grecque dans l'administration m'a amenée à retenir les éléments que nous donnent les papyrus sur le financement du régime administratif étudié. Un regroupement des renseignements à notre disposition dans ce domaine à l'heure actuelle: impôts, prestations de travail, paiements en nature ou en espèces, a donc été fait. Ce rassemblement dans la troisième partie de mon travail permet de percevoir, malgré l'apparente originalité de la fiscalité Byzantine, une réelle continuité.

Ainsi je propose aux lecteurs un vaste champ d'approfondissements à faire et de critiques possibles dont je me réjouis à l'avance.

THE ROMAN COINS OF ALEXANDRIA. "STATE OF AFFAIRS"

Erik Christiansen, University of Aarhus.

When, some twenty years ago, I began my studies on the Roman coins of Alexandria, I did not really know where to go. Apart from a few books and articles always referred to, it was difficult to survey existing literature, not to speak of existing coins in published or unpublished hoards and collections. In a few years we may confidently say: "New readers may begin here." We are near to having the necessary surveys of the evidence and the literature to give a firm foundation for future studies.¹

Angelo Geissen and I are planning a bibliography on the Alexandrian coinage. In preparing that I have now read virtually everything written about the subject and can say with certainty that there is no reason for consulting publications from the 18th century or earlier, apart from their bearing on the history of scholarship.²

Mionnet's famous survey of the Greco-Roman coinage³ may still be consulted, although with care.⁴ Prominent among later surveys are those of Dattari,⁵ Vogt⁶ and Curtis,⁷ although they also must be used with caution. Feuardent's publication of Demetrio's collection⁸ should be discarded altogether.

The best survey existing is still that given by Milne in his introduction to the Ashmolean catalogue.⁹ Although not directly stated, it was based on his vast knowledge of hoards and collections. Judging from the first volume, the vast undertaking by Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollès, entitled "Roman Provincial Coinage" (London and Paris 1992) will be of immense value, not only for the listing of existing coins but also for its discussion and general comments.¹⁰

A *Corpus Nummorum Alexandrinorum* may be within reach in some years due to the increasing use of computers. But even now, valid information can be gathered from the many museum collections which have been published or at least soon will be. Apart from the

¹This is the written - and somewhat extended - version of the lecture I gave to the congress. I am grateful to Dr. Dorothy Thompson, Cambridge, for a critical examination of my English. For an earlier - and somewhat different - version in Danish see Erik Christiansen, 'Den romerske udmøntning i Alexandria (30 f.v.t. - 296 e.v.t.)', *NNF-NYTT* 2, 1991, pp. 35-44 (with a summary in English).

²Erik Christiansen, 'From Zoëga to the Present Day. The Roman Coins of Alexandria in 200 Years of Research', *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics presented to Rudi Thomsen*, Aarhus 1988, pp. 232-242, 'Om de alexandriske mønter før Zoëga', *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 4, 1990, pp. 70-74, 'The Alexandrian Coins before Zoëga', *Florilegium Numismaticum*. Studia in honorem U. Westermark edita, Stockholm 1992, pp. 111-118.

³T.E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques grecques et romaines*, vol. VI, Paris 1813, pp. 45-552.

⁴This is especially true for the supplementary volumes, thus vol. IX, Paris 1837, pp. 24-179.

⁵(G. Dattari), *Monete Imperiali Greche. Numi Augg. Alexandrini*. Catalogo della collezione G. Dattari compilato dal proprietario, vol. I-II, Cairo 1901.

⁶Joseph Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, I-II, Stuttgart 1924.

⁷James W. Curtis, *The Tetrachms of Roman Egypt*, Chicago 1957.

⁸F. Feuardent, *Collections Giovanni di Demetrio. Numismatique. Égypte ancienne*, vol. II, Domination romaine, Paris 1872.

⁹J.G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*. University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1933. (Reprinted with a supplement by Colin M. Kraay, Oxford 1971), pp. XV-LXVII.

¹⁰Cf. also Andrew Burnett, 'Udmøntningen fra det romerske Egypt i den romerske verden - The Coinage of Roman Egypt in the Roman World', *NNF-NYTT* 2, 1991, pp. 9-33.

Ashmolean Catalogue mentioned above, the Cologne catalogue¹¹ is the most valuable, since Angelo Geissen provides systematic references to most earlier publications.

Other important museum collections now published are those in Ann Arbor,¹² Berne,¹³ Copenhagen,¹⁴ Frankfurt (am Main),¹⁵ Glasgow,¹⁶ London,¹⁷ Naples,¹⁸ Turin,¹⁹ and St. Schotten in Vienna.²⁰ The first volume of the Milan Collection has recently been published;²¹ work is in progress on publishing the collections in Munich (Angelo Geissen), Osnabrück (Adriano Savio), and Paris (Soheir Bakhoun), and plans exist for a publication of the Toronto Collection (Alison Easson). Even then a serious study of any part of the Alexandrian coinage requires knowledge of (*read visit to!*) Athens, Berlin, New York, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

In 1985 I published a survey of the hoard evidence.²² Scarcely anything new has turned up since then, and the general picture given is not likely to be totally changed by the discovery of new hoards, at least not as regards the "silver" coins.

It must be stressed, however, that few hoards of bronze coins have been recorded. The reason may be that the bronze coins, being the less valuable pieces, were treasured to a lesser extent than the "silver" coins; but a different explanation may be that they were struck in lesser numbers.

The museum collections²³ have normally been formed on the "stamp collector's principle", that is, you only want one or two specimens of each type and perhaps a variant or two. This has made me formulate the following "rule of thumb": "The higher the number of coins of a

¹¹Angelo Geissen, *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln*. Band 1 Augustus-Trajan (Nr. 1-740), Opladen 1974. Band 2 Hadrian-Antoninus Pius (Nr. 741-1994), Opladen 1978. Band 3 Marc Aurel-Gallienus (Nr. 1995-3014), Opladen 1982. Band 4 (together with Wolfram Weiser) Claudius Gothicus-Bleimünzen (Nr. 3015-3627), Opladen 1983. Band 5 (by Wolfram Weiser) Indices zu den Bänden 1 bis 4, Opladen 1983.

¹²Rolfe A. Haatvedt and Enoch E. Peterson, *Coins from Karanis*. The University of Michigan Excavations 1924-1935, edited by Ellinor M. Husselmann, Ann Arbor 1964, pp. 106-297.

¹³Balázs Kapossy, 'Alexandrinische Münzen im Bernischen Historischen Museum', *SNR* 45, 1966, pp. 51-115 and plates I-VII, 'Zuwachsverzeichnis 1967 und 1968', *JBM* 47-48, 1967-1968, pp. 436-440, 'Zuwachsverzeichnis 1969 und 1970', *JBM* 49-50, 1969-1970, pp. 520-522.

¹⁴Erik Christiansen and Anne Kromann, *Sylloge nummorum graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Danish National Museum*, vol. 41, Alexandria-Cyrenaica, Copenhagen 1974, nos. 1-1162.

¹⁵Gisela Förchner, *Die Münzen der römischen Kaiser in Alexandrien. Die Bestände des Münzkabinetts. Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main*, 1987. Her general comments on the Alexandrian coins are useless, at the best; see my review in *NC* 149, 1989, pp. 242-243.

¹⁶George MacDonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, vol. III, Glasgow 1905, pp. 402-566.

¹⁷Reginald S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes* (A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum), London 1892; Erik Christiansen, *Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes* (British Museum Occasional Paper 77, edited by Virginia H. Hewitt and Martin Jessop Price), London 1991.

¹⁸Giuseppe Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Collezione Santangelo. Monete Greche*, Napoli 1866, pp. 132-142 and *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Medagliere I. Monete Greche*, Napoli 1870, pp. 254-284.

¹⁹A. Fabretti, F. Rossi e R. V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino. Monete Greche*, Torino 1883, pp. 430-637; several identifications are dubious or wrong.

²⁰Albert Hübl, *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes Schotten in Wien*, vol. II, Griechische Münzen, Wien und Leipzig 1920, pp. 401-432.

²¹Rodolfo Martini, *Sylloge nummorum graecorum Italia. Milano*. Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche, vol. XIII. Aegyptus 2. Octavianus - Lucius Verus, Milano 1991.

²²Erik Christiansen, 'The Roman Coins of Alexandria (30 B.C. to A.D. 296). An inventory of hoards', *Coin Hoards* 7, 1985, pp. 77-140.

²³Erik Christiansen, 'The Roman Coins of Alexandria (30 B.C. to A.D. 296). A survey of collections', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1983-84, pp. 5-58.

given reign in collections, compared to their numbers in hoards, the scarcer the coinage will be."²⁴

Comparing the stock of the collections with the evidence of the hoards, it may therefore be safe to conclude that in practice the production of bronze coins was scarce, even in their greatest period from Trajan to Antoninus Pius. This conclusion gains support from a comparison with the "silver" coins, for which it is evident that the Alexandrian mint used few types in years of prolific production of coins, but many types in years when few were struck. In fact the bronze coins show the greatest variety of types used.

Of the stray find groups no survey exists, and it might be difficult or impossible to establish such a survey. What is known, however, does not sustain Milne's view²⁵ that the bronze coins were meant for circulation in the *chora* and that the "silver" coins served mainly Alexandria.

There can no longer be any doubt that Roman Egypt - like its Ptolemaic predecessor²⁶ - constituted what we would call a "closed currency system": "foreign" coins were not allowed to circulate inside Egypt - apart perhaps from gold coins - and Egyptian coins might not be taken out of the country. This is clear from the hoard evidence, which shows few coins entering Egypt from outside and even fewer leaving the country in antiquity.

The Alexandrian mint did strike denarii at times, but for use outside Egypt only,²⁷ just as - by the way - some Alexandrian coins seem to have been struck in Rome.²⁸ We do find *denarii* in the papyri during the whole period from Augustus to Diocletian,²⁹ in most cases, however, clearly as a reckoning unit, with one Roman denarius equal to one Egyptian *statèr*, or the "tetradrachm".

The equation was artificial. The Alexandrian tetradrachm had a higher weight (more or less the same as its Ptolemaic predecessor had) but a lower content of silver than the imperial denarius from Claudius' reign onward, as is now clear from the analyses made by Walker and King.³⁰ Therefore it is reasonable to believe that the equation between the two coins was introduced during this reign. If so, we do not know what relation to each other they may have had before.

By numismatic convention the Alexandrian tetradrachms are classified as "billon" coins, due to their low silver percentage. I have called them "silver" coins since I have no doubt that they were meant to be and considered as such. There is no indication that the truth about them was commonly known, at least not in the beginning.

There is no agreement on a possible equivalence between the Egyptian and the Imperial Roman bronze coins.³¹ I have proposed³² taking the largest bronze coin as one drachma and the equivalent of one Roman *sestertius*. If so, another commonly found bronze coin might be

²⁴Op. cit., p. 13.

²⁵Milne, *Catalogue* (above note 9), p. XXXVI.

²⁶(The late) Otto Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, edited by Philip Grierson and Ulla Westermark, Cambridge 1991, pp. 19-23 and 66-67.

²⁷See, e.g., Adriano Savio, 'Sui denari di Settimio Severo emessi dalla zecca di Alessandria', *Acme* 38,2, 1985, pp. 137-143.

²⁸Thus see A. M. Burnett and P. T. Craddock, 'Rome and Alexandria. The minting of Egyptian tetradrachms under Severus Alexander', *ANSMusNotes* 28, 1983, pp. 109-118.

²⁹Erik Christiansen, 'On Denarii and other Coin-Terms in the Papyri', *ZPE* 54, 1984, pp. 271-299.

³⁰D. R. Walker, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*. Part I from Augustus to Domitian, Oxford 1976, pp. 139-159.

³¹See, e.g., Jacques Schwartz, 'Note sur les monnaies de bronze en Égypte romaine', P. Bastien, F. Dumas, H. Huvelin (eds.), *Mélanges de numismatique d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie*, Paris 1980, pp. 153-156.

³²Erik Christiansen, *The Roman Coins of Alexandria. Quantitative Studies II*, Aarhus 1988, p.9.

the 1½ obol unit, the rate for the *prodiagraphomena*.³³ Admittedly the flaw in my system is that it allows no equivalent for either the "diobol" or the "obol", so often mentioned in the papyri.³⁴

In addition to the silver and bronze coins we have the so-called *tesserae* ("lead tokens", "Bleimünzen"). At the International Numismatic Congress in 1991 Serafina Pennestri presented the very fine collection of Egyptian *tesserae* now in Turin and furthermore announced a general survey of them. This will be a useful but difficult task; especially the dating will cause serious problems. Thornton has suggested³⁵ that they generally served as small change, especially in periods when few bronze coins were being minted. Probably they were made locally.

On the other hand, it should be underlined that the so-called "nome-coins" should rather be called "nome-types",³⁶ as they were not minted locally.³⁷ This does not deprive them of importance. On the contrary, as claimed by Jennifer Sheridan,³⁸ they may be an interesting source for Egyptian traditions, at least as seen by the Roman authorities.

The coins are Roman. This is evident from the obverses, always bearing a portrait of the ruling emperor - or some other member of the Imperial family - surrounded by the Roman names and titles rendered in Greek. It is also evident from the reverses, which bear a variety of types, very different from the Ptolemaic coinage and unknown to the Greek world as a whole, but characteristic of the Roman Imperial coinage.

The Alexandrian coin types have attracted much interest, thus Joseph Vogt's survey was subtitled *Grundlegung einer alexandrinischen Kaisergeschichte*. But I have to record a warning. We cannot write history from coins alone. So many events reported in the literary sources are never reflected in the coinage that it would be dangerous to deduce from coin types events not mentioned elsewhere. A triumphant emperor may just as well indicate the always victorious Roman Emperor as an actual triumph.³⁹ In the same way *Nilus* may mean a good inundation of the Nile, but may just as well symbolize Egypt's general fertility.⁴⁰

The Romans did not mint coins to propagate a message. It is the other way round: when for some reason they had decided to produce coins, they gave serious consideration to what picture they should bear. The problem is that we do not know who decided which types to strike: the Emperor? the Prefect? the Prefect instructed from Rome? an official close to the Prefect?

³³Alessandra Gara, *Prodiagraphomena e circolazione monetaria*, Milano 1976, esp. pp. 57-96.

³⁴See Andrew Burnett in *RPC* I, p. 690.

³⁵M. K. Thornton, 'The Roman Lead Tesserae: Observations on two historical problems', *Historia* 29, 1980, pp. 335-355.

³⁶Erik Christiansen, *RCAQS* (note 32 above) I, p. 228 with further discussion and references.

³⁷For actual nome-coins, locally minted, see e.g. Yaakov Meshorer, 'The Mint of Pelusium', *RIN* 90, 1988, pp. 57-62.

³⁸Jennifer A. Sheridan, 'The Nome Coins of Alexandria. Another Look', *ANSMusN* 33, 1988, pp. 107-110 and pl. 20.

³⁹See the critical remarks by Milne in *Catalogue* (note 9 above), p. XXVI. Recently a different stand has been taken by John Casey, 'The Coinage of Alexandria and the Chronology of Hadrian', H. Huvelin, M. Christol et G. Gautier (eds.), *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien*, Wetteren 1987, pp. 65-72; I find some of his conclusions far-fetched.

⁴⁰See the critical remarks by Poole in his *Catalogue* (note 17 above), p. LXVII, totally ignored by Danièle Bonneau in her article 'Utilisation des documents papyrologiques, numismatiques et épigraphiques pour la détermination de la qualité de la crue du Nil, chaque année de l'époque gréco-romaine' *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 2-8 settembre 1965), Milano 1966, pp. 379-395.

From types as well as sizes of the coins and from the papyrological evidence Alessandra Gara has clearly demonstrated⁴¹ that Augustus originally continued Cleopatra's coin politics, but later - already in 28 B.C.? - changed to a Roman standard and style, at the same time stabilizing the Egyptian currency system.

It has become increasingly clear that the peculiar Alexandrian coinage is best understood in an imperial context and often as dictated by Rome for fiscal reasons. Thus Adriano Savio⁴² has given good reasons for believing that the small coin production in Alexandria during Caligula's reign - few bronze coins⁴³ and no silver at all - is consistent with the Emperor's coin politics as a whole, especially in the East.

On the other hand, local needs should not be underrated. The poll tax was to be paid in "silver" coins. A lack of them in circulation would therefore cause the local authorities to alert the government in Alexandria, which then may explain why the production of "silver" coins was revived under Tiberius.

An even stronger need would be the enforced exchange of coins at the border stations, demanding a sufficient number of coins available to keep the currency system closed.⁴⁴ If the equivalence of the tetradrachm and the denarius was actually introduced during the reign of Claudius, this may explain why, at the same time, the coining of silver in Alexandria was started up again. Furthermore it might have created a demand for a larger number of coins, though at least some of them could have been produced by melting down older coins.⁴⁵

My own interest in the Alexandrian coinage began by noticing the apparent fluctuations in coin production, not only between different reigns but also between different years within the same reign.⁴⁶

I had been taught to believe that coins in antiquity were struck to cover public expenditure, such as warfare, but soon discovered that it often was impossible to establish clear connections between known events and the coin production in Alexandria. Therefore I arrived at the conclusion that coins were minted to cover public expenditure if a sufficient amount of coinage was not already in hand, or if the government for other reasons decided to strike new coins.⁴⁷ In any case there is no point in looking to the soldiers' pay, since the military records on papyrus, published by Fink,⁴⁸ clearly show that the Roman soldiers received the main part of their pay only on discharge, and not during service.

Fortunately most reviewers⁴⁹ have understood that I do not insist on the figure of 600 million tetradrachms struck during Nero's last five regnal years.⁵⁰ I only claimed their

⁴¹Alessandra Gara, 'Continuità e trasformazione nella politica monetaria di Augusto', *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia (Napoli, 19-26 maggio 1983)*, pp. 1007-1014, 'Egitto', A. H. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*, Oxford 1987, pp. 153-163.

⁴²Adriano Savio, *La coerenza di Caligola nella gestione della moneta*, Firenze 1988, pp. 1-51.

⁴³Probably even fewer than claimed by Savio; see remarks by Andrew Burnett in *RPC* I, p. 699.

⁴⁴This view has been further elaborated by Adriano Savio, 'Aspetti quantitativi della monetazione alessandrina di Otone', *RIN* XCIII, 1991, pp. 83-134.

⁴⁵Erik Christiansen, 'The Roman Coins of Alexandria during the Reign of Claudius', forthcoming in *RIN*.

⁴⁶Erik Christiansen, 'The Roman Coins of Alexandria. A preliminary report', *Actes du 8ème Congrès International de Numismatique. New York-Washington, septembre 1973*, pp. 242-252.

⁴⁷Erik Christiansen, *RCAQS* (note 32 above) I, pp. 102-104. For a general discussion see now Christopher J. Howgego, 'Why did Ancient States strike Coins?', *NC* 150, pp. 1-25.

⁴⁸Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, 1971, pp. 243-276.

⁴⁹Thus A. M. Burnett in *CR* n.s. XXXIX,2, 1989, pp. 349-350, Ian Carradice in *NCirc* 98, 1990, p. 162, Alessandra Gara in *Gnomon* 62, 1990, pp. 753-755, Richard Reece in *NC* 150, 1990, pp. 264-266, and Adriano Savio in *Aegyptus* LXVIII, 1988, pp. 276-279. Very critical, however, are Patrick M. Bruun, 'The Charm of Quantitative Studies in Numismatic Research', *Die Münze. Festschrift Maria R.-Alföldi*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, pp. 65-83, C. J. Howgego in *JRS* 80, 1990, pp. 231-232, and William E. Metcalf in *JRA* 3, 1990, pp. 467-470.

⁵⁰Erik Christiansen, *RCAQS* (note 32) I, pp. 89-110.

production was so vast that the purpose must have been to draw in the older and better coinage in order to reap a profit of silver.

No matter how large the production of Nero's tetradrachms, according to the hoard evidence they lingered on as the main stock of circulating coins for almost two hundred years. I have argued that this can explain later parsimony in striking new coins. From my investigations it will at least be clear that the production of coins - "silver" as well as bronze - was extremely low during the reign of Septimius Severus, but also that this did not cause denarii to circulate in Egypt.⁵¹

The post-Severan coins of Alexandria pose new questions. No quantitative studies have as yet been made, but according to the hoard evidence the coin production was higher than ever before, although still fluctuating between reigns and years within the reigns. Few analyses of silver contents have been made, but those that we have indicate grave debasements.⁵² In the end the coins only had a thin silver cover, which is so easily worn off that many earlier publications described these coins as bronze. Size and weight also diminished in turns, and it would cause no surprise if confidence was lost in this coinage. What actually happened, however, still seems unclear, although there is a growing awareness that something crucial happened during the reign of Aurelian.⁵³

During Diocletian's reign the Alexandrian mint was finally closed. There is no agreement on the exact date,⁵⁴ but a more important question may be the reason why it was closed.

Papyrologists often refer to the Roman coins of Alexandria, which have been mostly studied by numismatists and ancient historians. The main aim of delivering this lecture to a papyrological congress has been to give an up-to-date survey of recent research in the field. I hope to have shown the main advances we believe to have been made, important questions under discussion, and some of the unsolved problems.

⁵¹Op. cit., pp. 237-258.

⁵²Earle R. Caley, 'Chemical Composition of Alexandrian Tetradrachms'. Harold Ingholt (ed.), *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, New York 1958, pp. 167-180.

⁵³Thus see William Metcalf, 'From Greek to Latin Currency in third-century Egypt', H. Huvelin, M. Christol, G. Gautier (eds.), *Mélanges de numismatiques offerts à Pierre Bastien*, Wetteren 1987, pp. 157-168, on the coinage, esp. p. 161, and Dominic Rathbone, *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century A.D. Egypt*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 403 and 461-468 on the papyrological evidence.

⁵⁴Jacques Schwarts, *L. Domitius Domitianus*, Bruxelles 1975, esp. pp. 135-145, J. David Thomas, 'The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus', *ZPE* XXII, 1976, pp. 253-279, Angelo Geissen, 'Numismatische Bemerkung zu dem Aufstand des L. Domitius Domitianus'. op. cit., pp. 280-286 and plates XVI-XVII. For the most recent and convincing discussion see Metcalf's article (preceding note).

ACCOUNTING IN BM 1075¹

Leslie S.B. MacCoull

Although British Library MS.Or. 6046, a twenty-seven-leaf sixth-century documentary papyrus codex from the Hermopolite, is catalogued in Crum's 1905 *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, its text, as Crum admits,² is in Greek, with some Coptic letters in the spellings of the proper names. Each page has three columns: the first is of personal names with patronymics and/or names of occupations or epithets; some names of ecclesiastical institutions also occur.³ The second column consists of amounts in keratia or nomismatia. The third column is of amounts preceded by signs originally interpreted by Crum as being signs for amounts of wheat⁴ (and myriads of them), but correctly reinterpreted by Gascou as being the signs for talents and myriads of talents.⁵ The first twenty leaves⁶ are dated in order from Thoth through Pachon⁷ of a tenth indiction (fol. 20v) *merismos* which was probably A.D. 546. However, in the Hermopolite the indiction year probably started in early Pachon,⁸ so perhaps still more is missing at the beginning.

One's first question about this document is, what is the reason for recording amounts in these two different kinds of terms, in which clearly the amounts in the second and third columns are meant to be equivalent? Crum mistakenly thought that the nom./ker. amounts in the second column were the prices of the amounts of grain in the third column; but these correspond to no known grain prices in the sixth century.⁹ Gascou correctly saw that both amounts are of money. What is being indicated is a correlation between the amounts in (notional) gold (i.e. money of account), in the second column, and the amounts in bronze, i.e. the actual small currency in circulation in Egypt,¹⁰ in the third. This double-column system helped the *pragmateutes*¹¹ keep track of his quotas, since taxes were actually collected in bronze of small denominations, not in non-existent fractional gold.¹² The tax collectors could then take this bronze and buy gold with it on the market to make up the required amount.¹³

¹I would like to thank Roger Bagnall, for his helpful criticism; David Findley, for his calculator; and Klaas Worp, for helping me see the difference between a rho and a sampi. Also Janet and Jim Timbie, Sysse Engberg, and Laura Hoeger. And, as always, Mirrit Boutros Ghali, who was pleased with my initial effort at transcribing the papyrus.

²BM, p. 445b.

³'The Holy Church,' i.e. the basilica of Hermopolis, and the Church of the Holy Martyr(s): for preliminary remarks see L.S.B. MacCoull, 'Money and people in the late antique Hermopolite: BM 1075 and related texts,' *Tyche* 2 (1987) 99-105, here esp. 102-103.

⁴BM, p. 446a.

⁵J. Gascou, 'Les codices documentaires égyptiens,' in *Les débuts du codex* (Turnhout 1989) 84. For the late antique myriads sign cf. PSI XIII 1342 (pl. 11).

⁶The outermost leaf, which would have been (probably) blank on its outside (recto) and contained the first *selis* of accounts on its inside (verso), has been lost. What we have begins with β σελ(ίς) (fol. 1r).

⁷By Payni taxes would normally have been falling due.

⁸*CSBE*, p. 21.

⁹As Crum himself admitted: BM, p. 446a.

¹⁰On talents in the sixth century cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta 1985) 17; J.-M. Carrié in *Les dévaluations à Rome* 2 (Rome 1980) 258.

¹¹Named John on fols. 10v, 21v. Also named are Tatianos from Hermopolis and Victor the *gnoster*.

¹²Cf. P. Grierson, *Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections* (Washington, D.C., 1992) 258.

¹³R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (draft, 1991; Princeton, forthcoming) 152-153; cf. J.-P. Callu, 'Le tarif d'Abydos et la réforme monétaire d'Anastase,' in *Actes 9e Congr.int.num.* II (Louvain-la-Neuve 1982) 740.

As to the sums, the first thing we see is that one solidus (nomismation) in this document equals or contains 18 keratia.¹⁴ In every case the sum of one solidus in the left-hand column is shown as the equivalent of the sum of 17,000 talents (T. 1 myr. + 7,000) in the right-hand column. In the thirteen instances where '18 keratia' is listed on the left, its equivalent is also 17,000 T.¹⁵ Therefore we may reason that 1 solidus = 18 keratia, since they both equal 17,000 T.

From additional equivalences standard throughout the document, such as '3 ker. = 2800 T.' and '6 ker. = 5600 T.,' we can obtain a ratio for reckoning of 1 ker. = 933 1/3 T. This in fact holds throughout the document. As Bagnall pointed out to me (*per litt.* 10.x.90), 'The writer apparently had 100 talents as his module ... (and always wanted to have) a round number in the column with talents.' In fact both scribes¹⁶ customarily round up or down to arrive at a talents number ending in round hundreds. In the above case of the solidus equivalence, the figure 17,000 (for 1 sol.) is itself rounded up from 16,800 (933 1/3 x 18). Our other basic standard equivalence, used throughout the document, is 1 ker. = 900 T., the latter simply rounded down from 933 1/3.¹⁷ In other words, the scribe does not vary his ratio (which remains at 1 ker. = 933 1/3 T.): he simply multiplies and then rounds up or down to the nearest hundred. A case where the practice of rounding to the nearest hundred and these two standard equivalences (for 1 ker. and 1 sol.) conflict can be seen in our document's standard equivalence for 9 keratia. Although 9 x 933 1/3 would be 8400 T., the scribe always gives 9 ker. = 8500 T., the latter being exactly half of a solidus (half of 17,000). Indeed, some of what I have termed the roundings up or down may in fact come from dividing 17,000 by various divisors. As Bagnall has reminded me, they may also be calculated so as to give the largest possible profit or cut to the tax-collector.

Where did this 100-talent module come from, and what is its usefulness other than ease of manipulating the computations? A central piece of literary evidence much analyzed in studies of sixth-century coinage and currency is Procopius' statement¹⁸ that in 538/39 (the year of his edict on Egypt) Justinian changed the value of the (24-ct.) solidus from 210 to 180 folles, i.e. from 8400 to 7200 nummi.¹⁹ It was also in 539 that he introduced, in Egypt only, the bronze coin inscribed ΛΓ, i.e. 33 nummi, alongside the more common 12-nummi (IB) bronze piece.²⁰ This 7200-nummus solidus would mean that one keration (of 300 nummi) would be made up of 25 of the 12-nummi coins. It would also be made up of just about 9 of the 33-nummi coins (33 x 9 = 297). In BM 1075, one keration is reckoned as 900 T., i.e. 9 x 100 T. This would lead to the equation that one 33-nummi coin was the equivalent of 100 T. Here is our scribes' module.

In his study 'Monnaie d'or et monnaie de bronze dans l'Égypte protobyzantine'²¹ Carrié showed twelve years ago that 'the creation of the 33-nummi coin would have had in Egypt the

¹⁴Gascou's '19' (*Débuts*, p. 84) must be a misprint for '18.'

¹⁵Fols. 11r 5, 15, 15r 27, 28, 30, 15v 4, 5, 18r 3, 21, 18v 7, 19v 16, 18, 20v 16, 17.

¹⁶Crum and Gascou discerned two distinct hands.

¹⁷Bagnall confirms to me that 933 1/3 is a 'normal' carat, i.e. 1/24th of a 'normal' 24-ct. solidus of 22,400 T. for this period (lb. of gold at 1.6 million talents).

¹⁸*Anecd.* 25.11-12, cf. 22.38.

¹⁹P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London-Berkeley 1982) 46 (with 1 foll. = 40 nummi). W. Hahn proposed rather a date of 542: 'Sixth-Century Small Change from Egypt,' *NumChron* 140 (1980) 64-70. For Callu's table of ratios and weights see Callu, 'Tarif d'Abydos' (above n. 13), 738.

²⁰Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 68-69; cf. 52-53, 60-61. This latter coin continued Egypt's duodecimal system of denominations (3, 6, etc.). Cf. Carrié in *Dévaluations*. (above n. 10) 262. Could Fl. Strategius Apion, the famous *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 535-38 whose family were from the Oxyrhynchite, have had anything to do with introducing the new 33-nummi coin for Egypt?

²¹Above n. 10.

effect of making the value of 100 talents coincide with an actual coin.²² Notionally the figure 900 in our document is rounded down from 933 1/3, but it both gives ease of calculation in the column that counts actual bronze (what the taxes were actually collected in) and reckons in terms of a real coin that was paid into the tax-collector's hands. This is why BM 1075 uses the 100-talent module: it corresponded to Egyptian reality at that time.

We have seen that our document regularly uses a solidus containing 18 keratia.²³ This places it right in the Hermopolite continuum of '1 sol. παρὰ 6 ker.' in the table in CPR VII (1979) p. 158, beginning with an attestation from A.D. 545 (P.Lond. III 1319), providing another instance for Carrié's remarks on 'local gold standards.'²⁴ (The accountants of BM 1075, with two anomalous exceptions, do not use the expression παρὰ;²⁵ they just operate regularly with an 18-ct. solidus.) Since our first attestation of the 18-ct. solidus from the Hermopolite is from 545, the tenth indiction specified for the *merismos*²⁶ in BM 1075 could well be that beginning in the summer of 546, when 33-nummi coins had been circulating in the Egyptian countryside for eight years or so. The pages with totals and grand totals give us the amount of tax assessment for the village of Temseuskordon for a single indiction. Fol. 21r states, 'On behalf of the *pakton*, sol. 354 of full weight, counted at 25,000 T. Likewise on behalf of support allowance (*dapane*) for the assistant, 180,000 T. Total 9,030,000 T.' (This is correct, (354 x 25,000 =) 8,850,000 + 180,000.) 'For the first *eispraxis*, 7,862,200 T.' Comparing with fol. 23r on which the totals for each page are listed and added up, we find there 'Eispraxis of the village, 7,345,300 T., plus for the topos Demeou 526,900 T. (this is a correct sum from fol. 22, arrived at by totalling the page totals of fols. 25 through 27), total 7,862,200 T.' (the same amount). The few richest individuals and the ecclesiastical institutions bear the greater part of the burden, being assessed not at a few small coins but in multiples of solidi.²⁷ This document will furnish an abundance of statistics for studies of village economy, wealth and taxation in Byzantine Egypt. Of course many of my data depend on and will have to be correlated with Worp's and Carrié's eagerly awaited forthcoming results on sixth-century gold prices.

I have not determined what the order of tax collection was, or whether a geographical or house-by-house pattern can be detected, hence how this text may reflect or reproduce the topography of the village of Temseuskordon. What we see here is that a single Egyptian village is generating almost five pounds of gold²⁸ in tax revenue probably near the time when Belisarius was fighting in Italy and Khusro I was attacking the Byzantine frontier in

²²Ibid., 262; cf. 258 where he demonstrates the equation 100 T. = 1 follis. This would lead one to think that at any rate in Egypt during this period the word 'follis' designated the ΑΓ bronze coin (cf. his Table II, p. 260). For the coin itself cf. *DOC* I, no. 273, pp. 156-157, pl. 41. It continued to be issued until the end of Justinian's reign (Carrié, p. 263). A payment of 1 ker. was 9 of these coins. For 6th-c. folleis cf. also F. Morelli, 'Moneta bronzea e moneta aurea,' this volume.

²³On fols. 14r, 15v, 18r we find (sol.) εὔσταθμα; on 21r, as seen by Gascou, we find such solidi ἀπό ('counted at,' Carrié, pp. 254-255) 25,000 T. See below.

²⁴Carrié, pp. 266-269, with table p. 268. On fol. 3v we find the sum of 18 εὔσταθμα solidi ζυγῶ Ἄντ(ινουπόλεως); on fol. 4r we find 7 solidi ζυγῶ τῆς κάμης; while on fol. 21v we find solidi ὀβ(ρύζου) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας).

²⁵Cf. P.Wash.Univ. II (1990) p. 125 (note on 88); P.Lugd.-Bat. XXV (1991) p. 259 (note on 77): '...for regulation of the relationship between different kinds of money used in accounting and/or paying.' Carrié extended his remarks on this in *PSI Congr.XVII* (Florence 1983) 112-116 (on no. 30). J. Durliat, 'La valeur relative de l'or, de l'argent et du cuivre dans l'empire protobyzantin (IVe-VIIIe siècle,' *RN* 6 ser. 22 (1980) 152-153, emphasized rather the necessity of pre-deducting the money-changers' fee of 25%.

²⁶Compare the literature cited in *P.Lugd.-Bat.* XXV, *ibid.*

²⁷MacCoull, 'Money and people' (above n. 3) 102-104.

²⁸Cf. above n. 17.

Mesopotamia.²⁹ This 'gold' for the tax was nearly all collected in small bronze coins, 100 talents (one 33-nummi piece) at a time.

²⁹Not to imply that these wars required higher taxes.

MONETA BRONZEA E MONETA AUREA IN P.OXY. 2196

Federico Morelli

Quello del rapporto tra moneta aurea e moneta bronzea¹ nell'Egitto bizantino è un tema per il quale siamo singolarmente poveri di informazioni, nonostante l'abbondanza di dati concernenti i vari aspetti della vita economica conservatici dalla documentazione papiracea. Questo per una serie di motivi, tra i quali non ultimo l'affermarsi della moneta aurea, almeno come moneta di conto e come scala dei valori anche per le transazioni meno importanti. Più raramente viene citata la moneta bronzea, e spesso con una terminologia che non trova corrispondenza nei pezzi effettivamente in circolazione o nelle conoscenze che ci vengono da fonti diverse da quelle papirologiche. Un rapido sguardo al capitolo di Johnson e West sui termini monetari nell'Egitto bizantino² può dare un'idea delle incertezze e della confusione che regnano sull'argomento. Pochi sono i documenti dai quali sia possibile ricavare qualche informazione sul rapporto tra la moneta bronzea effettivamente circolante -ma vedremo come anche questa definizione non sia affatto sicura- e la valuta aurea. Si tratta poi nella maggior parte dei casi di ipotesi, di supposizioni più o meno ingegnose e convincenti, ben lontane però dall'essere dimostrate e, allo stato attuale delle cose, dimostrabili. In conclusione è questo un campo nel quale per adesso dobbiamo accontentarci di proporre delle ipotesi, di presentare delle possibilità, cercando di conferire ad esse il maggior grado possibile di verosimiglianza.

In quest'ottica vanno prese in considerazione le informazioni che è in grado di offrirci il P.Oxy. 2196. Si tratta di un breve conto o più propriamente di un estratto conto, di un resoconto,³ di una delle proprietà degli Apioni databile al 586 o al 587,⁴ nel quale sono riassunte entrate in grano e in denaro, e uscite in grano, in denaro, e in generi alimentari. Venendo subito a queste ultime, abbiamo (ll. 11-13):

† τῶν ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Ἐπειφ κβ ἕως κθ ἡμ[ε]ρ(ῶν) ἡ ἡμερουσ(ίως) ἄρ(των) λί(τραι)
ρν οἶν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ιζ κρ(έως) ν εἰς φόλ(λεις) ρν
ἐλαί(ου) ξ(έσται) σδ γί(νονται) τῶν ἡ ἡμερ(ῶν) ἄρ(των) λί(τραι) , ασ οἶν(ου)
κνίδ(ια) ρλς κρ(έως) ν εἰς φόλ(λεις) , ασ
ἐλαί(ου) ξ(έσται) ν

¹ Intendendo la definizione di moneta bronzea nella sua accezione più ampia, ormai consolidata anche se spesso impropria, secondo la quale sotto questa denominazione viene incluso tutto ciò che non è moneta aurea o moneta argentea: per il periodo bizantino si tratta per lo più di monete di rame con piccolissime percentuali di altri metalli, cfr. J. Hammer, 'Die Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen', in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 26 (1908), pp. 139-142.

² A. C. Johnson - L. C. West, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton 1944 (da ora in poi citato come *Currency*), pp. 111-139.

³ C. H. Roberts, editore del documento, lo intendeva come "only a draft for a text such as 2195". Che nel nostro caso si tratti di un abbozzo per un conto più dettagliato, quale ad esempio è il citato P.Oxy. 2195, mi sembra in realtà discutibile: il nostro documento inizia alle ll. 1 ss. con un'intestazione nella quale sono dettagliatamente indicati i destinatari, il contenuto del documento e in maniera implicita il mittente. Una simile intestazione mal si concilia con l'opinione di Roberts, tanto più che di solito, i conti che ci rimangono per l'οἶκος degli Apioni, o ne sono privi o sono comunque introdotti in maniera più sbrigativa. In secondo luogo è poco verosimile che si stenda prima un abbozzo sommario per ricavarne poi un conto dettagliato. P.Oxy. 2196 sarà stato piuttosto una sorta di riassunto, di resoconto finale estratto da un conto più dettagliato, da inviare ai proprietari o comunque ai livelli centrali dell'amministrazione dell'οἶκος.

⁴ Cfr. J. Gascou, 'Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine', *T&MByz.* 9 (1985), p. 68 n. 383.

Sono dunque indicati il periodo per il quale sono fatte le consegne, il numero dei giorni coperti, le quantità di generi giornalieri, consistenti in 150 libbre di pane, 17 *dipla* di vino, 50 libbre⁵ di carne, seguite da una spesa di 150 *folles*, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *xestai* d'olio; seguono le quantità totali per gli 8 giorni. Il numero delle persone interessate non è indicato, ma è evidente come tutte le quantità di generi consegnate, ad eccezione del vino, per il quale si incontra qualche piccola difficoltà, per altro facilmente superabile, siano agevolmente divisibili per 50: si ottengono così razioni individuali di 3 libbre di pane, 1 libbra di carne, $\frac{1}{8}$ *xestes* d'olio; per la quantità di vino avremmo con *dipla*⁶ da 6 *xestai* un totale giornaliero di 102 *xestai*, da cui si ricaverebbero 51 razioni da 2 *xestai*, con una razione quindi di avanzo.⁷ Ci troviamo quindi di fronte a 50 razioni,⁸ una delle quali include per un qualche motivo una razione doppia di vino.⁹ La razione che si è ottenuta corrisponde a quella assegnata agli στρατιῶται τῶν Σκυθῶν di P.Oxy. 1920, fatta eccezione per la quantità di pane, di 4 libbre in P.Oxy. 1920, di 3 nel nostro documento, pari dunque a quella assegnata a queste stesse truppe, oltre che a 'militari' di altre categorie, in P.Oxy. 2046, nel quale però la razione di carne è di 2 libbre. Il nostro documento si colloca per ambiente e per argomento molto vicino ai già citati P.Oxy. 1920 e 2046. Per quel che riguarda la datazione il P.Oxy. 2196 è di poco più di 20 anni posteriore agli altri due, databili il primo al 563,¹⁰ il secondo al 564.¹¹

Johnson e West dunque, facendo riferimento ai prezzi indicati in valuta aurea in P.Oxy. 1920 per gli stessi generi che troviamo nel nostro documento, cercano di calcolare il rapporto

⁵L'unità di misura per la carne non è indicata nel papiro; si tratterà tuttavia di λίτραί come in P.Oxy. 1920 e P.Oxy. 2046, nei quali questa unità di misura è data normalmente, come qui, soltanto per il pane; che anche per la carne si tratti di λίτραί è comunque fuori di dubbio, come risulta da P.Oxy. 1920, 16.

⁶Si noterà l'equiparazione tra *dipla* e *knidia*, come in P.Oxy. 1951.

⁷Con le altre varie capacità possibili, ma meno frequenti, per *knidia* e *dipla*, per le quali cfr. L. Casson, 'Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt', *TAPhA* 70 (1939), pp. 5-7, si ottengono razioni tra $1\frac{1}{3}$ e $2\frac{2}{3}$ *xestai*.

⁸Cfr. anche A. C. Johnson - L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt. Economic Studies*, Princeton 1949 (da ora in poi citato come *Byzantine Egypt*), pp. 227-228.

⁹Può darsi comunque che la razione in più risulti unicamente dal fatto che, dovendosi indicare un numero tondo di *dipla*, con questi vasi non era possibile fare niente di più preciso. Non è detto del resto che tutti i contenitori fossero riempiti alla stessa maniera, cfr. anche R. M. Fleischer, *Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt*, Diss. New York 1956, p. 72.

¹⁰La datazione indicata dagli editori, "Late sixth century" e "about 550-560" nell'introduzione al papiro, per la presenza del patrio Atanasio, è stata precisata da R. Rémondon, 'Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou', *Rech. Pap.* I (1961), p. 72: si sa infatti che Atanasio ha ricoperto la carica di duca della Tebaide due volte (cfr. P.Cair.Masp. 67002. III. 9), la seconda delle quali si può collocare tra il 567 e il 570 (cfr. per la cronologia di Atanasio, J. Maspero, 'Les papyrus Beaugé', *BIFAO* 10 [1912], pp. 132-147 e bibliografia ivi citata); la 11ª indizione alla quale è datato P.Oxy. 1920 sarà dunque da collocare nell'anno 563.

¹¹Gli editori ne davano una datazione generica al tardo VI secolo, ed aggiungevano nelle annotazioni (p. 268) che il papiro doveva essere cronologicamente vicino a P.Oxy. 1903 -datato per l'era di Ossirinco al 561- nel quale compaiono alcuni dei buccellari presenti in P.Oxy. 2046. Una datazione più precisa di P.Oxy. 2046, al 563, è indicata da R. Rémondon, *cit.*, p. 72, il quale si basa evidentemente sulle indizioni: il periodo preso in considerazione dal conto conservato in P.Oxy. 2046, ossia la seconda metà di *Pauni* e l'inizio di *Epeiph* della 12ª indizione, sarebbe da identificare, per la vicinanza di cui si è parlato con il P.Oxy. 1903, con il giugno -luglio del 563; ciò è sostenibile presupponendo che l'anno indizionale avesse inizio in *Pachon*. Ma come mostrano in modo convincente R. S. Bagnall - K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Zutphen 1978, pp. 26-27, in Ossirinco si faceva riferimento nelle datazioni ad un anno indizionale corrispondente grosso modo a quello costantinopolitano, con inizio quindi dal 1 *Thoth*. Il periodo *Pauni* - *Epeiph* verrebbe quindi a cadere non all'inizio, ma alla fine dell'indizione. Poiché la 12ª indizione corrisponde al 563-564, il P.Oxy. 2046 sarebbe da collocare nel giugno - luglio del 564. Ciò troverebbe conferma tra l'altro, nel fatto che l'anno indizionale con inizio al 1 *Thoth* è utilizzato per la datazione in P.Oxy. 2480, cfr. Th. Skeat, citato nell'introduzione al papiro e Bagnall - Worp, *cit.*, p. 26 n. 20. Si tratta di un confronto di valore particolare, essendo il P.Oxy. 2480 un documento molto vicino al nostro per ambiente, per tipologia e per collocazione cronologica (565-566).

di commutazione tra *folles* e *nomismata* e scrivono:¹² "It is probably safe to conclude from P. Oxy 2196 that the follis is a sizeable coin. An artaba of wheat gave 80 lbs. of bread and 10 artabas were worth 1 s., 25 dipla of wine 1 s., and 120 lbs. of meat 1 s. (P.O. 1920). On this basis the daily supply of rations in P.Oxy. 2196 should cost between 1 1/4-1 1/3 s. and 120 folles should equal 30-32 c. or approximately 1 c. = 4 folles. Evidently the follis here is not the single coin, but the leather container which is also called the follis. According to the Metr. Scr. (II. 309) there were 125 coins in each bag." Il procedimento non è arbitrario - purché si prendano i dati così ottenuti soltanto come indice di un ordine di grandezze - per un periodo come il VI secolo, che mostra una certa stabilità per i prezzi dei generi alimentari, quando questi siano calcolati in oro. Il prezzo indicato per il grano in P.Oxy. 1920, di circa 10 *artabai* per *nomisma*, rientra perfettamente nella normalità.¹³ Il prezzo del vino, di 25 *dipla* (= 150 *xestai*)¹⁴ per *nomisma*, si colloca nella classe definita da Casson come "medium grade"¹⁵ e non c'è motivo di pensare che molto diversa fosse la qualità del vino assegnato agli uomini di P.Oxy. 2196, uomini che si è detto saranno appartenuti alla stessa categoria di quelli di P.Oxy. 1920 e che sono riforniti nello stesso ambiente.¹⁶ Anche per la carne¹⁷ difficilmente ci saranno state grosse differenze qualitative¹⁸ e di prezzo.¹⁹ I prezzi dell'olio in questa sede non interessano: la somma di denaro indicata in P.Oxy. 2196 sicuramente non comprende l'olio, essendo riportata prima di questo genere tanto nella registrazione giornaliera quanto in quella per gli otto giorni per i quali i nostri uomini sono riforniti dall'azienda degli Apioni.

Da notare tuttavia come il risultato ottenuto da Johnson e West, di circa 4 *folles* per *keration*, quand'anche fosse corretto il loro ragionamento, sia errato: la somma indicata nel P.Oxy. 2196 è infatti di 150 e non di 120 *folles*.²⁰ Dunque 150 *folles* : 30-32 *keratia* = 5-4,6875 *folles* per *keration*. In secondo luogo la testimonianza di Epifanio citata dai due studiosi americani non ha valore per il nostro caso, in quanto Epifanio parla esplicitamente di 125

¹²Currency, p. 136.

¹³Cfr. A. C. Johnson - L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁴In P.Oxy. 1920 il prezzo del vino è indicato come 25 *dipla* per *nomisma*, senza distinguere tra i due tipi di *dipla* utilizzati in questo conto, da 6 e, molto più raramente, da 4 (o da 8 ?) *xestai*. Anche il totale di l. 17 è ottenuto sommando i *dipla*, come se fossero tutti dello stesso tipo. Il fatto che per i *dipla* da 8 *xestai* si dia esplicitamente il numero di *xestai* contenuti in ogni *diployn* nella forma τῶν ξ(εστῶν) η δι(πλοῦ) α, mentre per i *dipla* da 6 *xestai* il rapporto sia indicato implicitamente con l'equivalenza tra il totale degli *xestai* ed il totale dei *dipla*, insieme al fatto che questi ultimi siano quelli utilizzati più spesso in questo conto, fa pensare che quelli da 6 *xestai* fossero considerati come i *dipla* normali. Il prezzo corretto in *xestai* deve dunque essere considerato quello di 150 (= 25 *dipla* x 6 *xestai*) per *nomisma*. Questo prezzo è riportato infatti per P.Oxy. 1920 da L. Casson, *art. cit.*, p. 12 (n° 31 nella tabella). Johnson - West considerano invece il prezzo del vino come se fosse calcolato per *dipla* da 8 *xestai*, quindi di 200 *xestai* per *nomisma*, come risulta dalla somma di 9 1/2 *nomismata* che essi ricavano come valore del trattamento complessivo degli στρατιῶται τῶν Σκυθῶν, cfr. *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 226.

¹⁵*Art. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶Anche nei P.Oxy. 1920 e 2046 le razioni di vino assegnate a uomini di grado diverso differiscono soltanto per quantità, mai per qualità.

¹⁷Per la quale si sarà trattato probabilmente di carne conservata, come sembra risultare da P.Oxy. 2013 nel quale alcuni soldati ricevono la loro razione di carne per tutto il mese di *Mesore* nel primo giorno del mese.

¹⁸Nei P.Oxy. 1920 e 2046 non c'è niente che possa far pensare a differenze qualitative tra le razioni di carne assegnate alle diverse categorie di militari che compaiono in questi documenti. Il tribuno Οὐλιώρ, le cui razioni in P.Oxy. 2046 si distinguono dalle altre per essere notevolmente migliori sia da un punto di vista quantitativo che qualitativo, riceve giornalmente insieme a 4 libbre di carne 2 ὀρνίθια.

¹⁹Per altri prezzi della carne, non molto diversi dal nostro, anche se abbastanza dislocati cronologicamente, cfr. R. S. Bagnall, 'Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt', *BASP Suppl.* 5, Missoula 1985, p. 8.

²⁰Il numero di 120 sarà stato introdotto da Johnson e West per via del prezzo della carne, del quale parlano poco prima, e che è appunto di 120 libbre per *nomisma*.

monete di argento²¹ e non di bronzo, come intendono invece Johnson e West.²² Queste osservazioni sono comunque di secondaria importanza ai fini del problema che ci interessa. Sta di fatto che la *ratio* di commutazione di 4 *folles* per *keration*, secondo l'errato calcolo di Johnson e West, come anche quella di circa 4,7-5 *folles* per *keration*, sono totalmente prive di confronti e attribuirebbero al *follis* un valore nei confronti dell'oro notevolmente superiore a quella che è la norma attestata dalla documentazione di carattere numismatico, giuridico, letterario e soprattutto papirologico. Ciò costringe, come si è visto, a cercare una comoda soluzione -mancando totalmente dati che possano smentirla, come anche confermarla- nella possibilità di intendere il *follis* come una borsa piena di monete.²³

Rivolgendo subito l'attenzione alla documentazione papirologica, raccolta da J.-M. Carrié,²⁴ va citato innanzitutto SPP XX 218, nel quale si legge a ll. 29-30 $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \phi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi$; dunque 1 *keration* = 12 *folles*, 1 *nomisma* = 288 *folles* = 11520 *nummi*. Il documento era datato da Wessely al VII secolo, mentre Carrié, in base a considerazioni di ordine monetario, ne proponeva una datazione al VI, e più precisamente al tempo di Giustiniano.²⁵ In realtà la datazione al VII secolo indicata da Wessely deve essere mantenuta: le nostre conoscenze sulla *ratio* effettivamente applicata in Egitto sono così scarse ed incerte da non permettere decise prese di posizione.²⁶ In ogni caso la stessa *ratio* di 12 *folles* per *keration* si ritrova in P.Lond. 1435²⁷ del 715-716.

In secondo luogo abbiamo P.Cair.Masp. 67145 dal quale, secondo la convincente interpretazione di Carrié,²⁸ si ricaverebbe una *ratio* di 15 1/2 *folles* per *keration* (ma anche di 16 a l. 20, se non si tratta di una approssimazione come pensa invece Carrié, e di 15,25 a l. 22).²⁹ La datazione proposta da Carrié, al periodo tra la riforma monetaria di Anastasio e la prima riforma di Giustiniano (498-538) o a quello della circolazione in Egitto dei pezzi marcati ΛΓ (538-565)³⁰ è fondata su considerazioni di ordine monetario, e per quanto verosimile allo stato attuale delle conoscenze -mancano totalmente solidi punti di riferimento cronologici per quel che riguarda la *ratio* di commutazione tra *folles* e *nomismata* in Egitto-, non deve indurre in errori di carattere metodologico. P.Cair.Masp. 67145 non può assolutamente essere considerato a sua volta un riferimento cronologico, un'attestazione cioè del fatto che per i

²¹Cfr. M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 339-340.

²²Cfr. *Currency*, p. 137.

²³Per l'uso di borse piene di monete e sigillate cfr. A. H. M. Jones, 'The Origin and Early History of the *Follis*', in *The Roman Economy*, Oxford 1974, pp. 330-338 = *JRS* 49 (1959), pp. 343-348 e M. F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-344.

²⁴J.-M. Carrié, 'Monnaie d'or et monnaie de bronze dans l'Égypte protobyzantine', in *Les «dévaluations» à Rome. Époque républicaine et impériale. 2*, Gdansk 19-21 octobre 1978, Roma 1980, p. 260.

²⁵J.-M. Carrié, *cit.*, p. 263.

²⁶Scettico sulla possibilità di mettere in stretta relazione i dati concernenti l'Egitto con quelli che abbiamo per il resto dell'impero è anche Ph. Grierson, 'Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire. 498 - c. 1090', in *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo*, (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 8) Spoleto 1961, p. 439. Lo stesso Carrié del resto concorda adesso con la datazione di Wessely: la presenza della formula trinitaria in SPP XX 218 non consente una datazione al VI secolo, cfr. R. S. Bagnall - K. A. Worp, 'Christian Invocations in the Papyri', *CdE* 56 (1981), pp. 112-133, in particolare p. 130. SPP XX 218, insieme ad altri documenti, è erroneamente riportato da Bagnall e Worp, *cit.*, p. 125, sotto la formula 2D: si tratta in realtà della 2E.

²⁷Cfr. in particolare la sezione del conto conservata nel foglio 2 b (ll. 21-38).

²⁸*cit.*, pp. 254-258.

²⁹Carrié, *cit.*, p. 255, calcola anche una *ratio* di 15 *folles* a l. 26, dove abbiamo un'equivalenza tra 275 *folles* da un lato e 17 *keratia* e 11 1/2 *folles* dall'altro. Ma $275 - 11 \frac{1}{2} = 263 \frac{1}{2} : 17 = 15,5$.

³⁰Queste date in realtà indicano soltanto il periodo nel quale venivano coniate queste monete, che avranno però continuato a circolare anche successivamente.

periodi indicati da Carrié fosse in vigore in Egitto la *ratio* di commutazione di 15,5. Per quanto una tale precisazione possa sembrare banale e scontata è bene tenerla sempre ben presente.

La stessa *ratio* di 15,5 *folles* per *keration*, come osserva ancora Carrié,³¹ potrebbe ritrovarsi -anche se in realtà non esattamente-, in PSI 963, datato al 578, se con *liton* si intendesse qui il pezzo da 5 *nummi*, cioè da $\frac{1}{8}$ *folles*. Infatti a ll. 20-21 abbiamo un'equivalenza secondo la quale 8 *keratia* = 1000 *lita*, vale a dire 1 *keration* = 125 *lita*; $125 : 8 = 15,625$. Va notato tuttavia che: a) la moneta marcata ϵ non è mai stata conosciuta in Egitto, dove come ben si sa, si seguiva un sistema particolare secondo il quale venivano coniate pezzi marcati IB, e solo in certi periodi $\Lambda\Gamma$, ζ , Γ , e A. Non si riesce quindi a vedere come mai in PSI 963 si sarebbe indicata una equivalenza tra una moneta di conto come il *keration* ed un'altra moneta come quella da 5 *nummi*, neppure essa in circolazione in Egitto; b) non mi è chiaro come in PSI 963 si sarebbe potuto utilizzare un termine sconosciuto in altre parti dell'impero come termine monetario e con ogni probabilità riferito in Egitto solitamente a monete circolanti, per indicare una moneta praticamente ignota; c) ancora, secondo Johnson - West³² con *liton* si intenderebbe in Egitto il pezzo normalmente circolante marcato IB. Con questa moneta si otterrebbero 1500 *nummi*, cioè 37,5 *folles* per *keration*, risultato questo abbastanza vicino alla *ratio* possibile -anche se molto incerta- ricavabile da P.Oxy. 1921 (560-570), di 40 *folles* per *keration*.³³ Alternative potrebbero essere la moneta marcata ζ , con la quale si otterrebbero 750 *nummi*, cioè 18,75 *folles* per *keration*, molto vicino dunque ai 18 riportati da Durliat nella sua tabella per questi stessi anni,³⁴ o altrimenti la moneta marcata Γ , con la quale avremmo 9,375 *folles* per *keration*, che potrebbero trovare un confronto nella *ratio* calcolata da Hahn per gli anni tra 550 e 565, e tra 578/9 e 585, di 9 *folles* per *keration*.³⁵ Va detto d'altra parte che un calcolo esatto di 18, come di 9 *folles* per *keration* si sarebbe potuto ottenere più semplicemente con 120 *lita*.

SPP XX 244, datato genericamente al VI-VII, darebbe un rapporto tra *keration liton* e *follis* di 1 = 20. Che cosa si debba intendere per *keration liton* è però molto incerto.³⁶

Ancora più incerta la *ratio* che si potrebbe ottenere da P.Grenfell II. 87 (602), di 25 *folles* per *keration*.

Prendendo invece brevemente in considerazione i dati di Hahn,³⁷ avremmo 360 *folles* per *nomisma* negli anni tra il 498 e il 538, 210 tra 538 e 542, 180 tra 542 e 550, 216 tra 550 e 565, 525 tra 565 e 570, 720 tra 570 e 578/9, 216 tra 578/9 e 585, 600 dal 585 fino a circa il 590, 540 verso il 590. Va detto tuttavia che i dati di Hahn sono estremamente ipotetici, in quanto determinati da una serie di variazioni nella *ratio* AE/AV ricostruite dallo stesso Hahn e tutt'altro che dimostrabili. La sola variazione sicura per la *ratio* AE/AV è invece quella testimoniata da CJ X, 29, 1, in cui viene stabilito un cambio di 20 libbre AE per 1 *solidus* AV, diverso dunque da quello fissato precedentemente in CTh XI, 21, 2 (396), di 25 libbre AE per *solidus* AV. Mantenendo dunque il cambio del Codex Justinianus, abbiamo 360 *folles* per *nomisma* tra 498 e 538, 240 tra 538 e 542, 300 tra 542 e 548, 360 tra 548 e 565, 420 tra 565 e 570, 480 tra 570 e 578, 360 tra 578 e 580, 480 dal 580.³⁸ Variazioni regionali sono attestate

³¹Cit., p. 260.

³²Currency, p. 105.

³³W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Bizantini*, Wien 1973-1981 (da ora in poi: *MIB*), II p. 15, calcola per gli anni tra 570 e 578/9 una *ratio* di 30 *folles* per *keration*.

³⁴J. Durliat, 'La valeur relative de l'or, de l'argent et du cuivre dans l'empire protobyzantin (IV^e-VIII^e siècle)', *Revue Numismatique* 22 (1980), p. 149.

³⁵*MIB* I p. 26, II p. 15.

³⁶Cfr. Johnson-West, *Currency*, pp. 130-131.

³⁷*MIB* I pp. 23-27, II pp. 14-17.

³⁸Cfr. Durliat, *cit.*, p. 149.

per l'Italia (360 *folles* per *nomisma* tra 534 e 547, 300 tra 547 e 565, 480 [?] nel 565), e per l'Africa (360 *folles* per *nomisma* tra 582 e 602).

Il confronto con i dati che abbiamo citato impedirebbe, come si è visto, di intendere i *folles* di P.Oxy. 2196 come delle monete.

Tuttavia che la somma di 150 *folles* indicata in P.Oxy. 2196 dopo la quantità di carne debba essere riferita anche ai due generi che precedono, cioè pane e vino, è un presupposto di Johnson e West che non si appoggia su alcun elemento concreto: l'espressione ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθη che introduce le spese a l. 9 può essere riferita soltanto alle uscite in grano e in denaro di l. 10,³⁹ e comunque non può costituire un'argomentazione a favore dell'interpretazione di Johnson e West, in quanto, in ogni caso, non per tutti i generi registrati alle ll. 11-13 viene indicato il valore in denaro o la spesa: ciò non avviene sicuramente per l'olio. Né si può pensare che l'olio sia stato intenzionalmente relegato in ultima posizione, perché rimanesse separato dai generi ai quali sarebbe riferita la somma di denaro. Se è vero infatti che i generi alimentari sono indicati di regola secondo un ordine abbastanza standardizzato, secondo il quale il genere indicato in ultima posizione è più spesso il vino, è anche vero che in P.Oxy. 2046 l'olio occupa l'ultima posizione tra i generi alimentari, senza che ciò possa essere imputato a motivazioni particolari.

Per quel che riguarda l'uso della preposizione εἰς nei conti del periodo bizantino, è naturalmente difficile dire qualcosa di preciso, oltre al fatto che essa nei casi come il nostro è usata di solito per commutare - per dare cioè l'equivalenza - tra due cifre, due quantità, nel nostro caso quantità di generi e di denaro. Possiamo tuttavia citare ancora P.Oxy. 2046, nel quale a proposito della quantità di vino, a l. 15 si legge: δι(πλᾶ) ηι καὶ ξ(έσται) π εἰς δι(πλᾶ) ιη (γίνεται) δι(πλᾶ) κςL, dove εἰς indica la commutazione soltanto tra la cifra immediatamente precedente e quella successiva, mentre il totale complessivo, comprensivo cioè anche della prima quantità di vino, è introdotto da γίνεται.

La somma di 150 *folles* dunque può benissimo essere riferita alla sola quantità di carne. Del resto in P.Oxy. 1920 i prezzi e le spese sono indicati per i singoli generi, e non cumulativamente.⁴⁰ 50 libbre di carne costerebbero in tal caso 150 *folles*, cioè 3 *folles* per 1 libbra. Al prezzo di P.Oxy. 1920, di 120 libbre per *nomisma*, cioè di 0,2 *keratia* per 1 libbra, avremmo per queste stesse 50 libbre una spesa di 10 *keratia*. Otterremmo così un'equivalenza secondo la quale 150 *folles* = 10 *keratia*, secondo una *ratio* cioè di 15 *folles* per *keration* e di 360 *folles* per *nomisma*. La *ratio* di 360 *folles* per *nomisma* è quella che si ottiene con *folles* tagliati a 18 pezzi per libbra, secondo un rapporto tra bronzo e oro di 20 libbre per *nomisma* e, come si è visto, è quella adottata da Anastasio per la riforma monetaria del 498 e rimane in vigore fino al 538. Ricomparirebbe poi per il periodo dal 548 al 565, e ancora in seguito dal 578 al 580. Questa stessa *ratio* è in vigore a Cartagine tra il 582 e il 602, mentre a Costantinopoli il rapporto è di 480 *folles* per *nomisma*. Da tenere presente poi che se, come è stato sostenuto da più parti, tra le quali mi limito a citare Hahn,⁴¹ anche nel caso della moneta bronzea si trattava di una moneta reale, ed il suo valore era quindi determinato dal peso del metallo, i *folles* tagliati a 18 pezzi per libbra avranno continuato ad essere cambiati secondo la vecchia *ratio* di 360 per *nomisma* anche quando, per l'alleggerimento delle nuove monete, il

³⁹A questo proposito è da notare la presenza delle croci all'inizio delle ll. 1, 7, 9, 11, che sembrano dividere il conto in diverse sezioni: a) intestazione; b) entrate in grano e in denaro; c) uscite in grano e in denaro, introdotte dall'espressione ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθη; d) uscite di altro genere. Accettando una tale struttura per P.Oxy. 2196, le uscite in generi alimentari sarebbero del tutto indipendenti dalle entrate in grano e in denaro.

⁴⁰La stessa cosa avviene normalmente in altri documenti, come ad esempio nei numerosi conti di Afrodito del periodo arabo.

⁴¹MIB I p. 19.

cambio 'ufficiale' avesse subito delle variazioni.⁴² È possibile pensare dunque che anche nel 586 il *follis* potesse essere conteggiato a 15 pezzi al *keration*. Non devono essere dimenticati infine alcuni altri elementi che possono aver giocato un ruolo nella definizione del rapporto tra moneta aurea e moneta bronzea: innanzitutto la particolarità dell'Egitto rispetto al resto dell'impero: la zecca di Alessandria non ha mai coniato *folles* da 40 *nummi*, marcati M;⁴³ non sappiamo che cosa si intendesse in Egitto per *follis*, ed è possibile che in almeno certi casi si trattasse solo di una moneta di conto. Non farebbe difficoltà in tal caso pensare che si facesse riferimento alla *ratio* prevalente nel corso del secolo, che era poi quella adottata in origine, al tempo della riforma di Anastasio. In secondo luogo non deve essere trascurata la possibilità che ci fossero delle differenze tra cambio ufficiale e cambio realmente applicato negli scambi economici:⁴⁴ se così fosse, sarebbe questo secondo cambio che ci aspetteremmo di trovare nella documentazione papirologica.⁴⁵

⁴²È noto che le monete rimanevano in circolazione per periodi di tempo abbastanza lunghi, cfr. G. E. Bates, *Byzantine Coins*, (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis - Monograph 1.), Cambridge 1971, pp. 3 ss., e M. Egloff, *Kellia. La Poterie Copte*, (Recherches Suisses d'Archéologie Copte, Vol. III) Genève 1977, a proposito dei depositi H (p. 35) e S (p. 37). A questo proposito è da deplorare, oltre allo scarso numero di buone relazioni di scavo per quel che riguarda l'Egitto bizantino, il fatto che le principali collezioni di monete si siano formate per mezzo di acquisti: ciò impedisce di avere qualsiasi informazione sulla 'vita' delle monete: sulla loro longevità, sulla loro circolazione in aree geografiche diverse da quelle di coniazione, sulla loro diffusione in determinati ambienti, eccetera.

⁴³Opinione diversa in Hahn *MIB* II pp. 86-87, che attribuisce i *folles* del tempo della rivolta di Eraclio alla zecca di Alessandria, anziché a quella di Alessandretta in Siria. Ma cfr. M. F. Hendy, *op. cit.*, p. 415 e n. 188.

⁴⁴Come scrive J. Durliat, *art. cit.*, p. 139, la presenza di una legge non basta per stabilire se essa fosse applicata dagli agenti dello stato e se il prezzo legale fosse il prezzo medio del mercato libero.

⁴⁵Da menzionare anche la variabilità del rapporto tra bronzo e oro attestata da P.Oxy. 3628-3636 (V): il prezzo in miriadi di denari per il *nomisma* d'oro varia da regione a regione all'interno dell'Egitto e da una stagione all'altra nel corso dell'anno.

CROP ROTATION AND RENT PAYMENT IN OXYRHYNCHITE LAND LEASES: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTERPRETATIONS

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Papyrologists, and others who use the papyri, are so familiar with the character of land leases that they may easily cease to notice features which might strike the outside observer as quite remarkable: particularly how a highly standardised overall format contains almost infinite scope for variation over details, so that scarcely ever do we find two leases alike in all their provisions. Variation of rent level or in the location of land is to be expected; but the outsider may well be surprised at how much the character of the rent varies: whether it is paid in kind or in cash; and if in kind, in what sort of produce. Furthermore, a combination of different forms of rent is frequently specified within a single lease; while leases of more than one year's duration usually demand different forms of rent in successive years.¹

Given this immense richness and variation of detail, it is tempting to look to the land leases for an understanding of the economic changes which affected third-century Egypt.² Leases survive, particularly from Oxyrhynchus, in a plentiful series stretching from the early years of Roman rule through the period of alleged 'third-century crisis' and beyond.³ The currency depreciation is clearly reflected in the rapid inflation of the levels of money rent at the end of the third century; it is also observable that rents in wheat are on average higher in the second century than in either earlier or later centuries. But although attempts have been made to look at the balance of rents in kind and in money for signs that the currency depreciation had affected the monetisation of the economy, these attempts foundered on the observation that, despite the immense variation in types of rent, a highly consistent relation is preserved between types of rent payment and the crops to be sown on the land.⁴

Almost all Oxyrhynchite leases included a clause relating to the crops sown, even if this merely stated that the tenant should be free to choose.⁵ It was also normal for the rent clause to be verbally closely associated with the crop clause, making clear that the rent was regarded as essentially a charge, not on the land itself, but on the crop.

The conventions associating forms of rent with particular crops may be briefly summarised. On cereal crops, the rent was set in cereals: always wheat on a wheat crop, normally barley on a barley crop. Wheat was in fact the most universal medium for rent payment (as it was for tax payments on arable land), and might be used for rent on barley or on

¹ The standard studies of the Greek land leases from Egypt are J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der Gräco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Münchener Beiträge, 41), (München, 1958), and D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (München, 1967). Here documentation has been kept to a minimum for reasons of space; the Oxyrhynchite leases will be discussed and documented more fully in my forthcoming book on landholding in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

² See, for instance, K. Visky, 'Die Miet- und Pachtverträge in der Wirtschaftskrise des dritten Jahrhunderts', *JJP* 19 (1983) 27-40.

³ The present study is based on 114 Oxyrhynchite arable land leases between AD 50 and 350: those listed in P.Oxy. L 3489 introduction, omitting P.Harr. I 137, P.Michael. 23, P.Oxy. XIV 1631, 1692, L 3558, P.Ross.Georg. II 19, PSI XIII 1338; and adding P.Harr. II 224, P.Oxy. LV 3800, 3802, LVII 3911, SB XIV 12025.

⁴ G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Helsinki, 1932) 120ff., with comments by Hennig, *Unters. zur Bodenpacht* p. 107 note 28, and M.K. Hopkins, 'Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC-400 AD)', *JRS* 70 (1980) 101-25, at p.123.

⁵ The standard expression for this was 'ὥστε τοὺς μεμισθωμένους σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἰρῶνται χωρὶς ἰσάτεως καὶ ἔχομενίου'. P.Oxy. XLI 2973 has no crop clause, but is anomalous in being a *synchoresis*, and in several other respects.

any other arable crop, except flax. Flax was a rather special case, being subject to rent in cash or in tow, or commonly to a sharecropping agreement. Fodder crops⁶ were commonly subject to a cash rent; however, a low wheat rent was normal for *arakos* and is occasionally found on *chlora*. Fodder itself was not used for rent payments (except in sharecropping arrangements); but the other non-cereal arable crops, such as lentils and vegetable-seed (*lachanospermon*, an oil crop), could be used for rent payment where they were sown as a crop. A great variety of rents is found in leases which permitted the tenant to choose the crop.

This regular connection between crops grown and media of rent payment can be seen to persist right through the period of currency depreciation of the third and fourth centuries; and thus any change in the balance of rents in kind and money (and money rents are if anything more common in the late third century than earlier) reflects, not an untrammelled preference for one form of rent over the other, but simply a change in the crops grown.

And between the first and fourth centuries AD there are indeed noticeable changes in the balance of crops prescribed for cultivation. For a lengthy period between the later first century and the early third, the 'typical' Oxyrhynchite lease specifies the rotation of wheat and a fodder crop. Occasionally barley is included in the cereal half of the pattern; other crops are barely mentioned. The disparity of value between the rent on fodder and cereal crops could be evened out by specifying that each year of the lease half the land should be under each crop. Thus even leases of a single year's duration often make clear that crop rotation was being practised; however, many leases during this period lasted four years, unusually long in the overall context of Egyptian land leases.⁷

Leases which allow the tenant to choose the crop are not rare in the first and second centuries, but become considerably more common in the third century.⁸ How significant is this change? There is reason to think that leases which allow the tenant the choice of crop do not necessarily imply that the landlord showed no interest in the crops to be grown on his land, although undoubtedly this type of lease was particularly appropriate in circumstances where the landlord did not want, or was not in a position to be, closely involved with the management of the land.

If the tenant were genuinely to have a completely free choice of crops (other than *isatis* and *echomenion*) one would expect, in view of the conventional association of certain types of rent with particular crops, the rent to be set in a neutral medium: wheat, or indeed money if this could be divested of its association with fodder. But while we do find some apparently 'neutral' rents,⁹ in other cases the composition of the rent implies an association with certain crops. In particular, the tenant might still be expected to conform to a system of crop rotation.¹⁰

The third-century leases also include a greater diversity of crops, though again these might be accommodated within a 'two-field' pattern of rotation. Indeed, the neatness with which this is sometimes achieved is quite impressive, as in PSI IX 1072:

⁶ The only fodder crops attested in the Oxyrhynchite leases are *chlora* (greenfodder in general); *arakos* (chickling?); *hortos* (grass); and a mixture of the two latter crops.

⁷ P.Oxy. LV 3800 is a typical example of this type of lease.

⁸ 26.5% of IIc. leases preserving the relevant information, as opposed to 39.4% of IIIc. leases.

⁹ e.g. SB XII 11081 (8 art. wh. on 1³/₄ ar.). A high money rent was charged on land leased from the *ousia* of Isis of Taposiris (PSI IX 1036); cf. P.Oxy. XIV 1630, relating to the sublease of Claudia Isidora's property: the head-lessees on these large estates no doubt paid a money rent, and so passed on this form of rent to their own tenants.

¹⁰ e.g. BGU IV 1017: the use of $\xi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ for 'to sow' implies a fodder crop.

PAST YEAR		PRESENT YEAR
		<i>chlora</i>
wheat	{	vegetable seed (4 ar.) wheat
<i>chlora</i>	{	barley (2 ¹ / ₂ ar.)

The increase in the proportion of leases allowing tenants a choice of crop may in fact be partly a consequence of the diversification of crops. Even if the scope of the tenant's free choice was implicitly limited by the conventions concerning media of rent payment, he might still appreciate being allowed to decide whether to grow barley as well as wheat, or whether to grow a little vegetable-seed alongside his grass crop.

The changes in crop and rent which are apparent in the leases in the early- and mid-third century do not, therefore, seem to reflect any fundamental divergence from the earlier pattern. The level of rent on wheat crops tended to decline a little from a peak in the second century,¹¹ the range of crops grown was somewhat larger, and tenants were more commonly permitted to choose their crops; but the basic pattern remains dominant, of cereal/fodder rotation with immense scope for variation of detail.

At this point, it is worth considering what the particular character of the leases, with their meticulous and individual provisions, suggests about the relationship between landlord and tenant. Arrangements of such complexity look less like the imposition of regular terms by a powerful landlord on a weak tenant than the result of decisions made by landlord and tenant in consultation with each other. The influence exerted by each party would depend both on the general economic and demographic conditions of the time, and on more personal factors. The landlords, nearly all residents of Oxyrhynchus itself, were not true absentees, and we can see from contemporary letters that their relationship with their tenants was essentially a personal one.¹² Yet there is little sense that the ties of social obligation binding tenant to landlord were as strong as in many rural societies;¹³ these tenancy relationships were neither exclusive nor enduring. It is difficult to explain the care expended, in arrangements of only a few years' duration, on the written articulation of obligations owed by each party to the other unless it was a realistic possibility that either might take the other to court if these obligations were not met.

Not all land leases suggest social conditions like those described above. Throughout the period under discussion we also find leases with institutional or other 'non-participant' landlords, but these remain a fairly small proportion of surviving Oxyrhynchite leases until after the middle of the third century.

Fikhman, in a comparison of land leases from Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis between the late third and sixth centuries, sees a relative decline in number of the Oxyrhynchite leases, and attributes this to the displacement by large estates of the municipal landowning aristocracy who predominate as landlords in the lease contracts.¹⁴ However, the situation seems to be somewhat

¹¹ Average rents in wheat on wheat crops:
IIC.: 8.1 art./ar. (11 cases) range 5.5-10.0 art./ar.
IIIC.: 6.4 art./ar. (9 cases) range 2.0-9.75 art./ar.

¹² e.g. SB XIV 11899; P.Oxy. XXXIII 2680.

¹³ See the illuminating discussion, using modern comparative material, by L. Foxhall, 'The dependent tenant: land leasing and labour in Italy and Greece', *JRS* 80 (1990) 97-114.

¹⁴ I.F.Fikhman, *Oksirinkh - gorod papirusov. Social'no-economicheskie otnosheniya v Egipetskom gorode iv-serediny vii v* (Moscow, 1976) 60-3, summarising his earlier article, 'Oksirinkh i Ermupol' v vizantijskoe

more complicated than this. The survival rate of leases does not diminish significantly in relation to the overall survival rate of papyri from Oxyrhynchus until the sixth century, when the decline is undoubtedly to be connected with the predominance of the Apion estate archives. From the late third and early fourth centuries roughly the same number of leases per decade survive as from earlier periods, while the small number of leases of the late fourth and fifth centuries merely reflects the general scarcity of evidence from Oxyrhynchus at this time.

But, from around AD 260, the leases do seem to change in character. Fikhman characterises the leases of the earlier Roman period as 'commercial' or 'entrepreneurial', a description which in fact seems less appropriate to the earlier period than to the decades following 260. Between AD 260 and 280, there are four leases in which officials lease out land of the city of Oxyrhynchus, or of the *dekaprotia*, specifying fodder cultivation, or allowing the tenant to choose his crop;¹⁵ these, like most other leases of this period, but unlike a majority of the leases over the previous two centuries, have tenants from Oxyrhynchus rather than from a village. Also in the 260's flax leases first appear. Flax-growing was often the concern of specialist producers; the leases of two such producers, Leonides and Dioscoros, account for almost all the early fourth-century Oxyrhynchite leases.¹⁶ Conversely, positive evidence for alternating cultivation of cereals and fodder (with or without the addition of vegetable-seed, lentils, etc.) so typical of the earlier period, declines almost to non-existence.¹⁷

This is all the more striking in view of other late third- and fourth-century evidence that tenants continued to farm on terms reminiscent of the earlier leases, even down to the practice of crop rotation and the forms of rent. The clearest examples are now two recently republished fourth-century estate accounts;¹⁸ but these help to throw light on other earlier, more fragmentary, texts, which also seem better explained as parts of rent rolls of private (or possibly fiscal) estates, than as records of public taxation.¹⁹

These accounts reflect basically the same agricultural practices as we find documented by the leases until the mid-third century: rotation of the staples cereal and fodder, with high wheat and barley rents (up to seven artabas per aroura), and the fodder crop subject to a money rent. But the late third- and fourth-century leases themselves given little sense of this degree of continuity. There is no doubt an element of the quirks of publication operating here, but the published texts themselves do seem to provide grounds for a more substantive explanation of the changed character of the leases.

Despite the political upheavals and monetary difficulties of the second half of the third century, the agricultural economy narrowly defined remained relatively unaffected. Wheat and fodder continued to alternate as the main crops; the traditional forms of rent persisted. But what did change was the social setting of these agricultural practices. Fikhman is surely right to see the leases as reflecting the changing economic fortunes of the municipal aristocracy, the class

vremja (sopostavlenie arendnykh dogovornov)', *Drevnij Vostok I: k semidesjatyatiletiju Akademika M.A. Korostovtseva* (Moscow, 1975) 184-91.

¹⁵ P.Oxy. XII 1502 verso; PSI III 187; IX 1070; XIII 1330.

¹⁶ Flax leases: late IIIc.: P.Coll.Youtie II 68; P.Mich.Shelton XI 610; P.Oxy. XIV 1691; IVc.: P.Oxy. I 102, 103*; XXXI 2585*; XLV 3255-3260*; PSI V 469* (* denotes leases undertaken by Leonides and/or Dioscoros).

¹⁷ The last clear case of crop rotation in the leases used in this study dates from 259/60 (P.Wisc. I 7); but two flax leases, by referring to 'fallow', imply a system of rotation (P.Oxy. XXXI 2585; XLV 3256); and undoubtedly future publications will supply further evidence. Note also two VIc. leases requiring a combined wheat and money rent: PSI I 77 and P.Berl.Zill. 7.

¹⁸ P.Col. VIII 238 (incorporating P.Princ. III 136); SB XVI 13035 (P.Bon. 39 as re-edited by R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 247-54).

¹⁹ P.Oxy. XIX 2240 (certainly a private estate); 2242 (on the verso of 2240); 2241 (a rent roll, dated 283/4, of an *ousia* which is perhaps fiscal); XIV 1743 (221/2, very similar in format to 2241). The last example exhibits the clearest evidence of crop rotation.

whose affairs are most consistently documented by the rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus. By the late third century, the type of personal but relatively independent relationship which had typified the relationship of landowners of this class with their tenants, and which had persisted with minor changes for over two centuries from about AD 50 to about AD 260, was being eroded. Instead, written leases became largely confined to specific circumstances, serving the needs of institutional landlords, or of 'specialist' crop producers, and ceased to reflect the normal conditions of rural tenancy. As landlords grew more remote from their tenants, and the terms under which their land was farmed perhaps became more standardised, the rent roll replaced the lease as the most important record of their relationship. The wording of one of the few early fifth-century Oxyrhynchite leases, P.Oxy. LV 3803, shows an instructive change from the meticulous individual provisions of the earlier leases: 'I willingly undertake to lease ... in conformity with the previous rent-rolls ... in perpetuity [on condition that I] take the lease and pay the previous rent and all the separate charges on the same basis as for the other irrigation machines in conformity with rent-rolls ...'.

There is much further scope for debate about the detailed interpretation of this evidence and the implied changes in Oxyrhynchite rural social relations. For instance, the last example makes it clear that written leases might still have a role to play in agricultural tenancies on large estates; but if the contracts were kept by local estate managers, rather than by landowners who lived in the city, copies might be less likely to find their way to the rubbish-tips of Oxyrhynchus. To what extent should we suppose that the development of large estates meant that tenancy was marginalised in favour of direct labour? The sixth-century Apion estates seem to have retained a much more important place for agricultural tenancy than would appear to have been the case on the Appianus estate three centuries earlier.²⁰ Most difficult of all is to assess the changing balance of large- and small-scale properties in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and the implications of this for rural social relations. Although we have reliable information on the distribution of estate sizes in the mid-fourth century from the neighbouring Hermopolite nome,²¹ the divergent character of the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite evidence from the fourth century onwards cautions us against assuming that the overall picture in the Oxyrhynchite nome was in fact closely comparable to its neighbour.²²

It is clear that there were always marked regional differences within Egypt, throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; and whatever the problems and biases of the Oxyrhynchite evidence, it provides the only reliable basis for our interpretation of the social history of that nome. The land leases can contribute substantially to that interpretation, but their detail will repay very careful investigation. They can also only be properly understood when set in the context of all other available evidence of agrarian conditions in the nome.

²⁰ D.W. Rathbone, *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century A.D. Egypt: the Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate* (Cambridge, 1991), ch. 5. Recently-published Apion accounts are P.Oxy. LV 3804-5; the introduction to 3804 gives relevant bibliography.

²¹ A.K. Bowman, 'Landholding in the Hermopolite nome in the fourth century AD', *JRS* 75 (1985) 137-163; R.S. Bagnall, 'Landholding in late Roman Egypt: the distribution of wealth', *JRS* 82 (1992) 128-149.

²² See the works cited in note 14 above, and J.G. Keenan's paper to the present Congress.

UN LETTO TRICLINIARE IN P.OXY. X 1277

Simona Russo

Nell'ambito di uno studio più ampio, volto all'indagine sociale ed economica dei papiri concernenti il commercio di beni 'mobili' (suppellettili, gioielli, strumenti di lavoro, vestiario e tessili, manufatti in genere, insomma), ci siamo occupati di P.Oxy. X 1277. Si tratta del contratto di vendita di un (rr. 7-10)

τρίκλιν[ο]ν στρωμάτων λινῶν
ποικιλτῶν διὰ ὄλ[ο]υ κα[ὶ] προσ-
κεφάλαια τέσσαρα . . . α καὶ λινᾶ τῆς
αὐτῆς εἰδαίας,

stipulato il 9 agosto 257p.¹

Già i primi editori, Grenfell e Hunt, nel 1914, avevano avanzato l'ipotesi che oggetto della transazione fosse un letto tricliniare, piuttosto che una stanza da pranzo, poiché mancavano i dati topografici che normalmente sono presenti in contratti di vendita o di affitto di beni immobili.²

F. Pringsheim, nel suo studio sulla vendita greca,³ non prende posizione in merito e mantiene il dubbio se si tratti di una stanza o di un letto.

Più di recente, invece, Geneviève Husson, nel suo interessante OIKIA,⁴ sostiene che debba trattarsi piuttosto di una sala tricliniare, perché

a) non esistono contratti di questo genere per dei mobili;

b) il prezzo di vendita del τρίκλινον, 500 dracme, corrisponde al prezzo di vendita di una casa o di parte di essa, verso la metà del III secolo.

Sarà opportuno, innanzitutto, chiarire che il termine τὸ τρίκλινον,⁵ in due delle varie attestazioni in cui compare su papiro, può avere il significato di 'letto tricliniare' o 'corredo tricliniare'.

I. P.Mil.Vogl. II 77 (Tebytnis, IP) è una lettera in cui lo scrivente chiede che venga preparata l'esedra καὶ τὸ τρίκλινον στρωθῆτω (r. 11).

Per il significato di quest'ultima frase è vero, come sostiene la Husson, che parallelo può essere ἀνάγειον μέγα ἐστρωμένον 'la sala al piano superiore approntata con corredo di letti' (Marco, 14, 15 = Luca, 22, 12), ma paralleli altrettanto validi possono essere στρώσαντες κλίνην (Erodoto, 6, 139) e κλίνην στρώννυσι (Senofonte, *Cyropaedia* 8, II, 6) oltre a τρικλίνου πᾶσαν κατάστρωσιν (*Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate* 319), citato dalla stessa Husson a sostegno della sua tesi, in cui il significato di στρώννυμι è quello di 'distendere (le coperte)', quindi, 'rifare il letto'.

II. P.Ryl. IV 647 è un *memorandum* da Hermupolis, forse appartenente all'archivio di Teofane (IVP in.). Nella prima colonna del foglietto è scritto ἐν τῷ τρικλιν(ίῳ) τύλ(αι) [[ιζ]]

¹ Per quel che riguarda la datazione accogliamo la proposta di J. R. Rea, in 'Valerian Caesar in the Papyri', *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Napoli 1984, III, p. 1126.

² Cfr. P.Oxy. X 1277, p. 219.

³ Cfr. F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar 1950, p. 493, nota 2.

⁴ V. G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, pp. 280-281.

⁵ Esiste anche la forma maschile ὁ τρίκλινος (οἶκος) [chiaramente attestata soltanto in P.Mich. V 295, 4 (Tebytnis, IP)] che ha l'evidente significato di 'sala da pranzo'.

ἄλ(λαι) μικραὶ κεναὶ γ' σκῶλ(ος) α' che potremmo intendere 'sul letto 3 piccoli cuscini vuoti, senza riempimento, e uno σκῶλος'.⁶ Quest'ultimo è termine di significato ancora sconosciuto, attestato soltanto in altri due papiri: a) BGU I 40, 12 (Faiyûm, II/III^p) lista di beni di casa fra cui τύλη εἰμιτύλια β σκῶλη κβ (δραχμαί) ρ: il termine τύλη, con le varianti τυλάριον / τυλεῖον, viene spesso tradotto come 'cuscino' più o meno grande, o 'materasso', 'trapunta'.⁷ Quanto all'interpretazione di ἡμιτύλιον il problema è più complesso. Il Preisigke⁸ sotto la voce τύλη scrive: "τύλαι εἰμιτύλια (= ἡμιτύλια), zweiteilige Matratzen."; sotto la voce εἰμιτύλιον scrive: "(= ἡμιτύλιον), Halbpolster, ein Pfühl, dessen Unterseite flach ist, welcher also lediglich auf der Oberseite die wulstartige, runde Polsterung hat" e rimanda a BGU I 40, 12; infine, sotto la voce ἡμιτύλιος rimanda a τύλη. *LSJ*, sotto la voce ἡμιτύλιον, τὸ, rimandando soltanto al nostro BGU I 40, traduce "half a τύλη". Dal Daris⁹ apprendiamo però che il termine risulta anche in P.Oslo II 56, 6-7 (prov. scon., II^p), lettera in cui il mittente chiede al destinatario di comprargli vari beni personali [abiti, una borsa (?)], fra i quali anche ἡμιτύλιν καλόν (*l.* ἡμιτύλιον) e in nota l'editore rimanda a BGU I 40 e a varie attestazioni di τύλη. Tornando al nostro BGU I 40, dunque, si potrebbe avanzare l'ipotesi che a τύλη, nominativo singolare, dovesse seguire un numerale α, rimasto in realtà nella penna, e poi i 2 materassini 'divisi in due parti' o 'imbottiti soltanto su un lato'; oppure, come è più probabile, che la forma τύλη stia per τύλαι a cui segue l'attributo εἰμιτύλια che specifica il tipo o la fattura dei materassi/cuscini in questione. b) P.Vindob.Worp 24, 5 (prov. scon., III/IV^p), lettera in cui lo scrivente chiede che gli vengano inviati τυλία (*l.* τυλεῖα) ... καὶ ... σκῶλι (*l.* σκῶλη, sia pure con lettura incerta) 'materassini/cuscini ... e ... σκῶλη'.

Quindi in entrambi i casi il contesto riguarda senz'altro il 'corredo da letto'.

In un altro caso, P.Princ. II 19, 4 (lettera del II a.C. proveniente dal Faiyûm), il termine τρίκλινος, riferito ad una σκηνή σακκίνη 'tenda di tela', assume, per estensione di significato, quasi il valore di unità di misura: la tenda, cioè, è grande abbastanza da contenere tre letti.¹⁰

Nel nostro papiro dunque, possiamo supporre che il contratto riguardasse la vendita di un letto dotato del suo ricco corredo, o soltanto del corredo riccamente ricamato di un letto da pranzo. Nel primo caso, dal punto di vista grammaticale fa difficoltà il genitivo στρωμάτων che dovrebbe dipendere da una preposizione come μετά; nel secondo, l'interpretazione potrebbe essere 'un corredo tricliniare di coperte ricamate di lino e quattro cuscini ... di lino della stessa qualità'.

Sembra dunque che, dal punto di vista terminologico, si possa intendere il τρίκλινον di P.Oxy. X 1277 come un letto tricliniare; tuttavia, come abbiamo già osservato, da parte della Husson vengono sollevate anche obiezioni di altro genere: prima di tutto che *non esistono contratti del genere per dei mobili*.

In effetti la documentazione offerta dai papiri non è, in questo campo, numerosa: esiste però un contratto di vendita di vari beni dotati,¹¹ fra i quali una κλίνη (BGU XV 2481,11 del

⁶ ἐν, in questo caso, potrebbe essere inteso come preposizione di appartenenza (cfr. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II², Berlin-Leipzig 1934, p. 393), sebbene l'espressione analoga τυλάριον ... ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ἄνω, che compare in P.Oxy. VIII 1159,24-26 (lettera del tardo III^p), sia di inequivocabile significato.

⁷ Cfr. Preisigke, *WB*, s.v.

⁸ Cfr. *WB*, s.v.

⁹ Cfr. S. Daris, *Spoglio lessicale papirologico*, Milano 1968, II, s.v. ἡμιτύλιον.

¹⁰ In PSI V 533, 2-4 (III^a) si menziona una σκηνήν τετράκλινον ἢ πεντάκλινον, cioè a quattro o cinque posti-letto. Cfr. E.S. McCartney, 'The couch as a unit of measurement', in *Classical Philology* 29 (1934), pp. 30-35.

¹¹ L'ipotesi che si tratti di beni dotati dipenderebbe dal fatto che la serie κιβωτός - δίφρος (nel nostro caso, invece, κλίνη, che comunque fa parte del mobilio domestico, sebbene non compaia normalmente nell'elenco

periodo 138-161P, proveniente dall'Arsinoites), anche se il documento in questione dà l'impressione che la vendita sia effettuata per necessità di realizzare 'liquidi', e non si fa cenno al carattere lussuoso dei beni venduti; ed esistono anche alcuni ordini di pagamento che alludono a transazioni di suppellettile domestica lussuosa, e attestano comunque la stipulazione scritta nell'ambito del commercio di beni particolarmente preziosi. È questo il caso dei tappeti di P.Merton I 41 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 406P) e P.Oxy. XII 1431 (352P), della coppa d'argento di P.Hawara 68 (IP), e della statuetta d'argento venduta in P.Mil.Vogl. II 102 (= SB VI 9159) (Tebtynis, IIP).

Per quanto riguarda poi l'obiezione che *il prezzo di vendita del τρίκλινον, 500 dracme, corrisponderebbe al prezzo di vendita di una casa o di parte di essa*, verso la metà del III secolo, la Husson rimanda ai dati raccolti dal Johnson.¹²

Se diamo una rapida occhiata alla recente ed utile raccolta di prezzi del Drexhage,¹³ possiamo notare come i prezzi di case o di porzioni di edifici siano estremamente variabili anche all'interno dello stesso periodo e ambiente geografico.

La documentazione papiracea in nostro possesso non ci consente di fare molti confronti diretti con altra 'merce' dello stesso tipo: sappiamo che nella prima metà del III sec. ad Ossirinco (SB III 7181b, conto sul verso di una ricevuta di forniture militari del 220P) un τυλάριον vale 440 dr. (r. 23) e un altro 104 dr. (r. 35); dall'*Edictum de pretiis*¹⁴ sappiamo che una τύλη μετὰ προσκεφαλαίου Τραλλιανῆ ἦτοι Ἀντινοησία 'un materasso con cuscino (di lino) da Tralle o Antinoe' (26, 243) vale 2750 denari; mentre se il lino è di 'prima qualità' (τύλη καὶ προσκεφάλαιον φόρμης α') (26, 247a) vale solo 600 denari e un cuscino ad uso dei popolani (πουλβίνος εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν) (26, 253) soltanto 100 denari; ma non possiamo stabilire quanto questi tipi di merce fossero fra loro simili, né siamo in grado di valutare il rapporto fra i prezzi di queste merci, poiché ce lo impedisce la ben nota altalena inflazionistica del III secolo. Non ci sembra sensato neanche cercare di creare una scala di valori proporzionali fra oggetti 'lussuosi' e costo medio della vita, o di prime necessità perché, come è stato giustamente osservato¹⁵, il nostro punto di vista nei confronti del denaro e del suo valore come mezzo di scambio o di acquisto, può essere estremamente diverso da quello degli antichi.

È però verosimile che l'oggetto della nostra transazione fosse particolarmente costoso, perché di lusso, in quanto di lino riccamente ricamato: a questo proposito basterà solo ricordare

dei beni dotati) - κίστη si ritrova in tre papiri, PSI X 1116, 10-11; PSI X 1117, 16-17; P.Strasb. 225, 18-19, contratti di matrimonio che provengono dall'Arsinoites (ad eccezione di P.Strasb. 225, di prov. scon.) e appartengono al IIP (cfr. H.C. Youtie, 'Notes on Papyri', *Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles*, New Haven 1966, pp. 36-37) come il BGU in questione: in BGU XV 2481, 11 si potrebbe perciò integrare καὶ κίστην di cui però si può effettivamente leggere καὶ seguito forse dal κ di κίστην. Rimarrebbe però aperto il problema del quarto oggetto, identificato con un oliveto (ἐλε[ῶνα ?) dall'editore, che pure giustamente lo definisce in nota (BGU XV, p. 59, nota 12): "the most perplexing phrase in the document. We expect another article sold to Heron, preferably a movable like the chest and couch, but the initial letters defy interpretation as a movable sale item. The reading ἐλε[ῶνα] for ἐλαιῶνα is not totally satisfying and should be accepted with caution. Normally a piece of property which is being sold is identified by location and size. Not enough room remains in this line for that type of information." tuttavia neanche il controllo su microfiche ci ha consentito di proporre alcuna soluzione.

¹² A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Paterson 1959 (= *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, II), p. 259.

¹³ Cfr. H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diocletians*, St. Katharinen 1991, pp. 79-89.

¹⁴ Facciamo riferimento all'edizione di M. Giacchero (*Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, Genova 1974).

¹⁵ Fra gli altri vedi anche A.E. Samuel, 'The Money Economy and the Ptolemaic Peasantry', in *BASP* 21 (1984), pp. 187-206.

che anche Ewa Wipszycka¹⁶ menziona artigiani specializzati nel ricamo e addetti alla preparazione di cuscini, i quali evidentemente potevano essere così 'preziosi e particolari' da giustificare l'esistenza di 4/5 nomi diversi (τύλη, προσκεφάλαιον, κερπικάριον, σκῶλος (?), τυλοτάπης). Non solo, ma anche perché il τρίκλινον era riservato ad una élite greca,¹⁷ o comunque tale da aver assimilato l'abitudine greca di pranzare distesi su di esso, anziché seduti, secondo l'usanza egiziana.¹⁸

Infine, anche le fonti archeologiche testimoniano l'esistenza di letti conviviali con corredo spesso simile a quello descritto nel nostro P.Oxy. X 1277, in quanto esso comprendeva generalmente materassi, coperte, che potevano essere di varie dimensioni, e cuscini di forma diversa utilizzati dai commensali per appoggiare i gomiti e i piedi.¹⁹ In modo particolare può esserci utile il confronto con la rappresentazione di Serapide,²⁰ disteso su un letto conviviale, rappresentazione confermata dagli inviti εἰς τὴν κλίνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος, che sono tornati alla luce da papiri prevalentemente ossirinchiti.²¹ Queste rappresentazioni ci mostrano Serapide disteso su un letto rivestito di coperte, col braccio sinistro appoggiato su un cuscino.²² Nell'iconografia di Serapide, però, compaiono anche altre figure adagiate su un letto rivestito di coperte o, in un caso, di un materassino, col braccio sinistro appoggiato su uno o due cuscini, a conferma dell'esistenza della *kline*, dotata di corredo simile a quello del letto di P.Oxy. X 1277. Tuttavia, in almeno una di queste rappresentazioni, il letto non è di tipo tricliniare, ma da riposo, poiché la figura distesa è identificata col malato che guarda verso Serapide, dio guaritore.²³ Una *kline* da riposo, infine, pare essere anche quella del papiro figurato PSI VIII 919, in cui Amore è raffigurato disteso su "una sorta di saccone trapuntato, arricchito da decorazioni cuoriformi".²⁴

¹⁶ E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte Romaine*, Warszawa 1965, p. 119 s. sulla presenza di specialisti della lavorazione di cuscini; pp. 125-126 sulla ricercatezza che i ricami potevano avere.

¹⁷ A conferma dell'ambiente elitario va notato che la venditrice è una 'cittadina' (ἄσπῆ) (cfr. D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, Atlanta 1991, pp. 13-21; 45-47), che agisce in virtù dello *ius trium liberorum*. (su cui cfr. P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'Die χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματίζουσαι δικαίω τέκνων in den Papyri', in *Aegyptus* 45 [1965], pp. 171-189) indicazioni entrambe di uno *status* sociale piuttosto elevato. Da *BL* VIII, p. 243, infine, emerge la possibilità che si tratti della stessa Aurelia Sarapias presente in P.Vindob.Boswinkel 2, (notificazione di un bambino antinoita, del 248P). Sappiamo che le registrazioni di nascita venivano fatte in genere da genitori appartenenti a classi privilegiate, per assicurare i propri privilegi anche ai figli (cfr. S.L.Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, p. 105). Nel caso di Antinoe, poi, se la dichiarazione veniva effettuata entro 30 giorni dalla nascita del figlio, il piccolo poteva essere allevato a spese dello Stato, secondo un privilegio concesso da Adriano ai cittadini antinoiti: tale privilegio valeva evidentemente, anche nel caso che i genitori non fossero entrambi antinoiti, dal momento che il padre del piccolo citato in P.Vindob.Boswinkel 2, e marito di Aurelia Sarapias, è indicato nel documento come βουλευτής di Herakleopolis, ulteriore dimostrazione dell'appartenenza della famiglia ad una classe privilegiata.

¹⁸ Cfr. F. Daumas, *La vie dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, Paris 1968, p. 97.

¹⁹ Cfr. fra gli altri, S. De Marinis, *La tipologia del banchetto nell'Arte Etrusca Antica*, Roma 1961, p. 50 ss.; *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale*. IV, Roma 1964, pp. 601-607 (s.v. letto), con riferimenti bibliografici fra cui anche A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Palermo 1961, AI, n° 24, fig. 65 (tav. 23) e 68 (tav. 24); AII, n° 205, fig. 317 (tav. 96); M.-O. Jentel, 'Isis ou la Tychè d'Alexandrie' in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, II, Leiden 1978, pp. 539-560.

²⁰ Cogliamo l'occasione per ringraziare Geneviève Husson che ci ha suggerito una ricerca in questa direzione.

²¹ Cfr. P.Coll.Youtie I 51-52.

²² Cfr. per esempio T. Kraus, 'Sarapis auf der Kline', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 94 (1979), pp. 566-577.

²³ Cfr. V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Sérapis debout*, Leiden 1983, figg. 121b (su cui vedi p. 167); 221 (pp. 228-229); 299a-b (pp. 92-93): nei primi due casi si tratta probabilmente di Tyche, mentre nel terzo, appunto, del malato che attende fiducioso la guarigione da parte del dio.

²⁴ Questo secondo la riedizione in PSI XX Congr. 20, p. 94, mentre secondo il primo editore il papiro mostra comunque una scena di *symposion* (cfr. PSI VIII, p. 86).

PROBLEMI RELATIVI ALLA DIFFUSIONE DELLE DISPOSIZIONI AMMINISTRATIVE NELL'EGITTO ROMANO: IL RUOLO DEGLI *HYPERETAI* E LE FORMULE DI TRASMISSIONE DEI DOCUMENTI

Silvia Strassi

Questa comunicazione affronta un aspetto particolare di una ricerca più vasta ed articolata, che ha per oggetto i sistemi di trasmissione e diffusione delle disposizioni amministrative nelle province romane in epoca imperiale.

L'esposizione generale del problema è stata presentata da Werner Eck al Convegno della F.I.E.C. tenutosi a Pisa nel 1989. Egli ha, fra l'altro, messo in evidenza la principale difficoltà che si presenta quando si affronta questo problema, cioè quella di stabilire quali fossero i mezzi di comunicazione concretamente usati per realizzare e mantenere efficiente una così vasta rete informativa. A questo proposito ha quindi sottolineato l'utilità di analizzare in modo approfondito la documentazione proveniente dall'Egitto, la provincia di cui è conservata la maggior quantità di documenti scritti relativi alle pratiche amministrative.¹

Non è certo necessario in questa sede menzionare i vantaggi offerti dall'abbondanza della documentazione su papiro ed i grossi limiti che essa nello stesso tempo impone. E' possibile, comunque, ritenere che lo spoglio e lo studio dei documenti egiziani possa contribuire a chiarire, almeno in parte, quali fossero i sistemi di diffusione all'interno delle province delle disposizioni emanate da Roma o direttamente dai governatori provinciali.

Uno degli obiettivi che ci si prefigge è quello di determinare la regolarità e la frequenza con le quali esse venivano trasmesse. Soltanto in questo modo è infatti possibile verificare se fosse esistita un'organizzazione centralizzata, attraverso la quale si provvedeva regolarmente all'invio di notizie e disposizioni. Si tratta, cioè, di valutare se fin dalla prima età imperiale esistessero sistemi di comunicazione organizzati o se essi dipendessero piuttosto dalle diverse esigenze che di volta in volta si presentavano e dalle concrete possibilità locali di farvi fronte.

Partendo da queste premesse generali ho avviato lo spoglio della documentazione relativa all'Egitto romano dal I al III sec. d. C., allo scopo di verificare le seguenti questioni:

1. Se la trasmissione delle disposizioni da Alessandria alle *μητροπόλεις* dei *νομοί* avvenisse direttamente per ogni singolo *νομός* o se, partendo da Alessandria, avesse come meta soltanto alcuni di essi (per esempio un *νομός* per ognuna delle tre *ἐπιστρατηγίαι*), dal quale doveva poi procedere alla volta degli altri.
2. Se, in questo secondo caso, nella cancelleria di Alessandria venissero preparate tutte le copie necessarie dei documenti da inoltrare (uno per ogni *νομός*) oppure solo la copia destinata al *νομός* che faceva da tramite (per esempio uno per ogni *ἐπιστρατηγία* o gruppo di *νομοί*), nella cui sede poi venivano redatte le altre copie.
3. Quali fossero i latori cui i messaggi venivano affidati.

Ho affrontato questi aspetti del problema in via preliminare attraverso una serie di esempi significativi - dato che lo spoglio del materiale è ancora incompleto - in un contributo di recente pubblicazione.²

¹Cfr. W. Eck, 'Zur Durchsetzung von Anordnungen und Entscheidungen in der hohen Kaiserzeit: Die administrative Informationsstruktur', in c. di s. in *Atti del Convegno FIEC, Pisa 1989*.

²Cfr. S. Strassi, 'Problemi relativi alla diffusione delle disposizioni amministrative nell'Egitto romano', *ZPE* 96, 1993, pp. 89-107.

Mi soffermerò quindi ora soltanto sul terzo di questi punti, cioè su quello che concerne i latori dei documenti, richiamandomi brevemente alle conclusioni cui sono giunta, perché da queste nasce lo spunto per le osservazioni che presento qui.

L'incarico di inoltrare le disposizioni, non solo all'interno del proprio νομός, ma anche da un νομός all'altro, spettava - nella maggior parte dei casi - agli στρατηγοί. Da una serie di documenti risulta infatti che il sistema con cui essi facevano pervenire a destinazione le disposizioni generali provenienti da Alessandria non si scostava molto da quello usato per le normali pratiche amministrative. Poiché non sembra che sia esistita, almeno nei primi due secoli d. C., un'organizzazione regolare addetta a svolgere questo compito, gli στρατηγοί si servivano, comunemente, del personale subalterno a loro disposizione.

Rispetto alla massa della documentazione pervenutaci, i documenti da cui risulta quali ne fossero i latori non sono molto numerosi. L'unica traccia dell'esistenza di personale specificamente addetto ad un servizio definibile grossomodo postale è data dalle poche attestazioni che conosciamo di ἐπιστολαφόροι, che svolgono questo incarico nell'ambito delle κωμογραμματῆς e, probabilmente, anche fra μητροπόλεις e κῶμαι. Soltanto dalla fine del III secolo compaiono i γραμματεφόροι, mentre nel periodo precedente troviamo occasionalmente menzionati come messaggeri ναῦται, ναύκληροι, κυβερνήται ed un φύλαξ.³ La maggior parte dei documenti provenienti dall'ufficio dello στρατηγός venivano però consegnati da ὑπηρέται. Questi funzionari subalterni si trovano impiegati quasi ad ogni livello amministrativo con incarichi diversi, che li investivano anche di responsabilità giuridiche sia in ambito amministrativo che giudiziario.

Gli ὑπηρέται sembrano, dunque, aver svolto anche la funzione di corrieri nelle occasioni più diverse, a prescindere dal contenuto, dal mittente e dal destinatario dei documenti.

E' sembrato quindi utile, in margine alla ricerca in corso, raccogliere in un corpus completo, ora in preparazione, tutte le testimonianze relative alle funzioni da essi svolte.⁴

Da un primo spoglio di questi documenti, fra i quali sono stati privilegiati quelli in cui gli ὑπηρέται fungevano da corrieri, si è potuto osservare che nelle formule che si riferiscono all'atto della consegna vengono usate espressioni diverse.

Si tenterà dunque di verificare, sia pure attraverso un sondaggio parziale, se l'uso di espressioni formulari differenti corrisponda al diverso contenuto dei documenti in cui si trovano.

Dei quasi cinquecento documenti raccolti in cui vengono menzionati ὑπηρέται, ne sono stati analizzati finora circa un terzo.

Di questi, trenta conservano o la sottoscrizione con l'attestazione dell'avvenuta consegna o, in mancanza di questa, la richiesta, da parte dell'interessato, che il documento venga consegnato. La terminologia è comunque la stessa.

I verbi usati sono μεταδίδωμι, ἐπιφέρω, μεταφέρω,⁵ nelle espressioni ὁ δεῖνα ὑπηρέτης μεταδέδωκα, ὁ δεῖνα ὑπηρέτης ἐπενήνεγκα, ὁ δεῖνα ὑπηρέτης μετενήνοχα.

Esaminiamo ora i casi - più numerosi - nei quali l'attestazione della consegna dei documenti veniva espressa con μεταδίδωμι ed ἐπιφέρω.

I documenti in calce ai quali troviamo la formula con ἐπιφέρω sono, ad eccezione di uno, comunicazioni trasmesse da un ufficio all'altro: in due casi da parte dello στρατηγός a funzionari subalterni per questioni riguardanti esenzioni dalle liturgie;⁶ in uno per questioni

³Cfr. S. Strassi, *op. cit.* (nota 2 sopra), e la bibliografia ivi citata.

⁴Tale lavoro ha lo scopo di completare ed aggiornare quello di H. Kupiszewski - J. Modrzejewski, 'ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙ, Étude sur les fonctions et le rôle des hyperètes dans l'administration civile et judiciaire de l'Égypte gréco-romaine', in *JJP* 11-12, 1958, pp. 141-166.

⁵μεταδίδωμι, si trova 21 volte, ἐπιφέρω 6 volte, μεταφέρω 3 volte.

⁶P. Oxy. VI 899 (200 d. C.); P. Oxy. VIII 1119 (253 d. C.).

riguardanti una richiesta di tutela di minori;⁷ in un caso da parte dello στρατηγός ai δεκάπρωτοι per trasmettere disposizioni del διοικητής;⁸ in un caso dalla βουλή allo στρατηγός per una nomina liturgica sostitutiva.⁹ L'ultimo è una comunicazione da parte dello στρατηγός della nomina alla carica di ἐξηγηταί agli eredi di un ἐξηγητής.¹⁰

I documenti in cui troviamo, invece, il verbo μεταδίδωμι si riferiscono nella quasi totalità dei casi a procedimenti giudiziari civili o penali o comunque a notifiche riguardanti privati, ai quali vengono recapitate, ad esempio, citazioni in giudizio attraverso mandati di comparizione, cui la notifica da parte dell'ὑπηρέτης conferisce valore esecutivo. In questi casi doveva quindi sussistere l'obbligo, da parte dei destinatari, di accusare ricevuta del documento.

Due soli documenti non rientrano in questa casistica. Il primo è una lettera dei γραμματεῖς μητροπόλεως e dei κωμογραμματεῖς allo στρατηγός, in cui dichiarano di aver ottemperato a disposizioni da lui ricevute in precedenza.¹¹ Si può però osservare che in questo caso non si tratta di semplici comunicazioni fra funzionari, per cui potremmo aspettarci l'uso di ἐπιφέρω, ma della dichiarazione, da parte di funzionari inferiori ad un superiore, che determinate disposizioni erano state eseguite. L'uso di μεταδίδωμι, che troviamo normalmente quando era necessaria la certificazione dell'avvenuta consegna del documento, potrebbe quindi venir giustificato con la necessità, anche in questo caso, da parte di chi scriveva, di avere un preciso riscontro riguardo alla comunicazione inviata.

Nel secondo - in cui si attesta che l'ὑπηρέτης ha consegnato una lettera dello στρατηγός, che trasmette ad un altro στρατηγός una lettera del prefetto¹² - la lettura με[ταδέδωκα è, dopo le prime due lettere, integrata. Potrebbe quindi venir sostituita, ad esempio, con με[τενήνοχα. Si avrebbe così un'ulteriore attestazione dell'impiego di μεταφέρω, eliminandone una di μεταδίδωμι in un contesto diverso da quelli in cui lo si trova abitualmente.

I pochi casi in cui viene usato μεταφέρω (una registrazione di atti d'ufficio, una registrazione d'acquisto di immobili ed un contratto di matrimonio),¹³ non ne permettono una precisa collocazione. Si potrebbe dire che nell'uso il termine sembra generico, quindi sinonimo piuttosto di ἐπιφέρω che di μεταδίδωμι.

Per quanto riguarda le espressioni formulari con μεταδίδωμι ed ἐπιφέρω la documentazione esaminata consente di avanzare l'ipotesi che nella terminologia amministrativa venissero usate con una certa regolarità queste due espressioni tecniche distinte per indicare la consegna di documenti di tipo diverso.

Concludendo, si può infatti dire che, in presenza di μεταδίδωμι, la sottoscrizione indica probabilmente che la parte interessata era stata informata ed era anche tenuta a darne preciso riscontro, conformemente alle disposizioni ricevute. L'impiego del verbo, che, nel linguaggio amministrativo si può rendere con 'notificare' corrisponderebbe dunque pienamente al significato specifico di 'rendere partecipe', 'comunicare', 'mettere a parte di ...', che esso presenta nell'uso comune ed in quello della lingua letteraria.¹⁴

⁷BGU IV 1070 (218 d. C.)

⁸P. Oxy. XII 1409 (278 d. C.).

⁹P. Oxy. I 59 (292 d. C.).

¹⁰P. Oxy. LVIII 3930 (290 d. C.).

¹¹P. Fay. 26 (150 d. C.).

¹²P. L. Bat. XXV 32 (110-111 d. C.).

¹³BGU III 832 (113 d. C.); Stud. Pal. XX 50 (169 d. C.); P. Mil. Vogl. II 71 (161-180 d. C.).

¹⁴Sull'uso ed i significati di μεταδίδωμι si vedano: E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap. aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, 3, Berlin-Leipzig 1936², p. 236; Bd. II 2, 2. Hälfte, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, p. 197 (§ 85, 1.); J. H. H. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache* III, Leipzig 1879 (rist. Amsterdam 1969), pp. 193-203: s. v. διδόναι; P. Strasb. I, p. 144 (41. Erbstreit, P. gr. 1581). Cfr. anche il neogr. μεταδίδω 'far parte, comunicare', e.

Diversamente, l'uso di ἐπιφέρω, sembra limitato ai casi in cui vengono trasmessi da un ufficio all'altro atti riguardanti pratiche della normale amministrazione, che non davano immediatamente luogo ad un procedimento di tipo esecutivo. Il termine si può quindi rendere, anche nel linguaggio formulare burocratico, come in quello usuale, con 'trasmettere' e indica la semplice trasmissione di documenti.¹⁵

Soltanto lo spoglio completo della documentazione potrà, naturalmente, convalidare o smentire questa distinzione. Riallacciandosi però brevemente a quello che è il problema più generale della trasmissione delle disposizioni amministrative cui si è accennato all'inizio, quanto osservato finora fa ritenere che, se, da un lato, il contenuto dei documenti non implicava necessariamente che venissero consegnati da latori diversi, dall'altro, però, esistevano nella prassi burocratica della trasmissione delle disposizioni e della sua certificazione, procedimenti distinti, di cui si trova traccia nell'uso dei termini diversi che li definiscono.

g. μεταδέδωκε τὸ νόσημα; μετάδοσις (ή) 'comunicazione, trasmissione'. Vedi anche Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* II, pp. 103-104, e Kühner-Gerth, *Gr. Gr.* I, p. 343, § 416: μετα-, προσδιδόναι, e p. 344 (Anmerkungen).

¹⁵Cfr. LSJ s. v. ἐπιφέρω

DAS VERHÄLTNIS ZWISCHEN DEN BEIDEN SEITEN DES PYPYRUS BOUFAQ 19¹

Moh.S. Ali

Der Papyrus Boufaq 19 (Kairo 58096) besteht aus zwei Blättern, "A" und "B", (nach ihrer Bezeichnung im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo), und der Text, der darauf steht, umfaßt eine Aufstellung verschiedener Quantitäten von Jaspis (*mḥnm.t*), die von mehreren Edelsteinarbeitern abgeliefert wurden, und in diversen Maßeinheiten registriert sind. Dementsprechend ist Papyrus Boufaq 19 eine Verwaltungsurkunde oder genauer ein Dokument, das mit den Rechnungsaufstellungen eng verbunden ist.

Der Papyrus ist ein paarmal behandelt worden, trotzdem liegt bisher keine vollständige Untersuchung vor. In den früheren Bearbeitungen waren die beiden Seiten oder Blätter dieses Papyrus als zusammenhängender Einzeltext angesehen worden, bei dem eine Seite auf die andere folgt. Wie bereits oben erwähnt, ist - nach ihrer Bezeichnung im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo - die "Seite A" die erste Seite und die "Seite B" die zweite. Černý hat den Papyrus ebenfalls so transkribiert, zuerst "A" und dann "B", ohne seine Meinung über die Reihenfolge explizit dargelegt zu haben.² Ihm ist auch Kitchen gefolgt.³ Freilich hat Helck die Reihenfolge beider Seiten umgekehrt, indem er die "Seite B" als erste übersetzt hat.⁴ Aber nachdem ich die Inhalte beider Seiten überprüft und sie miteinander verglichen hatte, schien mir die Idee, daß die beiden Seiten einen Einzeltext bilden, nicht völlig zutreffend zu sein.

Das Blatt "A" des Papyrus ist 25 cm hoch 19 cm breit. Er ist ein Palimpsest, und der Haupttext steht auf dem Rekto mit waagerechten Zeilen, während es auf dem Verso nur Reste einiger Zeichen gibt. Die obere Hälfte des Blattes ist sehr beschädigt, da der rechte Teil und ebenso der linke Teil ganz weggebrochen sind. Der Anfang des Textes fehlt völlig, und so kann nicht entschieden werden, wie viele Zeilen diese Seite eigentlich hatte. Auf der unteren Hälfte des Blattes bestehen einige kleinere Lücken, trotzdem ist der Text darauf fast vollständig.

Das Blatt "B" ist 12 cm hoch, 18,5 cm breit. Der Haupttext steht ebenfalls auf dem Rekto und umfaßt 6 waagerechte Zeilen, während es auf dem Verso 2 waagerechten Zeilen gibt. Der Text auf diesem Blatt ist fast vollständig, obwohl einige Lücken im Zentrum seiner Breite bestehen und fast die ganze Unterkante weggebrochen ist; aber der Rest dieser Kante zeigt, daß sie keine Schrift hatte.

Dieser Papyrus wurde in Saqqara gefunden, wie das Journal d'Entrée und Mariette angeben, ohne das Funddatum zu nennen.⁵ Er ist in die Zeit Ramses des Zweiten zu datieren, da der Name eines seiner kultischen Gebäude und auch das Regierungsjahr 43 darauf genannt sind.

Wie ich gesagt habe, umfaßt der Text dieses Papyrus eine Rechnungsaufstellung verschiedener Quantitäten von Jaspis, und so enthält jede Zeile dieses Textes eine Rechnungseintragung mit einer Quantität von Jaspis (eine Zahl); einem Personennamen, von dem diese Quantität abgeliefert worden war und einer Maßeinheit, in der die Quantität von Jaspis gemessen wurde. Diese drei Angaben der Rechnungseintragung sind jeweils fast auf jeder

¹ Ich bedanke mich bei Frau Dr. H. Sternberg- el Hotabi, die die Sprache dieses Referats berichtigt hat, bei Herrn Dr. A. Endruweit und bei Herrn Dr. F. Kammerzell.

² Černý, Notebooks, 145/41.

³ KRI VII S.102-103.

⁴ Helck, Materialien VI S.998-999.

⁵ Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boufaq II S.3.

Zeile dieses Textes geschrieben. Wenn man die Texte beider Seiten vergleicht, kann man einige Beobachtungen machen.

Auf der einen Seite erblickt man, daß es eine Art von Kongruenz zwischen den Inhalten beider Seiten gibt oder vielmehr zwischen der Seite "B" und dem Unterteil der Seite "A", d.h. dieselben Angaben (dieselben Personennamen, dieselben Maßeinheiten und dieselben Zahlen) sind zweimal genannt, einmal auf jeder Seite, und zwar in demselben Zusammenhang.

Wenn wir einen Blick auf die beiden Texte werfen, scheint das klar.

1) Die Zeile +8 auf der "Seite A" gleicht der Zeile 2 auf der "Seite B". Auf der Seite "A" steht: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner (Sul) weitergegeben ist, sind 70 $\underline{\tau}$ 'r - Einheiten Jaspis". Und auf der Seite "B" steht: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben ist, sind 70 $\underline{\tau}$ 'r - Einheiten". So kann man bemerken, daß der Name "Suner" (oder Sul), die Maßeinheit: $\underline{\tau}$ 'r - und die Zahl: 70 gleich sind. $\underline{\tau}$ 'r - ist eine Maßeinheit, die meiner Meinung nach auf die Kugelform verweist.

2) Die Zeile +9 auf der "Seite A" gleicht der Zeile 6 auf der "Seite B". Auf der "Seite A" kommt in dieser Zeile keine Personenangabe vor, und so ist es auch in den Zeilen +10 und +11. Die Personenangabe, die in der Zeile +8 als Personennamen vorkommt, bezieht sich auch auf diese drei Zeilen, d.h. die vier Lieferungen waren vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner eingebracht worden. Das finden wir klar auf der "Seite B". Auf der "Seite A" steht: "80 granatapfelförmige-Einheiten Jaspis". Das ist so zu verstehen, daß das vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben ist. Auf der "Seite B" steht nämlich: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben ist, sind 80 granatapfelförmige-Einheiten Jaspis".

Auch hier sind wieder die gleichen Einheiten (Granatapfelform) und die gleichen Zahlen (80) angegeben.

3) Die Zeile +10 auf der "Seite A" gleicht der Zeile 5 auf der "Seite B". Auf der "Seite A" steht: "60 *Bu*-Einheiten Jaspis". Wie schon erklärt wurde, ist das auch vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben. Auf der Seite "B" steht: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben ist, sind 60 *Bu*-Einheiten Jaspis." *Bu* ist eine Maßeinheit, die vielleicht die Form einer Kugel hat. Hier stellen wir erneut fest, daß die Einheiten gleich sind (*Bu*), und die Zahlen auch (60).

4) Die Zeile +11 auf der "Seite A" gleicht der Zeile 3 auf der "Seite B". Auf der "Seite A" steht: "6 *Bs* -Einheiten Jaspis."

Und wie erwähnt, ist wiederum implizit vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner die Rede. Denn auf der "Seite B" steht: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Suner gegeben ist, sind 6 *Bs* -Einheiten Jaspis." *Bs* ist eine Einheit, die wohl eine eckige Form haben kann.⁶ Auch hier sind die Zahlen und die Maßeinheiten gleich.

5) Die Zeile +14 auf der "Seite A" gleicht der Zeile 4 auf der "Seite B". Auf der "Seite A" steht: "Was vom Schreiber Iyiy gegeben ist, sind (die Zahl fehlt) granatapfelförmige-Einheiten und 45 *Bu* -Einheiten Jaspis." Auf der "Seite B" steht: "Was vom Schreiber Iyiy gegeben ist, sind 20 granatapfelförmige-Einheiten und 45 *Bu* -Einheiten Jaspis." Es ist festzustellen, daß die Maßeinheiten, die Zahlen und auch die Titel (Schreiber) gleich sind. Dazu dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß die Personennamen auch gleich sind.

6) Die Zeile +15 auf der Seite "A" gleicht der Zeile 1 auf der Seite "B". Auf der Seite "A" steht: "Was [vom Edelsteinarbeiter] Sem gegeben ist, sind 100 *Bu* -Einheiten." Und auf der Seite "B" steht: "Was vom Edelsteinarbeiter Sem gegeben ist, sind 100 *Bu* -Einheiten Jaspis." Und dann kommt eine Eintragung vor ohne gleichwertigen Satz auf der Seite "A".

⁶ Diese Maßeinheiten sind schon in meiner Magisterarbeit ausführlich besprochen worden. s. M.S. Ali, Einige hieratische Verwaltungspapyri im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo, Universität Kairo 1989, Magisterarbeit in Arabisch (unveröffentlicht).

Wir sehen, daß die Elemente jeder Zeile (die Zahl, der Personennamen, die Maßeinheit und auch der Personentitel) auf jeder Seite gleich sind, mit nur einem einzigen Unterschied, daß jedoch die Reihenfolge der Eintragungen nicht gleich ist.

Auf der anderen Seite muß man zugeben, daß eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen den beiden Seiten hinsichtlich der Paläographie besteht. Aber es gibt einige Zeichen, die unterschiedlich geschrieben sind, wie z.B.:

	Seite "A"	Seite "B"
	2 14	1 4 5
	2 8	1 2
	12 14 15	3 4
	14	4
	8	1
	10 11	4 5
	8	1 P10

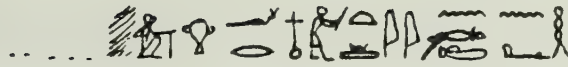
Und obwohl das von allen nicht akzeptiert werden kann, bin ich der Meinung, daß die beiden Seiten von unterschiedlichen Händen beschriftet wurden. Dieses spielt aber keine große Rolle hinsichtlich meiner Ergebnisse.

Aus den gemachten Ausführungen folgt, daß die beiden Seiten des Papyrus Boulaq 19 keinen zusammenhängenden Einzeltext bilden, sondern zwei verschiedene Eintragungen derselben Einzelrechnung darstellen. Diese Rechnung ist wohl eine Eintragung einer Werkstatt, die für die Bearbeitung des Edelsteins zuständig war. Es scheint mir so zu sein, daß die "Seite B" eine spätere Niederschrift von der unteren Hälfte der "Seite A" ist. Da die beiden Blätter von derselben Verwaltungsstelle erstellt worden sind, wurden sie zusammen aufbewahrt.

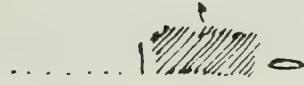
C.G.58096 "A"



+1



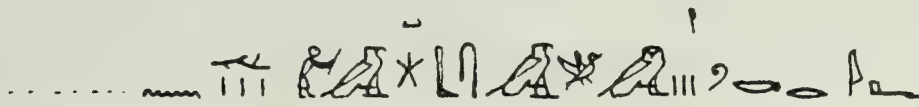
+2



+3



+4



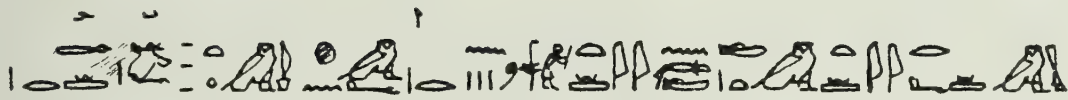
+5



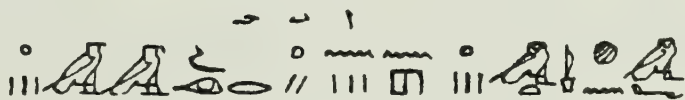
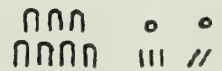
+6



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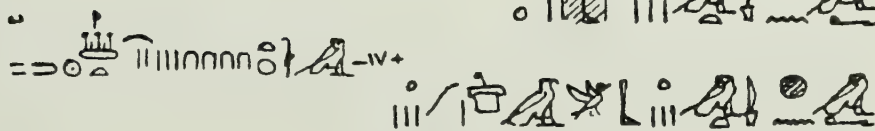
+8



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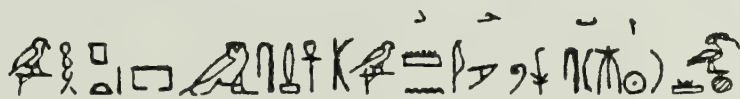
+10



+11



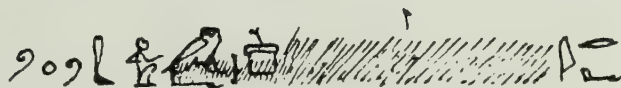
+12



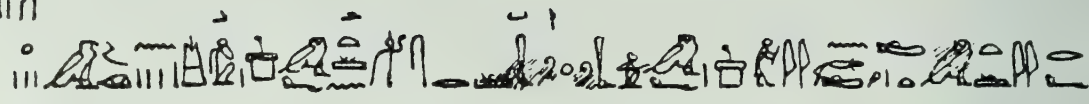
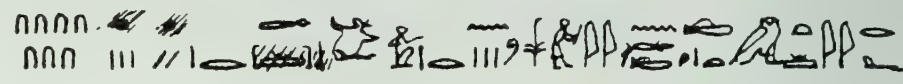
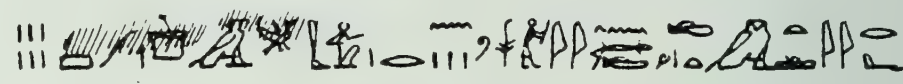
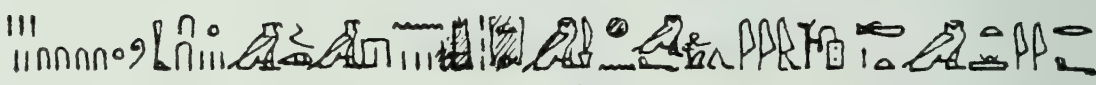
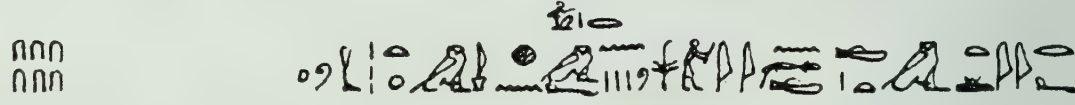

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6

TERMINOLOGISCHE ÜBERLEGUNG ZU "HERZ" "MAGEN" UND "MAGENMUND" IN DEN MEDIZINISCHEN PAPYRI DER ÄGYPTER UND KOPTEN

Kamal Sabri Kolta, München

In der altägyptischen und der koptischen medizinischen Literatur finden sich im Bedeutungszusammenhang "Herz" und "Magen" die Termini "*hatj*", "*ib*" und "*ra-ib*".¹ *Hatj* wird in Übersetzungen der ägyptischen Papyri stets als "Herz", in Übersetzungen der koptischen Papyri als "Herz", aber auch als "Magen"² interpretiert. *ib* übersetzt man dagegen auch schon in den ägyptischen Papyri sowohl als "Herz" als auch als "Magen".³ *ra-ib* schließlich ist in den altägyptischen Papyri ausschließlich als "Magen" interpretiert worden, was wörtlich als "Öffnung" oder "Mund des Herzens" übersetzt werden kann.⁴ Offenbar liegt hier ein terminologisches Problem vor, das einer Erörterung bedarf.

Die älteste uns vorliegende ägyptische Quelle für diese Termini ist bekanntlich der Papyrus Ebers (um 1550 v. Chr.). Hier findet sich der Begriff *ib* in folgenden Zitaten:

"Wenn du einen Mann untersuchst mit einer Verstopfung, sein *ib* gerät in Angst/Spannung. Sein Gesicht ist blaß, sein *ib* klopft... dann sollst du dazu sagen: Er hat scharf gebratenes Fleisch gegessen".⁵

"Was anbetrifft: Wasser im *ib*. Das bedeutet: Sein *ib* denkt nicht, er (der Mann) kann nicht an etwas anderes denken."⁶

Auch ist die Rede davon, daß *ib* Speisen aufnimmt:

"Anfang von Heilmitteln für das Veranlassen, daß *ib* Brot empfängt."⁷

Der Terminus *ra-ib* erscheint in folgendem Kontext:

"Wenn du einen Mann untersuchst, der an seinem *ra-ib* leidet, alle seine Körperstellen sind belastet an ihm wie (beim) Auftreten von Müdigkeit: Dann sollst du deine Hände auf seinen *ra-ib* geben; und findest du seinen *ra-ib* paukenartig, indem (er) geht und kommt unter deinen Fingern. Dann sollst du dazu sagen: Es ist eine Trägheit des Essens, die nicht zuläßt, daß er weiter ißt. Dann sollst du ihm irgendein ihn entleerendes Mittel machen..."⁸

¹ Grapow, H., *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Bd. I, Berlin 1954, 63; Alle hier herangezogenen Texte sind enthalten in: *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Teil I-IX., Hrsg. v. von Deines, H., Grapow, H. und Westendorf, W., Berlin 1954-1973. Ich zitiere im folgenden unter Verwendung der dort gebrauchten Abkürzungen und unter Hinzufügung der Bandzahl des Übersetzungsbandes (IV) bzw. des Hieroglyphenbandes (V) in Klammern. Vgl. dazu Ebbell, B., 'Egyptian Anatomical Names', *Acta Orientalia*, 15, 1937, 296; und zum ganzen Komplex vgl. Gardiner, A.H.: *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Vol. II., Oxford 1947, 250-252.

² Till, W.C.: *Die Arzneykunde der Kopten*. Berlin 1951, 24; Hintze, F., "Zu den Worten für "Herz" und "Magen" im Ägyptischen", *Ägyptologische Studien, Dt. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin* Nr. 29, Berlin 1955, 141.

³ *ib* als Herz: Eb 207 (42,8-43,2) = (IV 94; V 164). Eb 855 z (102, 15-16) = (IV 6; V 9). *ib* als Magen: Eb 284-293 = (IV 96/97; V 168/169).

⁴ Grapow (s. Anm. 1), 71.

⁵ Eb 207 (42,8-43,2) = (IV 94; V 164).

⁶ Eb 855 z (102, 15-16) = (IV 6; V 9).

⁷ Eb 284-293 = (IV 96/97; V 168/169).

⁸ Eb 189 (36,17-37,4) = (IV 88; V 152).

Ra-ib, die "Öffnung des Herzens", tritt gemeinsam mit dem Terminus *ib* in den folgenden Textstellen auf:

"Heilkunde für einen, der am *ra-ib* leidet. Wenn du einen Mann mit einer Verstopfung seines *ra-ib* untersuchst, er ist (zu) belastet zum Brot essen. Sein Bauch ist beengt. Sein *ib*, es ist (zu) schwach zum Gehen, wie ein Mann, der an *taw*-Hitze des Afters leidet. Dann sollst du ihn ausgestreckt (auf dem Rücken) betrachten, und du findest seinen Bauch heiß, indem eine Verstopfung in seinem *ra-ib* ist."⁹

"Wenn du einen Mann untersuchst, der an seinem *ra-ib* leidet, wenn du sie (die Verstopfung) findest, indem sie sich quergelegt hat, er leidet an seinen beiden Seiten, sein *ra-ib* ist eng gegen Brot, sein *ib* ist belastet."¹⁰

Der Begriff *ra-ib* findet sich auch in einem neuägyptischen Schultext aus dem Neuen Reich. Hier wird das Leiden eines Webers mit folgenden Worten beschrieben:

"Der Weber hat es schlimmer als ein Weib (beim Gebären). Seine Oberschenkel sind gegen seinen *ra-ib* (gedrückt); er bekommt keine Luft."¹¹

Der Terminus *hatj* findet sich gefolgt von dem Determinativ "Herz" gemeinsam mit der Bezeichnung für Bauch an der folgenden Stelle des Papyrus Ebers:

"Anfang von den Heilmitteln für das Beseitigen des Giftstoffes im Bauch, im *hatj*".¹²

Aber auch in Verbindung mit dem Terminus *ib* wird mit dem Herz determiniertes *hatj* verwendet:

"Anfang vom Geheimwissen des Arztes: Die Kenntnis vom *hatj*-Herzen... Der Arzt gibt seine Hände und Finger auf den Kopf, ... auf die Stelle des *ib*, ... so gilt seine Untersuchung (Messung) dem *hatj*-Herzen, denn dessen Gefäße (führen) zu jeder seiner Körperstelle."¹³

"Was anbetrifft: Das *ib* ist matt. Das bedeutet, daß das *hatj*-Herz nicht spricht oder daß die Gefäße des *hatj*-Herzens stumm sind..."¹⁴

Manche Schriften der alten Ägypter vermitteln die Vorstellung, daß das Herz nicht nur als Zentrum der Gefäße, sondern auch Zentrum des Geistes, des Verstehens und des Gewissens galt. Grapow versteht somit *ib* "Herz" als Organ, und *hatj*, das - "vorn im Körper befindliche" - als den symbolischen Mittelpunkt des Menschen, als Sitz des Denkens und der Gemütsbewegungen.¹⁵

Nach wie vor gibt es keinen hinreichenden Grund, die Vermutungen Grapows in der Deutung dieser Termini zurückzuweisen. Demzufolge steht der Begriff *ib* in der Regel für "Herz", wird jedoch auch zur Bezeichnung des "Magens" verwendet. In dem Text: "Das *ib* als

⁹ Eb 188 (36,4-17) = (IV 88; V 162).

¹⁰ Eb 205 (41, 13-21) = (IV 93; V 162).

¹¹ Nach P.Sall. Brunner, H., *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohn des Dwauf*. Glückstadt/Hamburg 1944, 23 (7,3); vgl. dazu Helck, W., *Die Lehre des Dwa-Chetj*. I. II., Wiesbaden 1970.

¹² Eb 221 (44, 13-15) = (IV 146; V 257).

¹³ Eb 854 (99,1) = (IV 1; V 1).

¹⁴ Eb 855 e (100, 14-16) = (IV 5; V 8).

¹⁵ Grapow, H., *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, Leipzig 1924, 123 ff.; Piankoff, A., *Le Coeur dans les Textes égyptiens*, Paris 1930, 7-18; Junker, H., *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, Abh.Berlin, Akad.Wiss. 1939, Phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 23, 48 ff.

Brot-Empfänger",¹⁶ mag durchaus eine Abkürzung des Terminus *ra-ib* vorliegen, dessen Verwendung ungeachtet der wörtlichen Übersetzung als "Herz-Öffnung", eine Bedeutung "Magen" sehr nahe legt. Dies trifft besonders auf Texte zu, in denen zunächst von *ra-ib* die Rede ist, und dann gleichsam in der Wiederholung noch der Terminus *ib* erscheint.

Der Terminus *hatj* ist durch das Determinativ "Herz" in der altägyptischen medizinischen Literatur eindeutig gekennzeichnet.

Über die Ursprünge der engen terminologischen Verwandtschaft der Termini *ib* und *ra-ib* sind weiterhin keine definitiven Aussagen möglich. Eine Reihe von Rezepten im Pap. Beatty VI (um 1300 v.Chr.) legen allerdings eine altägyptische Vorstellung einer Verbindung zwischen Herz (*hatj*) und After nahe. Ein und dasselbe Rezept wird für die Kühlung des Herzens (*hatj*) und des Afters empfohlen.¹⁷

Die "Kühlung des Afters" bedeutet die Behandlung von Hämorrhoiden. Nach den physiologischen Vorstellungen der medizinischen Papyri spielt der After eine wichtige Rolle innerhalb des Gefäßsystems. Das Rektum ist nicht nur eine Austrittspforte des Verdauungskanals und somit des Magens, sondern es ist über die Gefäße mit dem gesamten Körper verbunden und galt als ein Knotenpunkt der Gefäße, deren Wurzeln sich im Herzen befinden und von dort aus im ganzen Körper verteilen. Folglich war es nicht abwegig, den Magen als "Herz-Öffnung", also *ra-ib* zu bezeichnen.

In der koptischen Sprache, der letzten Sprachstufe des Altägyptischen, wird der zweideutige Terminus *ib* kaum noch verwendet, doch im Achmimischen als ⲮⲐ¹⁸ anders als der schon in der altägyptischen Literatur eindeutiger als "Herz" zu identifizierende Terminus *hatj*, der als ⲨⲎⲐ wieder auftaucht.

Dem Terminus "Herz-Öffnung" begegnen wir ebenfalls in den koptischen Schriften des 6. Jahrhunderts wieder. So heißt es beispielsweise: ⲠⲚⲔⲨⲔⲔ ... ⲘⲁⲒⲔⲐⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲘⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ. ¹⁹ Die sprachliche Deutung dieser Zeile ist wie folgt: ⲔⲔ = "Mund", "Öffnung" und entspricht dem Ägyptischen *ra*; ⲨⲎⲐ bedeutet "Herz" und entspricht dem Ägyptischen *hatj*. Die Übersetzung dieser Zeile lautet: "Ein Medikament... pflegt deine Herz-Öffnung zu reinigen." W.C. Till hat hier ⲔⲔ-ⲨⲎⲐ mit "Mund des Magens" übersetzt, da er der Ansicht war, daß eine Arznei, die den ⲔⲔ-ⲨⲎⲐ reinigt, als Abführmittel anzusehen sei.²⁰

F. Hintze wies darauf hin, daß ⲨⲎⲐ in manchen Schriften Schenutes, des Abtes vom Weißen Kloster (starb um 466 n.Chr.), im Sinne von Magen verwendet wurde.²¹ Folglich können wir daraus schließen, daß die koptische Sprache den Terminus ⲨⲎⲐ (altägypt. *hatj*, "Herz") zur Bezeichnung des Herzens verwendete, und entsprechend dem Altägyptischen *ra-ib* den Terminus ⲔⲔ-ⲨⲎⲐ (wörtlich: "Öffnung des Herzens") zur Bezeichnung des Magens bildete. Wenn wir daher mit W.C. Till annehmen, daß die Bezeichnung ⲔⲔ-ⲨⲎⲐ im Sinne von "Mund des Magens" gelesen werden kann, dann bestünde die Möglichkeit, daß z.B. Alexander von Tralles (6.Jh.n.Chr.) dieses Terminus in griechischer Version wiedergegeben hat, als er ein Kapitel über die "Heilkunde für einen Mann, der am Magen leidet"²², folgendermaßen über-

¹⁶ s. oben Anm. 7.

¹⁷ P.Chester Beatty VI, Nr. 16-27 = (IV 141/142; V 247/248).

¹⁸ Crum, W.E., An Egyptian Text in Greek Characters, in: JEA 28, London 1942, 25.

¹⁹ Crum, W.E., *Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the Collections of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester 1909, Nr. 106, Zeile 62.

²⁰ Till (s. Anm. 2), 24.

²¹ Hintze (s. Anm. 2), 141.

²² Eb 188 (36, 4-17) = (IV 88; V 150).

schrieb: *περὶ τῶν ἐν στόματι τῆς γαστρὸς πάθων* (Über die Leiden im Mund des Magens).²³

In den arabischen medizinischen Texten findet sich in scheinbarer Parallelität der Terminus "fam al-ma^cidah, dessen Bestandteile: *fam* = "Mund" und *al-ma^cidah* = "der Magen" zusammengesetzt nun allerdings nicht "Magen" (entsprechend koptisch *PO-ḤHT* oder altägyptisch *ra-ib*) bedeuten, sondern ganz spezifisch für die Bezeichnung des Pylorus verwendet wurden.

Diesem Sinn entspricht der mittellateinische Terminus *os stomachi*, der in die anatomische Nomenklatur integriert wurde²⁴.

Die Möglichkeit ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die unklare Terminologie von Herz, Magen und Magenmund im Verlaufe der altägyptischen, koptischen, griechischen, arabischen und mittellateinischen Texttradition auch in Beziehung steht zu der Doppelbedeutung des griechischen Terminus *καρδία*, der seit dem 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. sowohl für "Herz" als auch für "Magenmund" gebräuchlich ist.

²³ *Alexandri Tralliani Medici Libri duodecim*, Basel 1556, Lib. 7, Cap. 3, 318; vgl. dazu Ebers, G., "Wie Altägyptisches in die europäische Volksmedizin gelangte", in: ZÄS 32, Leipzig 1895, 4.

²⁴ Fonahn, A., *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology*. Chiefly from the Middle Ages, Kristiania 1922, 111, Nr. 2433.

VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN ROMAN EGYPT*

Richard Alston

The history of violence in Roman Egypt is a topic that has caught the attention of several historians over recent years. The previous practice was to survey a number of papyri, list the crimes perpetrated and then try to come to general conclusions.¹ This approach very quickly runs into serious methodological difficulties: the evidence is particular but the conclusions we wish to draw are general. It is a problem that bedevils much of the social history of Roman Egypt, and, indeed, the social history of other periods and places, since the generalisations of contemporaries on social issues are either untrustworthy or non-existent. The literary accounts of violence in Roman Egypt are a case in point. It would be a brave historian who put a great deal of credence in Juvenal's account of the riot between the townsfolk of Ombos and Tentyra and it would be even braver to continue by suggesting that this material was good evidence for the normal behaviour of the inhabitants of the *chora*.² We can regard Plutarch's account of the rioting between the inhabitants of Kynopolis and Oxyrhynchus in much the same light.³ Philo of Alexandria explicitly compares the violence of the Egyptians of the *chora* with the good behaviour of the Jews in the city. The comparison is, however, far from innocent.⁴ Tacitus dismissed the province in a few scathing Tacitean phrases, evidence not of the actual state of the province but of the xenophobia of the writer.⁵ Other literary material presents a general picture of a province not too different from Tacitus' description. The later writers, the novelists and the Christians, present Egypt and Egyptians in a most unfavourable light.⁶ The province did have a reputation as a violent place but this had, however, become a *topos*. Reality remains elusive.

Whitehorne offers some hope of progress through typological analysis.⁷ He pointed out that there are no reported sexual crimes within the documentation and that this is a distinctly different pattern to any similar modern sample of criminal reports. However, the frequently reported tearing of clothes in assaults may conceal sexual crimes. The complaints were designed to get persons into court and do not necessarily give all the details of an assault and an allusion to sexual crime may well have been enough to communicate to a potential judge the gravity of the case. In modern cultures, it is often very difficult for victims to report sexual crime which often carries with it a stigma for the victim as well as the perpetrator. It need not, then, necessarily surprise us that sexual crime does not appear in the documentation.

* While researching and writing this paper I have been in receipt of a grant from the British Academy to whom I give thanks.

¹B. Baldwin, 'Crime and Criminals in Roman Egypt', *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), 250-263 and R.W. Davies, 'The investigation of some crimes in Roman Egypt', *AS* 4 (1973), 199-212, (reprinted in R.W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (1989), 175-185.) give numerous reports of criminal activity but offer only a limited analysis of the significance of the material.

²Juvenal, *Satire XV*.

³Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 72.

⁴Philo, *In Flaccum*, 86-94, 109-115. Philo was complaining about the actions of the prefect Flaccus who had searched the Jewish area, using troops, in a most tactless way, breaking into the women's quarters and causing a great deal of disturbance. All Flaccus obtained from his search was kitchen utensils. This failure is in contrast to his earlier disarmament of the Egyptians which had filled so many boats that the Nile had been congested.

⁵Tacitus, *Hist.*, I 11

⁶Achilles Tatius, III; Heliodoros, *Aithiopika*, I; Xenophon of Ephesus, III-V; *The Martyrdoms of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, 8.

⁷J.E.G. Whitehorne (1979), 'Sex and society in Roman Egypt', *Actes XV^e Congr.int. pap.*, IV, 240-246.

Since we cannot reach a general view of the prevalence of crime from the literary or papyrological material and the typology of crimes seems little different from that in other pre-modern or even modern societies, we must turn to another approach: comparative method.

R.S. Bagnall has argued in a recent article that there was a high level of violence in Roman Egypt. This violence, however, frequently never made the transition from a private matter to the concern of the state. Using anthropological evidence, he suggests that such matters were dealt with in modern times by the institutions of the particular community and, if possible, would never involve officials external to that community. 'On the whole, villages in Roman Egypt seem to fit with the model, preferring to deal with violence by internal processes than to use legal processes, and seeing the problem mainly as one of reintegration and restoration of status and property than as one of punishment.' Bagnall does express his own doubts, however: 'the extensive body of petitions, however, seem to me to point to a society more ready to use formal structures of the government to accomplish restoration of social stability than are most of the societies on the basis of which the model is constructed'. Part of Bagnall's case for the adoption of this model is the realities of ancient power: the state could not intervene in a meaningful way against crime because that state did not have the power or the resources to do so. He describes Roman government in Egypt as 'a state with a highly concentrated central power and weak ties to local communities. Most villages in Roman Egypt had no permanent resident representatives of central authority, for the village officials were locals serving limited terms. The village secretary was a partial exception, but even he was simply a villager from somewhere else; and the Roman military posts were sporadic at best'.⁸

There are various ways in which disputes could be solved at a local level. The participants could find a mutually agreed arbitrator to solve their problems or they could be summoned before a person who held moral or other non-legal power in the community. Neither of these processes would necessarily leave much documentation. We would, however, expect some agreements to be produced or the arbitration to be mentioned at later stages in a dispute in order to prove the extraordinary recalcitrance of the wrong-doer in not submitting to the judgement of the arbitrator. Petitions mention previous legal cases but not the arbitration of local dignitaries nor the arbitration of any other local body and it is difficult to see which village body would be in a position to make such judgements. In early twentieth-century Egypt these functions were performed by the Arab Council, essentially an informal system of arbitration, and there was also the local aristocracy and religious leaders who could heal divisions.⁹ In the Roman period, there was no equivalent body. The village elders may have had some social power in the village which was recognised in the Ptolemaic period, but by the Roman period, the *presbuteroi* were simply liturgists appointed regardless of age and responsible for the assigning of public land for cultivation.¹⁰ The absence of the aristocracy from the villages in the Fayum in all but the economic sphere is a striking feature of the first two centuries of Roman rule. The village did not defer to a leading aristocratic family because the aristocracy did not interact with the local population.¹¹ Although the temples dominated many villages and towns, Egyptian priests do

⁸R.S. Bagnall, 'Official and private violence in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 26 (1989), 201-216.

⁹For a full account of the complex negotiations concerning a disturbance in the village with a formalised procedure for enforcing norms and avoiding any loss of face see H. Ammar, *Growing up in an Egyptian Village* (1954), 56-61. Other authorities in the village included the Sheikh and the elected village headman, the *Omda*. The position of *omda* had been in the same family for fifty years. H.H. Ayrout, *The Fellaheen* (1945) (trans. H. Wayment), 108-9, depicts the villagers as fiercely hostile to external threats and united in opposition to external threats, though the life of the village itself was riven by rivalries and disputes.

¹⁰A. Tomsin (1952), 'Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne', *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 95-130, 467-528.

¹¹D.W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in third century Egypt: The Heroninus Archive and the Appianus Estate* (1991), 21-22 'I take it that large estates could secure the aid of soldiers in semi-public matters, but they had to pay for this aid, which implies that the soldiers were not maintained by the

not appear to have exercised any influence outside the religious sphere.¹² In times of trouble, the Egyptian population may well have turned to the priests for religious and political leadership but this does not show that they exercised any real power in the everyday activities and disputes of village life.¹³ There is very little evidence to suggest that the villages, or even the metropoleis, had structures in place that were capable of resolving local disputes.

There is, however, considerable evidence of the involvement of bodies which may loosely be called 'state' bodies, in the administration of crime. There are a very large number of petitions from Roman Egypt, from the very beginning of Roman rule to the middle of the third-century, detailing the complaints of villagers about crimes committed against them, which were submitted either to centurions, or to other military officials with similar status, or to the *strategoï*.¹⁴ Egyptian villagers regarded the centurions and others as able and willing to deal with crime. The number of soldiers who appear in our texts and the general impression we have of the dispersal of the army across the *chora* demonstrates that the army was deployed in order to deal with small scale problems. A primary function of the army was to deal with crime within Egypt and it was not in a particularly good position to deal with the large scale eruptions of violence or with a major invasion.¹⁵

There were a large number of forts in fourth-century Egypt, as is clear from the *Notitia Dignatatum*,¹⁶ and the archaeological evidence points to a great expansion in the number of forts in Egypt c. A.D. 300. We not only see the development of new forts in the Eastern Desert to replace the forts which had long guarded the routes to the quarries and the Red Sea, but also the building of forts at Doush, Luxor, Dionysias, Qantara and Hierakonpolis and there are remarkable similarities between the forts at Dionysias, Tell el-Herr and Mehendi which strongly suggest that they were contemporary constructions.¹⁷ The Abinnaeus archive shows

estates and that the estates were not free to deploy them as they wished. We do not have to suppose that Alypius, or indeed any other estate managers, had any military authority... Indeed this use of soldiers points to the rather different conclusion that the estate, even to coerce its own employees, turned to the authorities for aid'. The aristocracy, even in villages which were economically dominated by their estates, could not exert enough social power within the village to extract tax revenue without the aid of external authorities.

¹²J.M. Modrzejewski, 'Le loi des Égyptiens': le droit grec dans l'Égypte romaine', *Proc. of the XVIII int. Congr. of Pap.* (1988), 383-399 (reprinted in *Droit impérial et traditions locales dans l'Égypte romaine* (1990), IX), having noted that the priests probably had a judicial role in Pharaonic Egypt, shows that Egyptian law was blended with Greek law to produce the law of the *chora* of the Roman period. H.J. Wolff, 'Law in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Essays in Honour of C. Bradford Welles* (ASP 1) (1966), 67-77, argues that there were two distinct legal systems in the Ptolemaic period, one for the Greek community and the other for the Egyptians but this system had broken down by the middle of the second century B.C.

¹³Dio, LXXII 4. We must be very careful before placing any faith in the historicity of this passage. The social position of the Egyptian priesthood had been in decline for some considerable time under pressure from changing political and cultural circumstances, but, in a relatively non-hellenised area, in a time of dire economic conditions and disillusionment with the central authorities, it would not be unexpected for the people to turn to the priests for leadership.

¹⁴R. Alston, *The Roman Army in Egypt 31 B.C.- A.D. 212* (1990), (Univ. of London Ph.D.) 166-199.

¹⁵Alston, *The Roman Army in Egypt ...*

¹⁶*Not.Dig. Or.* XXVIII; XXXI.

¹⁷M. Reddé & J.-C. Golvin, 'Du Nil à la Mèr Rouge. Documents anciens et Nouveaux sur les routes du désert orientale d'Égypte', *Karthago* 21 (1987), 5-64; R.E. Zitterkopf & S.E. Sidebotham, 'Stations and towers on the Quseir-Nile road', *JEA* 75 (1989), 155-189; J. Gascou, 'Douch: rapport préliminaire des campagnes de fouilles de l'hiver 1978/9 et de l'automne 1979', *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 287-345; G. Wagner, 'Le camp romaine de Douch (Oasis de Khargeh- Égypte)', *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II. 13 int. Limeskongress. Aalen 1983* (1986), 671-2; M. Reddé, 'À l'ouest du Nil: une frontière sans soldats, des soldats sans frontières', *Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVth international Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (1991), 485-493; J.-C. Golvin et al., *Le camp romaine de Louqsor* (1987); J. Schwartz & H. Wild, *Qasr Qârûn/Dionysias 1948. Fouilles franco-suissees. Rapports I* (1950); J. Schwartz et al., *Fouilles franco-suissees. Rapports II. Qasr Qârûn/Dionysias 1950* (1969); J.-M. Carrié, 'Les *Castra* Dionysiadios et l'évolution de l'architecture romaine tardive', *MEFRA* 86 (1974), 819-50, argues that the fort is earlier than the date given here; *CIL* III 13578; *CIL* III 22; J. Leclant & G. Clerc, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte au

us how the military interacted with the civilian population and that the forts were a centre of governmental authority.¹⁸ Security was also ensured by watchtowers, some of which are preserved in the Eastern desert, and the watchtower guards, mentioned in numerous collections of ostraka from Upper Egypt.¹⁹ Other important routes may well have had towers to give the people early warning of approaching bandits and watchtowers and their guards are frequently attested in the Fayum.²⁰ Towers in the Nile Valley would not only have been able to warn villagers of attackers but, crucially, were able to monitor traffic along the roads.

In addition to the military involvement with crime, there was an extensive system of guards within the civilian administration. The *phulakes* and the *archephodoi* were primarily responsible for the security of their villages and had the local knowledge which would have enabled them to be effective. In the metropoleis, P.Oxy. I 43v details the measures taken to ensure the security of the city by placing guards in important buildings and on important thoroughfares. Although these guards might not have been able to deter the serious criminal, they could have provided information of use in an investigation. Oxyrhynchus and many other cities were walled and access to the city was probably prevented at night. At all times the walls themselves provided an important way in which the movement of people could be controlled.²¹ In addition to these resources, there were also the *dekanoi*, a militia raised to guard important areas and which probably conscripted a large proportion of the rural population.²²

The Romans devoted a great deal of time and resources to dealing with the problem of crime. The army was used to investigate crimes and was in a position to intervene in cases where crime had become a major problem. The use of guards and of fortifications reduced the ability of criminals to attack specific property or sites but, most importantly, the Romans were able to monitor the movement of people within the country and control that movement, either with guards, with watchtowers or with walls. The local population was enlisted in the struggle against crime by using locally raised militia and policemen. Although limited by the technology available, the Romans were able to exert a high level of control over the population and the Roman state was intimately involved in the structures which dealt with crime. This was a state which had the power to control and intervene in the life of the Egyptian people. The efforts of the Roman state must have a considerable effect in limiting criminal activity and controlling crime.

Crime, however, is not merely a function of opportunity. The Romans did nothing to limit the desire to commit crime. The causes of crime are complex but, in addition to economic factors, we must consider social alienation. The fact that there were no strong local power structures in the early Roman period that could use their authority to make peace within the community and reinforce the social order, must have a deleterious effect on the local population's ability to deal with internal tensions. In which case, the Roman system can be seen to be one that imposed social behaviour from the outside which was almost certainly less effective than internal controls and must have led to a fairly high level of crime. For Rome,

Soudan 1986-1987', *Orientalia* 57 (1988), 307-404; R. Lepsius, *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai* (1852) (ed. K.R.H. MacKenzie), 126-7.

¹⁸H.I. Bell et al., *The Abinnaeus Archive* (1962).

¹⁹O. Amst., O. Florida; O. Guéraud, 'Ostraca grecs et latins de l'Wadi Fawâkhir (*O.Fawâkhir*)', *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 141-196. (=SB VI 9017).

²⁰P. Fay. 38, a centurion demands that the watchtower at Euhemeria is properly manned; P. Fay. 108, an assault on travellers which a watchtower guard sought, but failed, to prevent; BGU IX 1891; 1892; 1894; XV 2512, 2537, 2538, 2539, P. Berl. Frisk 1, P. Berl. Leigh. I 6, P. Bour. 32, P. Col. II 1, V 1, P. Fam. Tebt. 23, P. Mich. IV 223, 224, 225, 362, attest guards or payments for the guards.

²¹P. Ross. Georg. III 8 is a fourth-century letter from villagers at Euhemeria to their patron, Nechos, reassuring him of their loyalty and the measures they take to secure their village against outsiders and any who might be hostile to him or his family.

²²R.S. Bagnall, 'Army and police in Roman Upper Egypt', *JARCE* 14 (1977), 67-86.

however, crime was not entirely disadvantageous. Crime not only divides a population but unites it against the threat. If Rome could be seen as protecting society against criminal elements, Rome would win the loyalty of the local population.

THE HEIRESS CALPURNIA HERACLIA

Soheir Zaki Bassiouni

Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudaimia came from a distinguished family of Alexandrian notables, enjoying Roman citizenship prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana*. She was the daughter of Gaius Calpurnius Theon, ex-member of the Mouseion,¹ and a granddaughter of Aurelius Horion, the archidicastes.² They were a family of great wealth.

As is well known, her grandfather, Aurelius Horion, had in A.D. 202 rendered several benefactions to Oxyrhynchus. He had offered a large financial gift to Oxyrhynchus to be invested and its revenues spent on maintaining the annual contest of ephebes.³ He also presented each of the villages, in which he and his son owned estates,⁴ a sum of money to be invested in hay, and the yearly revenue to be devoted to the assistance of the inhabitants on whom the liturgy fell.⁵ He addressed two petitions to the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla to prevent his gift from being directed to other purposes.⁶

From a papyrus dated A.D. 323 we learn that the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus continued to enjoy the fruits of his generosity for more than a century.⁷

The amount of the gift of Aurelius Horion and the manner of its investment can be deduced from the lines of another papyrus which represents part of the file of Dionysius son of Sarpion, also called Harpocraton.⁸ It records that he had been granted permission to borrow 12 talents and 1700 drachmae from the endowment given to the city by Aurelius Horion and his sons, as well as by Calpurnius Firmus.

Thus one way of investing the gift was to employ the capital as money loaned on interest. Considering that the loan of 12 talents and 1700 drachmae which was granted to Dionysius was only part of the gift, one can imagine how large the original donation must have been.

In due course his wealth passed on to his descendants, among whom were his son Gaius Calpurnius Theon and his granddaughter Calpurnia Heraclia, some of whose private papers have come down to us.

It is of special interest that the landed property of Calpurnia Heraclia does not only go back to her father and her grandfather, but was registered at a much earlier date, the oldest of which were 6 pieces of land registered at the following dates:

¹P.Oxy. 3047, 3; 3048, 12

²PSI 1255, 7

³P.Oxy. 705

⁴cf. P.Oxy. 705, 70-71

⁵cf. C. Milne, 'The Ruin of Egypt by Roman Mismanagement' *JRS* 17, 1927, p. 8

⁶P.Oxy. 705 introd.

⁷P.Oxy. 60

⁸P.Oxy. 2848

Year	Area	Place
19 Augustus	26 arourae	Schoebis village ⁹
20 Augustus	4 arourae	Osoronnohphris village ¹⁰
30 Augustus	25 arourae	Osoronnohphris village ¹¹
2 Tiberius	6 arourae	Schoebis village ¹²
8 Tiberius	6 arourae	Osoronnohphris village ¹³
12 Tiberius	6 arourae	Osoronnohphris village ¹⁴

This table illustrates that part of the property was registered more than 250 years before in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius. From a record presented to the komogrammteus by her secretary Aurelius Hierax, we learn that much of the land of Calpurnia Heraclia was catoecic or came from the old *kleroi* or *doreae* and was classified as uninundated and artificially irrigated. It was all leased out.

The recording here of these two types may reveal that they originally came from confiscated land. It has long been known that much of the uninundated land was confiscated for the obvious purpose of restoring it to cultivation. Emperor Philip in whose reign the papyrus is dated (A.D. 245), was active in selling confiscated land to restore the welfare of Egypt.¹⁵

It is possible, therefore, that Calpurnia in her presentation of that record, wished to indicate that she already had enough land in her possession (1700 arourae), in order to avoid being forced to buy more uninundated land from the state, but one notices that some areas of her property were registered one year prior to the record, which may be an indication that she was forced to buy that part of the land. If this was so, she was treated as a male land-owner, because of her great wealth, and not as was customary in the case of women who only acquired property through inheritance and or dowry and not through purchase, as has been noted by Prof. D. Hobson.¹⁶

Another papyrus where the name of Calpurnia Heraclia is mentioned, is divided into two parts: the first part is a notice from the *iuridicus* requiring immediate registration of the corn stored in the city and nome of Oxyrhynchus, on the following day. It warns that in case of disobedience the Imperial treasury would confiscate all amounts of corn as well as the building in which the corn was found. In the second part we find a record of the *epitropoi* of Calpurnia Heraclia registering the corn she had, at the right time and estimating it at 5,045 artabae.¹⁷

This papyrus indicates that the situation was hazardous and that the corn was not abundant, which suggests the probability of the occurrence of a famine.¹⁸ Therefore the State tried through this notice to buy the corn necessary for its needs. The price of six denarii was fixed for one artaba.¹⁹

Considering that one aroura produces ten artabae of corn, we may deduce that the land producing this amount of corn can be estimated at 500 arourae. It is probable that some of the land-produce had been disposed of before this notice was issued. Thus the land of Calpurnia Heraclia as indicated by P.Oxy. 3047 and 3048 was not less than 2200 arourae. It seems

⁹P.Oxy. 3047, 26

¹⁰ibid.

¹¹ibi. 31

¹²P.Oxy. 3047, 25

¹³ibid. 31

¹⁴ibid.

¹⁵M Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*², Oxford 1958, p. 489.

¹⁶D. Hobson, 'Women as Property Owners in Roman Egypt' *APA* 113, 1983, p. 316

¹⁷P.Oxy. 3048, 6

¹⁸Notice the threat of the *iuridicus* to the non-obedient.

¹⁹P.Oxy. 3048, 6

worthy of note that P.Oxy. 3048 includes some ambiguous words about an amount of oil which was spoiled because of storage. This perhaps implies that she had land planted with oil producing plants.

Finally we can conclude that Calpurnia Heraclia of the third century had a great property of land not less than 2200 arourae, most of which was acquired by inheritance through her family for more than 250 years as mentioned above. This is, so far, the longest recorded history of a property in the same family in Roman Egypt. It was recently considered by El Abbadi that the longest recorded history of a property was over a hundred years,²⁰ whereas it was considered before that to be 35 years, according to Harmon.²¹

²⁰P.Oxy. XLV 3042, introd.

²¹A.M. Harmon, *YCS* 4, 1934, p. 141.

MORE ON MUMMIFICATION?: P.MICH. INV. 3724 REVISED*

Juan Chara

In 'Bemerkungen zu Papyri III <Korr. Tyche>', *Tyche* 5 (1990) pp. 179-80, K.A. Worp proposes some corrections to a private letter (P.Mich. inv. 3724), published by P.J. Sijpesteijn in *Miscel-lània Papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig*, Barcelona 1987, pp. 313-316, and concludes saying that 'der Brief kann ein mehr offizieller Kondolenzbrief sein' (p.180). The following lines aim to discuss to what extent this may be possible or whether the letter is a request for some materials and personal goods, perhaps in relation to some funerary activities.

I

P.Mich.inv. 3724, (9.8 x 10.5 cm.) is described by the editor as a medium brown papyrus irregularly broken off at the top, but fairly regularly on the other sides. Its provenance is unknown. *Ed.pr.* ascribes it to the 3rd cent. and reads it as follows:

Πῶ κυρίῳ μου Ἐρμη[τι] τῷ πά-
τρῳ Κοπρή[ς] χαίριν· πρὸ μὲν [πάν-]
των [εὐχομαί σε] ὑϊένιν] καὶ τὸ προσ-]
κύνημά σου ποιῶ κατ' [ἐκάστην
5 ἡμέραν] παρὰ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς.
διὸ οὖν [ἔγραψά σου ἄλλοτε περὶ τοῦ
γενναμένου πέντους πάν-
των ἀἴγκε τοῦ ἐπιτάτου
μου Ἐρματίονος. διὸ οὖν ἐξερχό-
10 μενος ἕνεκέ μοι ῥητίνην καὶ φα-
τία εἰς ἐργάζειν καὶ τὸ ταλάριον,
ὃ εἶπέν σου.

ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι

traces

In margine sinistra: ἕνεκέ μοι ὑποδήματα.

Verso: 16 [Κοπρή[ς] Ἐρμη[τι] πατρί.
ἀπόδος (design) Ἐρμη[τι] ἀπὸ
Κοπρέ[ς].

1 Ἐρμη[τι]: μ ε corr.(o?) 2 l. χαίρειν 3 l. ὑγιαίνειν 5 l. πατρίοις 6
l. σοι 7 l. πένθους 8 l. ἕνεκε 10 l. ἔνεγκε μοι ε μυ 10-11 l.
φαθία 11 l. ἐργάζειν 12 l. σοι 15 l. ἔνεγκε 18 l. Κοπρέους

Translation (*ed.pr.*):

* I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness and gratitude to Dr. John R. Rea for his helpful suggestions and criticism.

To my lord Hermes, my father, Kopres, greetings. Before all things I pray for your good health and I make daily obeisance for you in presence of our ancestral gods. Therefore now I wrote to you at another time about the sorrow which took hold of all because of my overseer Hermation. Therefore now come out and bring me resin and spattles to work with and the basket which he told you. I pray for your good health.

In margine sinistra: Bring me sandals.

Verso: Kopres to Hermes, his father. Deliver to Hermes from Kopres.

Worp notes that the relation between the mourning of Copres and the object of that mourning, Hermation, is not satisfactorily explained by Sijpesteijn's interpretation of ἀΐγκε for ἔνεκε(ν) or ἔνεκα, and proposes the following reading:

6	διὸ οὖν [ἔγ]ραψά εὐ ἄλλοτε περὶ τοῦ	(κοι)
7	γεναμέ[ν]ου πέντους πάν-	(πένθους)
8	των ἀνικέτου <τοῦ> ἐπιετῆτος	(ἀνικῆτου)
9	μου Ἑρματίονος.	

Worp translates: 'Deshalb habe ich Dir schon früher bezüglich der durch nichts zu überwindenden Trauer um meinen Aufseher Hermation geschrieben', and understands the letter as a letter of condolence.

I do not think, however, that the change of ἀΐγκε τοῦ to ἀνικέτου (l. ἀνικῆτου) <τοῦ> is entirely satisfactory:

i) From a palaeographical point of view the photograph shows that the space between the alpha after των and the vertical stroke before the kappa is too wide for nu, especially when there are some traces of a vertical stroke close to the alpha. It would have been an extremely wide nu, for at the bottom of the presumed iota there are traces of a seemingly oblique stroke, which then should correspond to a prolongation of the central stroke of the nu.

ii) The adjective ἀνίκητος (lat. *invictus*) is only found in the papyri as an attribute accompanying the titles of gods, emperors or military forces (στρατόπεδον), cf. WB s.v. ἀνίκητος. The 'unconquered sorrow' would be a quite unusual expression.

iii) The restoration of ἀνικέτου <τοῦ> also seems hazardous, for it is done on the basis of a supposed misspelling of epsilon for eta and the addition of τοῦ, which would have been omitted by haplography.

iv) The relation which seems to exist between the sorrow of the writer and the things he demands remains unexplained. In any case, if we were dealing with a letter of condolence, we would expect some words of consolation and exhortation (see letters of condolence mentioned in P.Oxy. LV 3819, introd.). Here, we would have only some words of sympathy, expressed moreover in an uncommon way.

Therefore I do not think it is possible to classify this letter as letter of condolence.

II

There are, however, some readings of *ed.pr.* which I think can be improved and help to cast some light on the context of this letter. My proposed reading of the P.Mich. Inv. 3724 is as follows:

Ἐγὼ κυρίῳ μου Ἑρμῆ[τι] τῷ πα-
 τρὶ Κοπρῆς χαίριν. πρὸς μὲν [πάν-
 τῶν] [εὐ]χομαί σε [ὕ]μέν[ιν] καὶ εἰς προσ-
 κύνη[μά] σου ποιῶ κατ' ἐλ[κ]άκτην

- 5 ἡμέρα[ν] παρὰ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς.
διὸ οὖν [ἔγ]γραψά σοι ἄλλοτε περὶ τοῦ
γενναμένου πέντους πάν-
των αἰνῶναικε τοῦ ἐπιστάτου
μου Ἑρμησίονος, διὸ οὖν ἐξερχό-
10 μενος ἕνεκέ μοι ῥητίνην καὶ ἀσφάλ-
τια εἰς ἐργάζειν καὶ τὸ ταλάριον,
ὃ εἶπέν σοι.

ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι

... (traces)

Upwards along the fibres in the left margin:

- 15 ἕνεκέ μοι ὑποδήματα.

Back:

[Κοπρή] Ἑρμῆτι πατρί.

ἀπόδος (design) Ἑρμῆτι ἀπὸ

Κοπρέ.

2 l. χαίρειν 3 l. ὑγιαίνειν pap. υἱεν 4 κυνημία *ed.pr.* 1. καθ' 5
πατρίοις (l. πατρώοις) *ed.pr.* 6 l. σοι 7 l. πένθους 8 l. ἕνεκα vel
ἕνεκεν 9. l. Ἑρμησίονος Ἑρματίονος *ed. pr.* 10 l. ἕνεγκε, ῥητίνην
ῥητίνην καὶ σφατῖα (l. σπαθῖα) *ed. pr.* οἱ in μοι corr. e υ 11 l. ἐργάζειν?
12 l. εἰπόν? σοι 15 l. ἕνεγκε 18. l. Κοπρή

'To my lord Hermes, my father, Copres, greetings. Before all I pray for your good health and I make your obeisance every day before our ancestral gods. Because of that which I wrote to you on another occasion about the mourning of all (of us) which has arisen on account of my overseer Hermesion, therefore come out and bring me resin and bitumen for the work and the basket about which I(?) told you. I pray for your good health'.

Upwards along the fibres: 'Bring me sandals'.

Back: 'Copres to (his) father Hermes. Deliver to Hermes from Copres'.

5 πατρίοις θεοῖς. *Ed.pr.* reads πατρίοις for πατρώοις and in 5n comments: 'for the contraction of two /o/ vowels see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 300'. But, according to the examples given there, we should expect a long vowel (πατρωῖς for πατρώοις). Although both πάτριος θεοί and πατρωῖ θεοί are attested in the papyri, the space suggests that the writer likely wrote πατρίοις.

6-9 διὸ οὖν... διὸ οὖν. The beginning of the body of the letter after the proskynema formula with διὸ οὖν is certainly unusual. διὸ οὖν, which is found elsewhere (cf. CPR VIII 20.2; P.Oxy.Hels. 50.17; P.Petaus 26.12, etc.), has normally a consecutive sense, as in line 9. The position in 6 suggests that we should understand it in its original sense of δι' ὃ or διὰ τό (cf. H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache*, Uppsala-Leipzig, 1932, p. 53). Note also that διό sometimes was confused with διότι (J.H. Moulton-N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. III: Syntax, Edinburgh 1963, p. 333; F. Blass-A. Debrunner-F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*¹⁵, Göttingen 1979, § 451.5). Perhaps there is a parallel phenomenon to the 'anticipatory' γάρ found in another private letter (P.Oxy. LV 3810.7). There γάρ is placed immediately after the

proskynema formula, probably meaning 'since, as' (3810.8n). In our text the expression suggests that the second διὸ οὖν is an explanation of what had been introduced at the beginning: 'because of that which I wrote to you on another occasion..., therefore come out and bring me...'. I understand then a possible relation between the mourning (πένθους, 7) and the things that Copres needs.

7 γεναμένῳ πένθους (l. πένθους) πάντων αἰ[ν]αικε (l. ἔνεκα or ἔνεκεν) τοῦ ἐπιστάτου μου Ἑρμησίονος. One of the problems of interpretation of the whole letter seems to lie in the understanding of these words. The original interpretation of *ed.pr.*, γεναμένου πένθους πάντων ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐπιστάτου μου, seems to me more appropriate than the version by Worp, as has been mentioned before. However, *ed.pr.* reads αἰγκε, explaining that, although it is not listed by Gignac in his grammar as a form of ἔνεκε(ν), 'we are clearly dealing here with an example of Kretschmer's law: an unaccented (etymologically short) vowel can disappear after a nasal (or liquid) when the preceding (or following) syllable has the same vowel (cf. Gignac I, pp. 306ff.)'. Worp was not fully satisfied with this reading, because he could find no parallels for this spelling. As has been said above, it seems to me that the space between alpha and the vertical stroke is too wide for only two letters. In my opinion the faded trace of ink at the bottom of the second iota would belong to the tail characteristic of the alphas in this hand. The spelling αἰναικεν already appears, not surprisingly, in PSI IX 1082.11 (4th cent.? A.D.), a private letter where the confusion of epsilon and αι is constant.

πένθος is normally used for the grief or sorrow for the dead and also for the period of mourning after somebody's death. Therefore, we can assume that Hermesion has died. The expression γεναμένου πένθους may be understood as an indication that a period of mourning has begun: see UPZ I 18.20, where the 'twins' at the Serapeum of Memphis refer to some family problems and add that, when the mourning began, they were brought to mourn for the god: γενομένου δὲ τοῦ πένθους| κατάγουσιν ἡμᾶς πενθεῖν τῷ θεῷ; cf. also UPZ I 23.14: ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ, οὗ μηνὸς ἐγένετο τὸ πένθος, μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορή...

Mourning 'for someone' is normally expressed with the genitive (see LSJ s.v. πένθος, 1): see for instance the feast of the mourning of the gods Apis and Mnevis, πένθος τοῦ Ἄπιος, πένθος τοῦ Μνήγειος (UPZ I 19.24; 21.8; 96.2). It is also attested with ἐπί (cf. Maysen II,2 474.46). It is likely that here the writer avoided a simple genitive, because he had already used the genitive πάντων after πένθους. He then used ἔνεκα as a way of expressing the cause of the mourning. Although I cannot find it attested elsewhere, πένθος ἔνεκά τινος should be another normal possibility of expressing the lament or mourning for someone. P.Tebt. II 332.11 (A.D. 176): νυκτὸς καιρὸν λαβόμενοι τῆς ἐκκυτείας (l. ἐκκοιτίας) μου πένθους ἀνδρὸς θυγατρὸς μου ἔνεκα, suggests that the writer might have intended ἔνεκα with πένθους and also with ἀνδρὸς. Note also that πενθεῖν ἔνεκά τινος is attested: εἰ δὲ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἔνεκα πενθοῦσιν ([Plu.] *Cons. ad Apol.* 111E).

8-9 τοῦ ἐπιστάτου μου Ἑρμησίονος (l. -ίωνος; cf. F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 65-6). *Ed.pr.* reads Ἑρματίονος (and suggests that since this name only occurs in the Tax Rolls from Karanis, P.Mich.IV 223.22, 596; 224.445, etc., where a slave bears it, the presumably dead Hermation was also a slave). The photograph shows that the vertical trace of ink before the iota is rather curved, more appropriate for a sigma than for a tau. Before that there is only a tiny trace of a foot; alpha or eta are equally possible. Thus I prefer to read the name Ἑρμησίων which is attested in several places, especially in documents of the 2nd century A.D. (cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.v.).

The word ἐπιτάτης is used in various contexts to indicate someone who is set over something as overseer or superintendent (in a temple, village, military camp, etc.; cf. WB, s.v. and F. Preisgke, *Fachwörter*, pp. 89f.). Here we do not have other references which allow us to determine his precise function. The proximity of ἐργάζιν (l. -ειν?) (11) could lead us to think of a ἐπιτάτης τῶν ἔργων (cf. K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im Ptolemäischen und Römischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1910, p. 67), but the evidence is too weak. It might be better to think of ἐπιτάτης with the meaning of 'master of apprentices' (cf. P.Oxy. XXXI 2586.7n; XLI 2977.35,40,42 and introd.; see 'Additions and Corrections...', P.Oxy. LI, p. xiv *sub* no. 2586), which here might suit a context of a collective mourning (πένθος πάντων).

10-11 ῥίτινην καὶ ᾠσφάλια. *Ed.pr.* reads ῥήτινην καὶ σφατία (l. σπαθία). The photograph shows that the letter after rho is iota, not eta; see the same spelling in P.Michael. 36,A.4 (4th cent.).

σφατία for σπαθία does not seem to be very convincing. The photograph also shows that there are some traces of ink after the alpha in 10, which look very much like a lambda. The restoration of ᾠσφάλια with the same meaning as ᾠσφαλία looks more promising, especially when in the papyri resin and bitumen appear together in various contexts (see below). Although the word ᾠσφάλιον is known as meaning 'trefoil' (see LSJ) and one could explain a confusion between ᾠσφαλία and ᾠσφάλια by the almost exact spelling (for the phenomenon of interchanging like-sounding words of different spelling and meaning cf. H.C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae posteriores* I, p. 373, n.1; II, p. 550), here it is presumably a diminutive of ᾠσφαλιον (for the increasing popularity of the diminutives in -ιον in the papyri see L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, Oxford 1945, pp. 84ff).

Resin and bitumen were widely used in antiquity (for Greek and Latin terminology see J. André, 'La résine et la poix dans l'antiquité, technique et terminologie' in *Ant. Class.* 33 [1964] pp. 86-97). Resin is found in Egypt mainly in connection with cosmetics, perfumes, incense, mummification, and medical procedures (cf. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*,⁴ London 1962, pp. 316-324; cf. M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire Analytique des Papyrus Grecs de Médecine*, Genève 1981, nos. 8, 115, 146, 164, 172, 182); for other purposes such as sealing vessels, preparing perfumes, correcting the acidity of wines, varnishing, etc. cf. *ed.pr.*, comm. *ad loc.* and R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford 1982, pp. 467-71).

Asphalt or bitumen was also used in a wide range of applications. R.J. Forbes distinguishes major applications (especially in Mesopotamia), such as building material, waterproofing medium, roadbuilding material (R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity*, Leiden 1936, pp. 42-73), from minor ones, such as lighting and heating, paints and protective coatings, dyestuff, waterproofing, cement or adhesive (for mummy chests, wooden coffins or statues), magic, medicine, agriculture and mummification (cf. *ibid.* pp. 79-94). The papyri attest the use of asphalt, almost always along with resin, for several purposes:

i) In P.Cair.Zen. IV 59763.12, in an account concerning the woodwork and painting of a large house, the writer says: παρεχόμενοι χωρὶς πίσσης καὶ ᾠσφάλτου, which the editor translates '...black resin and bitumen'. For the application of asphalt for painting see also P.Cair.Zen. V 59847.12: ἐγκαῦσαι... τὰ δ' ὠτία τῶν ἐχουκῶν ᾠσφάλτῳ and 27: ᾠσφάλτου μν(ᾠ) β' τιμή (δρ.) β; for this use, probably as a protective coating to prevent oxidation, cf. Str. XVI.1.5; Plin. *H.N.* XXXIV.15; XXXV.182; see R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen*, p. 82.

ii) In a list of ingredients of a medical recipe or perhaps of an aromatic product resin and asphalt (from Syria) are mentioned together (PSI Congr. XI 12.15-6 (3rd cent.): ῥήτινην μν(ᾠ) β [c ?] ᾠσφάλτου Κυριακ(ῆς) μν(ᾠ) α. For the use of asphalt in medical

recipes see also P.Aberd. 10.10 (plaster prescription), PSI Congr. XVII 19.5 (recipe for a *malagma*); P.Cair.Masp. II 67141,II,A.26 (recipe against the migraine); P.Tebt.Tait 44.13 (medical prescription); O.Mon.Epiph. II 662.5 (H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. II. Greek Ostraca and Papyri*, New York 1966, p. 323) (cf. G.A. Gerhard, 'Dai papiri della Società Italiana. Frammento medico sulle proprietà terapeutiche dell' asfalto', in *Studi Italiani de Filologia Classica* N.S. 12 (1935) pp. 93-4; V. Gazza, 'Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell' Egitto Greco-Romano', in *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 86-110 and II, *Ibid.*, 36 (1956) p. 101; M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire*, nos. 19, 22, 112, 183, 157; R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen*, p. 91-92).

iii) In a letter of the 2nd cent. A.D. (P.Warr. 13.A.5-7), the writer mentions the use of these two substances for the *Kuphi*, a perfume related to cult activities: ἀνέπεμψακ [τὰ] εἰς τὸ κῦφι βαλλόμενα μετὰ ἀσφάλτου καὶ ῥητίνης (cf. Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 80 [Mor. 384A]; see commentary by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cardiff 1970, pp. 247 and 569).

iv) In PMG VII 237 and VIII 99, in a formula of prayer addressed to the god Bes, the god is said to be lying in a coffin and having at the side of the head ὑπαγκώνιον ῥητίνης καὶ ἀσφάλτου (for the use of asphalt in magic cf. R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen*, p. 91).

v) P.Holm. α.32 attests the application of bitumen (mixed with resin) as dyestuff in a recipe for colouring metals and for the making of imitation precious stones (cf. R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen*, p. 84).

11 ἐργάζιν (l. -ειν) or ἐργαζίκων (l. ἐργακίαν). For ἐργάζειν instead of the normal ἐργάζεσθαι see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 326; Mayser I², 2, 164 (note that H.A. Rupprecht, *WB Suppl.* 2 (1967-1976), s.v. ἐργάζομαι adds ἐργάζω in brackets).

12 ὃ εἶπέν σοι (l. εἶπόν? σοι). The epsilon is certain, but I wonder whether we should read εἶπον as a reference to the previous letter (ἔγραψά σοι ἄλλοτε, 6). For the confusion of epsilon and omicron, see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 289.

III

The context of the letter remains rather obscure. It is hazardous to try to explain what the situation of Copres was and what he needed those materials for. If there is a link between πένθος and the use of resin and asphalt (as could be deduced from the expression διὸ οὖν... διὸ οὖν), one could then venture the hypothesis of a possible relation of these materials with a funerary activity. If τοῦ γεναμένου πένθους is understood as the mourning for Hermesion, which had already begun, perhaps some time ago (ἔγραψά σοι ἄλλοτε περὶ τοῦ γεναμένου πένθους), then one could understand that:

i) Copres might be referring to the resin and bitumen for the sacrifices to be offered during the funeral (for ἐργάζομαι as 'to perform rites', see NT, 1 Cor 9.13; this use, however, is almost restricted to that passage and very unlikely here);

ii) ἐργάζιν (l. ἐργάζειν or perhaps ἐργακίαν) might rather refer to the work for making a mummy, in which resin and bitumen were used. A mummy was normally made by a ταριχευτής, although relatives of the deceased should provide with the various products needed for the job (for this profession cf. P.Tor.Amenothos, pp. 4-6; A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, Le Caire 1952, pp. 204ff; H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I, p. 96f; cf. also UPZ II 162.VIII.15 where the work of the ταριχευταί is called an ἐργακία, although the most frequent term for it is θεραπεία: cf. P.Tor.Amenothos, p. 53; H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I, p. 421).

There is no agreement on how much time the whole process of embalming took, and it probably was not always the same. It could have lasted from c. 35-40 to 60-70 days. It is possible that the period of mourning could have been the same as the time taken by the

embalmers to do their job, which varied along the centuries, various choices of mummification, social status, practices and actual beliefs (cf. A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 216). According to Herodotus (II, 85) and Diodorus (I, 91) and confirmed by the studies made on the extant mummies, although there were various ways of embalming, in general it is accepted that first 'the body was packed with linen and other materials and heaped with dry natron for about forty days. (It is interesting to note that in modern-day Egypt a funerary ceremony is carried out forty days after a death). At the end of this period of desiccation, the temporary packing material was removed. The body was then washed and packed with a variety of materials, including resin-soaked linen, sawdust, and even lichen and onions' (S. D'Auria, 'Mummification in Ancient Egypt', in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, C.H. Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1988, p. 17-18); before amulets and jewelry were placed on the mummy, liquefied resin was smeared over the whole body. Then the mummy was wrapped in linen bandages, sometimes with resin between the layers (cf. W.H. Peck, 'Mummies of Ancient Egypt', in A. & E. Cockburn, *Mummies, Disease, and Ancient Cultures*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 15 and. 22; R. David, *Mysteries of the Mummies*, London 1978, pp. 58-71; A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 198-220). For a discussion of the use of bitumen in mummification (attested by classical authors (Str. XVI.2.45; D.S. XIX.99; Plin. *H.N.* XVI.52), see especially R. David, *Mysteries of the Mummies*, pp. 104-187; for the use of resin A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 303-308; esp. pp. 316ff. Lucas suggests that on the basis of available evidence, bitumen was not used during the mummification process until a very late period in Egyptian history, and goes on to postulate that if a greater number of mummies of a late date were examined, the presence of bitumen might be demonstrated. Analyses made of a mummy from the Graeco-Roman period (Manchester Museum no. 1770) confirm these observations: 'the mummy was wrapped in linen cloth which had been dipped into either a molten mixture of bitumen and galbanum or some solution containing these' (R. David, *Mysteries of the Mummies*, p. 106). In any case one should not exclude the possibility of other simpler uses of substances such as resin and bitumen in the general process of burials. In this respect I think is worth quoting these words of Forbes: 'bitumen... may have been... widely used especially in the rougher and cheaper form of embalming, much evidence being destroyed later on by the Arabs. It is therefore highly desirable to analyse more samples and thus obtain more statistical evidence as to the frequency of the use of bitumen, either in a pure form or mixed with spices, natron, cedar oil and other materials and especially to find out whether it was perhaps connected with the cheaper forms of burial, thus perhaps giving support to the statements of Strabo and Diodorus' (R.J. Forbes, *Bitumen*, p. 94).

That Copres may have needed resin and asphalt for the process of mummification after the first period of drying the body (and subsequent mourning) would not be impossible. Our letter may be reflecting a situation similar to the one described in P.Haun. II 17, a private letter of the 2nd century. In it a certain Horion is required by two women to write on their behalf to a man (their son and brother) and to ask him to buy, and presumably bring back with him, most of the materials wanted for making a mummy: *εινδόνα, φάρμακα, τεκτονική κόλλα*, which the editor translates as 'linen, herbs, joiner's glue'. From Horion's letter we can assume that the death of one of their relatives had recently happened, due to the fact that the women are too overcome by grief to write themselves. It is likely that the *φάρμακα* they ask might be a mixture of some products, resin and asphalt included: 'Les textes papyrologiques ne signalent pas d'achats de bitume, à moins que cette substance ne se dissimule dans un mélange dénommé *πίσση* ou *φάρμακον*, puisqu'il paraît probable que l'asphalte n'était pas employé pur, mais mélangé aux résines et aux goudrons végétaux' (A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 210). The editor of P.Haun. II 17 also notes that at the time of writing the letter, the body was

perhaps in the care of the embalmers. Thus, one might guess that those materials would probably be needed once the desiccation of the body was finished. 'Quand le corps avait été enduit des produits nécessaires, commençait la dernière phase de la momification, l'enroulement dans les bandelettes. Afin de mieux isoler le cadavre du monde extérieur on enduisait encore de résine et de bitume (cf. le φάρμακον εἰς τὰ λείνα dans le compte [de funérail] publié par Wessely [Stud. P.P XXII 56.11-12]) les premières couches de linceuls et de bandelettes, de façon à constituer une sorte de gangue très dure qu'on est obligé d'attaquer au ciseau, quand on y parvient au cours du déshabillage' (A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 211).

Another private letter (P.Fouad 75 = J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri*, no. 90; cf. H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae I*, pp. 284-6) might help in casting some light on this process. In the letter, written on 18th Phaophi 64 A.D., a woman called Thaubas writes to her father Pompeios to inform him that her sister Herennia has died after childbirth. This had happened five days before, on the 13th. Thaubas tells her father that after her death she herself and Herennia's husband wrapped the corpse and sent it to Alabanthis, where it could be seen: ...τετελεύτηκεν καὶ περιεετάλη(ι) ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ὡς ἔδει (l. ἔδει) καὶ ἐτέθη(ι) εἰς Ἀλαβανθίδα ἵνα ἐὰν ἔλθῃς καὶ θέλῃς δύνῃ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν. One might venture here that περιεετάλη is referring to the first step in the process of embalming (although it is also possible to understand it as the complete mummification, as Bataille thinks; cf. A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 216); thus it might have been something like a basic wrapping made at home before sending the corpse to professional embalmers, where it would normally stay for several weeks during the process of mummification, and it could be seen by relatives there. This fits with other words of Bataille's study: 'On pouvait par exemple limiter, dans une première phase de l'enroulement, l'habillage de la momie à un nombre réduit de δεσμοί, pour le compléter ensuite au bout de quelque temps. Dans l'intervalle, la momie, déjà suffisamment protégée, aurait été conservée par exemple en οἴκημα θηκῶν, puis définitivement équipée pour son installation dans le tombeau' (A. Bataille, *Memnonia*, pp. 222).

I wonder whether these facts might help us to understand the expression δευτέρα ταφή, which occurs sometimes in inscriptions and letters in relation to mummies or burials. At least two papyri refer to it: P.Stras. 87, ii, 48. 55 (168 A.D.): πραθήσεται τὰ ἄξια δραχμῶν χιλίων τριακοσίων εἰς [δευτέραν ταφήν (*AFP IV* (1908), p. 133) and P.Giss. 68.7 (2nd cent. A.D.). In the latter there is also mention of some linen wrapping: εὐκταῖον ἦν μοι δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀπάσασθαί σε, ἐπὶ (l. ἐπεὶ) οἶδας τὸ συμβᾶν τῷ εὐμοίρω υἱῷ μου Χαιρήμονι, ὅτι ἐξάπινα ἐγένετο τὸ ἀτύχημα καὶ δεῖ αὐτὸν δευτέρα ταφή ταφῆναι... μετέλαβον ὅτι τὰ ὀθόνια εὐνά ἐστι παρά σοι. Although the exact meaning of these words is debatable, it seems very likely to be in relation with the final wrapping of a mummy; for a summary of interpretations of δευτέρα ταφή, see especially É.Bernard, *Inscriptions Métriques de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1969, p. 386. Bernard basically accepts Goossens' interpretation (R. Goossens, 'L'épithaphe de Seuthès et les «secondes funérailles» à Hermoupolis', in *CE* 26 [1938] 377: 'il était nécessaire, au bout d'un certain temps, après avoir sommairement traité le corps à l'huile de cade, de procéder à un nouvel enroulement de la dépouille dans des bandelettes. On exhumaient alors le mort pour lui faire subir une seconde toilette funèbre... L'usage de la maison funéraire devait faciliter l'opération.'), which identifies δευτέρα ταφή with the second wrapping of the corpse in a process of mummification (see also A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 222).

Thus in the letters mentioned above we would have attested references to various stages in this process: a first step of embalming the corpse immediately after the death of the person (P.Fouad 75) and the definitive one after several days of desiccation (P.Haun. II 17; P.Giss. 68; P.Mich. inv. 3724). These days might have coincided with the days of mourning. Our

letter may then be related to this context of the final preparation of the mummy, an operation which might have been called δευτέρα ταφή.

iii) Finally, it is necessary to say that it is also possible that we might just be dealing with an ordinary letter of Copres, a sort of craftsman, whose overseer Hermesion has died. He had told his 'father' Hermes about it, and, apart from writing to him about his mourning obligations (it might be worth noticing that a person was dispensed from working during that period; see for instance P.Brem. 15.13-17 = CPJ II 446 [118 A.D.]), asks his 'father', perhaps also a craftsman, to come and bring him some things he needs for his work.

This solution and the previous ones are only some among many. As often happens with private letters the full understanding of the document is exclusively reserved for the protagonists of the story.

LE P.PETR.² I, 1, LES TERRES CUITES ISIAQUES ET LE CULTE D'ISIS ET APHRODITE-HATHOR.*

Frédéric Colin, Aspirant du FNRS

Le P.Petr.² I, 1, col. II, datant de 238/7, est un testament par lequel un Libyen de l'épigoné lègue plusieurs biens immeubles à deux femmes grecques. Dès 1905, en proposant une nouvelle lecture d'un passage resté obscur dans l'*editio princeps*¹ de ce document, U. Wilcken² y reconnaissait l'attestation la plus ancienne dans les sources grecques de l'expression "mère des dieux" comme épithète de la déesse Isis. L'observation du savant allait faire du P.Petr.² I, 1, une source importante pour l'étude du culte isiaque dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque. En effet, W. Otto et H. Bengtson³ virent dans ce papyrus la preuve que, dans les milieux de la cour ptolémaïque, un syncrétisme entre Isis et Cybèle, la "mère des dieux" phrygienne, s'était produit dès la seconde moitié du III^{ème} siècle *a.C.* Leurs conclusions furent généralement acceptées,⁴ jusqu'à ce que W. Clarysse⁵ revoie récemment la question dans sa réédition des papyrus de la collection Flinders Petrie. Dans les lignes qui vont suivre, je tenterai pour ma part de montrer que l'épithète "mère des dieux" se référait réellement à la déesse Isis et je proposerai une nouvelle interprétation du passage.

Aux lignes 42-44 (d'après la numérotation de W. Clarysse), le texte lu par les premiers éditeurs J. P. Mahaffy et J. G. Smyly et corrigé par U. Wilcken est le suivant : ...Καταλείπω τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι Ἰσιδος ἢ μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] Βερνείκης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρσινόης... [ἢ τέμενος κα]τὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἷς γείτονες..., "...Je lègue le... m'appartenant consacré à Isis mère des dieux-Bérénice et à Aphrodite-Arsinoé [et le (?)] *temenos* sis devant le (ou en face du) sanctuaire, dont sont voisins... etc".

Grâce à un nouvel examen du document, W. Clarysse a vérifié et corrigé plusieurs lectures. Il confirme la leçon I[ἢ μητρ[ὸς θεῶν].⁶ En revanche, la deuxième lettre de la ligne 44 est clairement *alpha*, non *épsilon*,⁷ et il conviendrait de lire à la ligne 43 Βερνείκης plutôt que Βερνείκης. Dès lors, W. Clarysse propose la lecture et les restitutions suivantes : ...Καταλείπω τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι ἰ[ερὸν] ἢ μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] Βερνείκης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρσινόης ὑπ..[ἢ τὰ μὲν [κα]τὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, οἷς γείτονες... "I bequeath my sanctuary of the mother of gods Berenike and of Aphrodite Arsinoe [together with] the holdings opposite the sanctuary - the neighbours of which are...". En cherchant un nom neutre qui

*Je remercie T. S. Pattie de la British Library, qui m'a procuré une photographie du P. Lond. Inv. 497.

¹P. Petr. I, 21.

²P. Petr. III, p.XI.

³W. Otto-H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, München, 1938 (*Abhandl. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.*, 17), p.77-83.

⁴Voir notamment G. Vandebek, *De Interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur*, Leuven, 1946 (*Studia Hellenistica*, 4), p.73-74; Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, I, Leiden, 1973 (*EPRO*, 26), p.42, n.2; p.132 (l'auteur s'exprime en des termes prudents). Voir aussi les références citées dans P. Petr.² I, p.70, n.39.

⁵P. Petr.² I, p.67-71.

⁶Le *nu*, le *éta*, ainsi que le bas de la haste du *tau* et de la queue du *rhô* sont en effet visibles sur la photographie de l'*editio princeps*. Par comparaison avec les autres lignes, une restitution de trois lettres dans la lacune convient fort bien à la place disponible (dans P. Petr.² I, p.69, la leçon μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] au lieu de μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] est une coquille). Après la lacune, la barre et la partie supérieure de l'*épsilon* sont reconnaissables, de même que l'*ô méga*, quoique le bas de l'arrondi en soit mal conservé. Le *nu* est très caractéristique. La comparaison avec une photographie actuelle du papyrus révèle que celui-ci s'est légèrement détérioré depuis la première édition.

⁷Dans P. Petr.² I, p.71, la leçon τὸ μὲν au lieu de τὰ μὲν est une coquille.

s'accorde avec τὸ ὑπάρχον et en constatant à la ligne 44 que le terme ἱεροῦ est déterminé par un article défini, comme s'il avait déjà été question de ce sanctuaire plus haut dans le texte, W. Clarysse restitue à la fin de la ligne 42 le mot ἱερὸν, au lieu de Ἱσιδος.

Cependant, sur base du même raisonnement et de l'examen de la photographie de l'*editio princeps*, on peut aussi en revenir partiellement à la solution proposée par U. Wilcken, en lisant ...Καταλείπω τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι Ἱσιδος ἢ μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] Βερενίκης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρσινόης ἱερὸν ἢ τὰ μὲν [κατὰ] πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, οἷς γείτονες, "...Je lègue le sanctuaire (?) m'appartenant consacré à Isis mère des dieux-Béréenice et à Aphrodite-Arsinoé [et (?)] la propriété sise devant le (ou en face du) sanctuaire, dont sont voisins... etc". Le mot ἱερὸν aurait ainsi été écrit non dans la lacune de la fin de la ligne 42, mais dans la zone illisible de la fin de la ligne 43. Les quelques traces d'encre visibles à cet endroit ne s'y opposent pas⁸ et la place disponible est suffisante. En outre, comme le constate W. Clarysse, aucune des lectures proposées jusqu'à présent ne fournit de solution satisfaisante pour la fin de la ligne 43.⁹ Le problème est résolu si ἱερὸν est écrit à la fin de cette ligne, non à la fin de la ligne 42. Aux lignes 44 et 51, les expressions τὰ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον et τὰ δ'ἐχόμενα seraient soit apposées, soit coordonnées à ἱερὸν. Dans le premier cas, elles décomposeraient les parties constitutives du ἱερὸν, dans le second, elles désigneraient des propriétés léguées en plus du sanctuaire.¹⁰ Ce dernier serait consacré conjointement à Isis mère des dieux et à Aphrodite, auxquelles seraient associées respectivement les reines Béréenice I ou II¹¹ et Arsinoé II.¹²

Quoi qu'il en soit du contenu des lacunes, plusieurs éléments invitent à penser que l'épithète "mère des dieux" se référerait à la déesse Isis.

1° Dans les 25 attestations sur papyrus documentaires de l'épithète μήτηρ θεῶν rassemblées dans le répertoire de G. Ronchi,¹³ cette épithète est toujours précédée du nom d'Isis auquel elle se rapporte. Toutes les occurrences de l'épithète s'observent dans le titre de l'ἱερός πῶλος introduit par Cléopâtre III parmi les prêtres éponymes dans la titulature royale

⁸Au-delà du nom d'Arsinoé (pour la graphie de la terminaison -ης de ce nom, comparer avec la même séquence dans le nom de Béréenice à la même ligne), après quelques traces, dont la première semble verticale, on observe la queue d'une lettre qui descend sous la ligne. Il pourrait s'agir de la queue du *rhô*. Pour sa part, W. Clarysse, que je remercie de m'avoir donné son avis à ce sujet, se demande prudemment s'il ne conviendrait pas de lire à la fin de la ligne 43 τέμενος plutôt que ἱερὸν. Le Libyen ne léguerait alors pas un "sanctuaire" en particulier, mais, d'une façon plus globale, une "enceinte sacrée". Dans l'attente d'un réexamen du document original, il conviendra de rester prudent dans l'interprétation de ce passage difficile.

⁹P. Petr.² I, p.69. Les conjectures καὶ et χωρίον ou πεδίον, dont ἱερὸν dépendrait, envisagées par W. Clarysse ne conviennent pas davantage. En effet, d'une part, le seul mot καὶ est trop court pour la place disponible sur le papyrus et, d'autre part, il apparaît à la ligne 44 que, dans ce document, le terme ἱερὸν est utilisé comme un substantif indépendant, non comme un adjectif accordé avec un substantif neutre.

¹⁰L'expression, κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, qui semble se référer à un élément extérieur au sanctuaire proprement dit, pourrait inviter à adopter la seconde hypothèse, en restituant par exemple καὶ en lacune, après ἱερὸν, à la fin de la ligne 43. À l'inverse, le fait que l'ensemble désigné par le mot ἱερὸν ne soit pas situé par rapport aux points cardinaux, mais bien les propriétés désignées par les expressions τὰ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον et τὰ δ'ἐχόμενα, pourrait appuyer la première hypothèse.

¹¹Depuis W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1905, p.169, n.5, les commentateurs veulent généralement, avec vraisemblance, reconnaître Béréenice II dans la première reine citée (encore dernièrement P. Petr.² I, p.70). On ne dispose cependant pas d'argument absolument décisif pour effectuer un choix entre Béréenice I et II.

¹²Sur la divinisation d'Arsinoé II et son assimilation principalement à Aphrodite, voir la mise au point de J. Quaegebeur, 'Cleopatra VII and the Cults of the Ptolemaic Queens', in *Cleopatra's Egypt*, Mainz am Rhein, 1988, p.43-48. Voir aussi J.-L. Tondriau, 'Princesses ptolémaïques comparées à des déesses', in *BSAA*, 37, 1948, p.12-33, et 'Les souveraines lagides en déesses', in *Études de Papyrologie*, 7, 1948, p.3-4; 6-9, en tenant compte de la remarque dans P. Petr.² I, p.71, n.51.

¹³G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, fasc. 3, Milano, 1975, s.v. μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν : Ἱσις (p.669-670). Outre les attestations papyrologiques, on peut mentionner dans une inscription (SB V 8931) l'épithète μήτηρ θεῶν figurant dans le titre de l'ἱερός πῶλος.

ptolémaïque.¹⁴ C'est d'ailleurs vraisemblablement en songeant à ce titre, dans lequel Cléopâtre se serait elle-même identifiée à Isis, la grande mère des dieux, qu'U. Wilcken eut l'idée de la restitution μητρ[ὸς θεῶν] acceptée par W. Clarysse.¹⁵

Par ailleurs, dans les inscriptions, on connaît notamment une dédicace Μητρὶ θεῶν Σωτεῖραι | ἐπηκόωι, où l'expression Μήτηρ θεῶν n'est pas précédée du nom d'Isis.¹⁶ Cependant, une fois encore, la "Mère des dieux" a toutes les chances d'être Isis, car dans les documents d'Égypte, l'épithète Σωτεῖρα est surtout caractéristique de cette déesse.¹⁷

2° L'épithète μήτηρ θεῶν, qui n'est aucunement héritée de Cybèle, contrairement à ce que l'on a longtemps pensé, est l'équivalent grec de l'épithète traditionnelle égyptienne *mw.t ntr*, "la mère du dieu", spécifique de la déesse Isis.¹⁸ Cette épithète exprime la fonction isiaque de mère du dieu Horus, prototype mythique de la royauté auquel correspondent dans le temps historique les souverains régnants qui lui succèdent dans son rôle au fil des siècles sur le trône de l'Égypte.¹⁹ Dans ces conditions, les θεοί de l'expression μήτηρ θεῶν, ce sont les souverains régnants. Dans l'interprétation grecque, le pluriel θεοί est substitué au singulier *ntr*,²⁰ car la paire constituée par le roi et la reine sont indissociables dans la conception ptolémaïque de la royauté au point que - fait nouveau dans le protocole dynastique égyptien -, dans les titulatures hiéroglyphiques des souverains lagides, on a habituellement recours au duel pour exprimer le nom du roi (par exemple, *jw'-n-ntr.wj-mry-jt* et *jw'-n-ntr.wj-pr.wj* = Ptolémée V et VI), de même que, dans leurs titulatures démotiques, le nom des couples royaux est mentionné au pluriel (par exemple, *n3 ntr.w mr-it.w* et *n3 ntr.w pr* = Ptolémée IV et V et leurs épouses), conformément à l'usage grec.²¹

Il sera utile, pour interpréter le texte, de dépasser l'examen proprement philologique, en rappelant dans les grandes lignes certains principes de la religion égyptienne traditionnelle. Dans la pratique de celle-ci, les noms de deux dieux (ou plus) qui possèdent habituellement une personnalité clairement individualisée peuvent à l'occasion être associés pour former une sorte de paire de noms divins. Il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'un syncrétisme, mais de l'union temporaire de la personne d'un dieu et de la fonction d'un autre dieu.²² Par exemple, le nom Amon-Rê désignera le dieu Amon lorsque, sans perdre sa personnalité, il endosse la fonction de Rê, le dieu solaire créateur. En principe, comme la personne d'une divinité donnée peut être "déterminée"²³ par la fonction de n'importe quel autre dieu, le jeu associatif peut amener le théologien ou le ritualiste égyptien à nouer et dénouer avec souplesse les différentes paires

¹⁴À ce sujet, voir notamment W. Otto-H. Bengtson, *Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, p.71-73; G. Vandebeek, *Isisfiguur*, p.65.

¹⁵P. Petr.² I, p.69.

¹⁶I. Delta p.246-247, n°18. Une dédicace Μητρὶ θεῶν Εὐαντήτωι est également attestée (I. Delta p.238, n°9).

¹⁷Voir les attestations rassemblées dans G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, fasc. 5, Milano, 1977, s.v. σωτεῖρα: Ἰσις (p.1044-1046). Sur le terme isiaque Σωτεῖρα, voir aussi Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis*, I, p.41, et 'Les syncrétismes dans la religion de l'Égypte romaine', in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'Antiquité*, Leiden, 1975 (EPRO, 46), p.164.

¹⁸J'étudie plus en détail cette question dans un article consacré à l'histoire de l'épithète isiaque μήτηρ θεῶν/*mw.t ntr* (à paraître dans le ZPE).

¹⁹Au sujet du rôle d'Horus rempli par les rois d'Égypte successifs, voir par exemple E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, Darmstadt, 1966, p.23-24.

²⁰Dans les versions démotiques du titre de ἱερός πῶλος, l'expression *mw.t ntr* au singulier est parfois donnée comme équivalent du pluriel μήτηρ θεῶν. Voir la note 18.

²¹Le fait que l'épithète μήτηρ θεῶν/*mw.t ntr* soit depuis des siècles caractéristique de la déesse Isis renforce l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'iota initial du mot précédant immédiatement cette épithète dans le P. Petr.² I, 1, constitue la première lettre du nom Ἰσιδος.

²²Cf. Ph. Derchain, 'Divinité', in *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, ed. Y. Bonnefoy, Paris, 1981, p.327.

²³Pour employer l'expression de D. Kurth, 'Götter determinieren Götter', in *SAK*, 5, 1977, p.175-181.

divines en fonction des besoins spécifiques du mythe ou du rite. Cependant, on observe parfois dans la pratique une tendance à une certaine “fossilisation” des associations. En effet, les personnes de deux divinités en viennent à être systématiquement rapprochées en vertu de la complémentarité naturelle de leurs fonctions. Chaque dieu incarne alors un aspect complémentaire d'une même réalité. C'est notamment le cas pour l'association des déesses Isis et Hathor, qui représentent l'une et l'autre un aspect complémentaire de la femme. Ainsi que Ph. Derchain²⁴ a proposé de le définir, la première - la femme-mère -, qui élève et protège ses enfants, incarne la maternité conçue comme un fait social, tandis que la seconde - la femme-amante - représente l'érotisme accompagné d'exaltation, de joie, d'ivresse, avec pour conséquence la maternité biologique. Quelques exemples illustreront ces propos.

1° M. Broze²⁵ a récemment montré que dans *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth* racontées dans un papyrus d'époque ramesside, le texte entretient une confusion entre les déesses Isis et Hathor. Suite à sa décollation et à un changement de tête, la première en vient à assumer la fonction de la seconde. L'auteur pense également observer ce procédé dans d'autres sources ramessides.

2° À l'époque gréco-romaine, la relation complémentaire liant Isis et Hathor s'est systématisée. En témoignent les parois du temple d'Hathor à Dendara, dont l'iconographie et les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques consacrent de façon manifeste le culte commun et complémentaire des deux déesses.²⁶

3° Comme Fr. Labrique²⁷ l'a exposé, il se pourrait que, dans l'épisode gibilite du *De Iside et Osiride*,²⁸ le lien complémentaire rapprochant la femme-mère et la femme-amante s'exprime dans la relation qui lie la déesse Isis, devenue la nourrice du nouveau-né engendré par la reine de Byblos, et cette dernière, hypostase de la forme locale de la déesse Hathor.²⁹

4° Un autre passage de Plutarque, dans la même œuvre, est également instructif : Ἡ δ' Ἴσις ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Μοῦθ καὶ πάλιν Ἄθυρι καὶ Μεθύερ προσαγορεύεται· σημαίνουσι δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων μητέρα, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ οἶκον Ὀρου κόσμιον, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων χώραν γενέσεως καὶ δεξαμενήν,³⁰ “Isis est quelquefois nommée aussi Mouth et encore Athyri et Methyer. Le premier des noms signifie ‘mère’, tandis que le deuxième signifie ‘maison cosmique³¹ d'Horus’ ou, comme dit aussi Platon, ‘lieu et réceptacle de génération’”. Mise à part la référence au fondateur de l'Académie, la traduction grecque donnée pour les deux premiers noms égyptiens est exacte. De fait, *mw.t* - le premier élément de l'épithète *mw.t ntr*, “mère du dieu”, caractéristique d'Isis - signifie bien “mère” et Athyri, transposition phonétique du nom d'Hathor, a effectivement pour sens “maison d'Horus”. Quant au troisième nom, J.G. Griffiths³² y reconnaît une désignation d'Hathor sous sa forme de vache céleste. L'association d'Isis et Hathor en vertu de leurs fonctions complémentaires s'est à ce point systématisée qu'avec le regard extérieur d'un Grec, Plutarque consacre l'identité parfaite des

²⁴Ph. Derchain, in *BiOr*, 27, 1970, p.22; ‘Divinité’, p.326.

²⁵M. Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le papyrus Chester Beatty I*, Bruxelles, 1991/1992, p.230-233 (thèse inédite, à paraître dans *OLA*).

²⁶Cf. Ph. Derchain, ‘Divinité’, p.326.

²⁷Fr. Labrique, ‘La chevelure des servantes de la reine de Byblos : un rite égyptien en filigrane? (Plu., *De Iside et Osiride*, 15)’, in *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Ph. Derchain*, ed. U. Verhoeven-E. Graefe, Leuven, 1991 (*OLA*, 39), p.205-207.

²⁸Plu., *De Iside*, 15.

²⁹Pour soutenir l'argumentation de Fr. Labrique, on pourrait ajouter que le rôle de nourrice joué par Isis au palais coïncide avec celui que lui attribuent les terres cuites gréco-romaines du type de l'Isis *lactans*.

³⁰Plu., *De Iside*, 56.

³¹Je traduis κόσμιος littéralement. Peut-être l'informateur égyptien de Plutarque a-t-il décomposé le nom d'Hathor, ‘la maison d'Horus’, en traduisant le premier élément du nom au sens de ‘temple’ (cf. *Wb. äg. Spr.* III, 2, 2-9), c'est-à-dire, dans la conception égyptienne, au sens de maison du dieu conçue comme un microcosme représentant à lui seul, sur l'espace de l'enceinte sacrée, l'ensemble du macrocosme de l'Univers.

³²J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge, 1970, p.512; cf. *Wb. äg. Spr.* II, 122, 16.

deux déesses, l'épithète de l'une (Mouth) et le nom et l'épithète de l'autre (Athyri et Methyer) ne constituant plus sous sa plume que des variantes du nom d'Isis.

Dans tous les exemples précédents, on retrouve un point commun : les textes qui nous renseignent ont été rédigés par des savants très cultivés et comportent une dimension littéraire indéniable. L'auteur des *Aventures d'Horus et Seth* est un fin lettré; les théologiens poètes qui composèrent la décoration épigraphique et iconographique des parois du temple de Dendara sont les représentants les plus raffinés de la culture écrite indigène; Plutarque, enfin, est un écrivain, un intellectuel qui porte un regard philosophique sur la religion égyptienne.

Dans ces conditions, le P.Petr.² I, 1, fournit la première attestation écrite identifiée dans une source documentaire du culte privé complémentaire d'Isis, la femme-mère, et Hathor, la femme-amante.³³ L'une reçoit l'épithète "mère des dieux", qui lui attribue sa fonction spécifique, tandis que l'autre est identifiée par l'*interpretatio graeca* à Aphrodite,³⁴ en raison du rôle joué par cette dernière en matière d'érotisme. Quant aux reines Bérénice et Arsinoé, l'assimilation aux deux déesses leur confère les qualités respectives de ces dernières.³⁵ Et de fait, dans le cadre de la divinisation des souveraines lagides, l'exaltation des vertus que l'on reconnaissait aux femmes est une pratique bien illustrée.³⁶

Cette source textuelle documentaire, qui atteste dans le quotidien de la *chôra* des conceptions connues jusqu'ici grâce aux écrits abstraits d'une élite savante, nous invite à interpréter en fonction de la religion égyptienne traditionnelle des grands temples un autre ensemble documentaire, celui des terres cuites isiaques gréco-romaines, témoins anépigraphes du culte privé de la déesse.³⁷ On pourrait en effet classer en deux groupes complémentaires une bonne part des thèmes iconographiques illustrés par ces terres cuites, selon qu'ils expriment la fonction de mère sociale ou d'amante et mère biologique de la déesse. Le premier groupe serait constitué du thème abondamment représenté de l'Isis *lactans*, qui nourrit au sein l'enfant Horus. Le second groupe, des thèmes qui mettent en valeur l'aspect hathorique de la déesse, en la représentant nue, debout, les bras le long du corps ("Isis-Aphrodite" considérée jadis à tort comme une "concubine du mort"), se dévoilant ostensiblement le pubis ("Isis *anasyrméné*"³⁸) ou assise, les jambes écartées, la main portée vers le sexe (type rapproché autrefois de la Baubo éléusinienne), etc. Ainsi, selon les besoins spécifiques du culte, les figurines isiaques sont tantôt modelées en Isis, si la fonction réclamée a trait à la maternité sociale, tantôt en Hathor, si l'on cherche en elles la femme-amante ou la génitrice. Mais même quand elles représentent Hathor, elles conservent des attributs isiaques (par exemple, la déesse nue de type "Isis-Aphrodite" peut être ornée de tresses isiaques et coiffée du *calathos* marqué du *basileion*) et, inversement, lorsqu'elles figurent Isis, elles comportent des attributs hathoriques (par exemple, l'Isis *lactans* peut être couronnée du disque solaire encadré par les cornes de vache, qui constituaient des symboles hathoriques avant de devenir le signe d'Isis). De sorte que les terres cuites isiaques permettent de confirmer l'observation de Ph. Derchain,³⁹ qui remarquait qu'"Isis

³³Cette interprétation reste valable que le nom d'Isis soit ou non mentionné explicitement devant l'épithète qui en est caractéristique.

³⁴Sur l'ambiguïté induite par l'*interpretatio graeca* dans le nom "Aphrodite", qui, dans les sources grecques issues d'Égypte, peut désigner soit l'Hathor égyptienne soit l'Aphrodite grecque, voir Fr. Dunand, 'Les syncrétismes', p.154; Fr. Dunand-Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Dieux et hommes en Égypte*, Paris, 1991, p.240.

³⁵Aucun lien généalogique ne lie Isis et Hathor, chacune représentant un aspect complémentaire de la femme et de la maternité. On ne saurait donc chercher à identifier la Bérénice dont il est question dans le papyrus au départ d'une correspondance hypothétique telle que Bérénice serait à Arsinoé ce qu'Isis serait à Hathor.

³⁶J.-L. Tondriau, 'Les souveraines lagides en déesses', p.1-15.

³⁷Sur les problèmes d'identification des terres cuites isiaques, voir Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis*, I, p.81-85; *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine*, Leiden, 1979 (*EPRO*, 76), p.31-34.

³⁸Pour une interprétation du geste hathorique de l'Isis *anasyrméné* en fonction de la mythologie égyptienne traditionnelle, voir M. Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, p.233-235.

³⁹Ph. Derchain, in *BiOr*, XXVII, 1970, p.22.

garde la parure de Hathor même lorsqu'elle est très sûrement Isis, pour rappeler qu'en elle doit nécessairement exister l'érotisme préalable à la maternité, et que celle-ci, pour être un fait social, doit être d'abord un fait biologique". Les terres cuites isiaques témoignent manifestement du stade évolué des relations entre les deux déesses. Le processus de combinaison des divinités s'est "fossilisé" et l'association d'Isis et Hathor est devenue systématique. Mais cette systématisation n'en demeure pas moins un héritage de la dynamique traditionnelle consistant à associer la personne d'un dieu à la fonction d'un autre et, par suite, à rapprocher systématiquement deux personnes divines, en vertu de leurs fonctions naturellement complémentaires.

Selon les analyses qui précèdent, le P.Petr.² I, 1, revêt un intérêt multiple. Pour l'histoire de la religion égyptienne à l'époque ptolémaïque, il confirme la nécessité de considérer les productions littéraires de la religion savante des grands temples et les témoignages documentaires de la piété privée au sein de la *chôra* comme des phénomènes non pas séparés et imperméables l'un à l'autre, mais contigus et susceptibles, sous l'effet d'une certaine osmose, de s'influencer réciproquement.⁴⁰ En effet, comme l'attesteraient également les terres cuites isiaques gréco-romaines, l'aspect complémentaire caractéristique du culte d'Isis et Aphrodite-Hathor peut s'observer dans l'une et l'autre sphères, qui puisent chacune dans un substrat commun.

Du point de vue institutionnel, en signalant parmi les possessions léguées un ensemble cultuel privé consacré à Isis et Aphrodite-Hathor, auxquelles sont respectivement assimilées Bérénice et Arsinoé, le P.Petr.² I, 1, illustre la volonté du pouvoir de diffuser dans la population une image sacralisée des souveraines. À la faveur de l'assimilation, les reines héritent des qualités respectives de mère sociale et d'amante et mère biologique reconnues à ces déesses dans la religion égyptienne traditionnelle. Rédigé en 238/7, le testament est contemporain du décret de Canope de 238, qui témoigne lui aussi du parti pris par le pouvoir d'organiser le culte dynastique en collaboration avec le clergé indigène, en lui donnant une forme syncrétique gréco-égyptienne.⁴¹

Enfin, le P.Petr.² I, 1, peut être versé au dossier des contacts culturels et des processus d'acculturation au sein de la *chôra* égyptienne. En effet, un homme d'origine libyenne⁴² y fait preuve de son attachement pour un culte syncrétique gréco-égyptien, en léguant à une Rhodienne et à une citoyenne d'Alexandrie un ensemble cultuel consacré à deux reines lagides.

⁴⁰Voir déjà à ce sujet A. Gutbub, in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'Antiquité*, Leiden, 1975 (EPRO, 46), p.185; plus récemment, Fr. Dunand-Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Dieux et hommes en Égypte*, p.113-115.

⁴¹Cf. Fr. Dunand, 'Les syncrétismes', p.78.

⁴²Contrairement à l'opinion d'O. Masson 'Quelques noms de Cyrénéens dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque', in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles, 1975, p.714, n.6, au III^{ème} siècle a.C., dans la documentation papyrologique, l'ethnique Λίβυς ne désigne pas un Cyrénéen. En effet, les ethniques Λίβυς et Κυρηναίος ne sont pas synonymes, comme le prouve le P. Grad. 5 (230 a.C.), où ils sont cités au sujet de personnes différentes dans une même liste de soldats.

LA PAPYROLOGIE ET LES COLLECTIONS DE PAPYRUS EN ISRAËL ¹

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Cette communication tente pour la première fois de donner un aperçu de la papyrologie israélienne, une papyrologie consacrée pour l'essentiel aux documents. A vrai dire, l'auteur n'est pas le meilleur candidat pour accomplir cette tâche, car il ne s'est installé que tout récemment en Israël et ne possède l'hébreu que d'une façon insuffisante. Si, en URSS, où il a passé presque toute sa vie, il a eu la possibilité de connaître tous les papyrologues soviétiques, à l'exception de G.F. Zereteli, de lire leurs travaux et de consulter les riches archives du pays, il n'a pas été en mesure d'effectuer d'aussi amples recherches en Israël. Heureusement, presque tous les travaux des papyrologues israéliens ont été publiés ou traduits en une langue étrangère, le plus souvent en anglais; de plus, ses collègues israéliens lui ont aimablement fourni une série d'informations précieuses, ce qui lui permet d'espérer que sa communication, malgré d'éventuelles insuffisances, présentera quelque intérêt pour les spécialistes.

Notons tout d'abord que la papyrologie israélienne est une discipline jeune. L'État d'Israël, on le sait, ne fut proclamé qu'en 1948. Mais, dès avant cette proclamation, des recherches papyrologiques avaient été effectuées et des travaux en cette matière publiés par les papyrologues israéliens, alors qu'ils habitaient dans la diaspora ou après leur arrivée en terre d'Israël. La génération des aînés et même la plupart des papyrologues actuellement en fonction sont nés dans la diaspora et y ont fait leurs études. Même s'ils ont fait celles-ci en Israël, ils les ont continuées et perfectionnées à l'étranger. A. Gulak, né à Dackira, près de Riga, en 1881, a fait ses études à Jur'ev (ancienne Dorpat, actuellement Tartu en Estonie) et à Berlin; M. Schwabe, né à Halle en 1889, a fait ses études à Halle et à Berlin; V. Tcherikover, né à Saint-Pétersbourg en 1894, a fait ses études à Moscou et à Berlin; H.-J. Polotsky, né à Zürich en 1905, a fait ses études à Berlin et à Göttingen; A. Fuks, né à Wroclawek, Pologne, en 1917, a fait ses études à Jérusalem; R. Yaron, né en 1924 à Vienne, a fait ses études à Jérusalem et à Oxford; M. Stern, né à Bialystok, Pologne, en 1925, a fait ses études à Jérusalem; B. Porten, né à Philadelphia en 1931, a fait ses études à New York, Chicago, Berkeley; J. Geiger, né à Budapest en 1938, a fait ses études à Jérusalem et à Oxford; R. Katzoff, né à Philadelphia en 1938,² a fait ses études à Evanston, Skokie et New York; M. Pucci Ben Zeev, née à Vérone en 1948, a fait ses études à Padoue et à Jérusalem, etc. Sauf erreur, il n'y a que Y. Yadin, D. Rokeah, A. Kasher et H.M. Cotton qui soient nés en Israël.

Pour les Européens et les Américains, la papyrologie concerne l'histoire et la culture de l'Antiquité, l'*Altertumswissenschaft*. Pour les Égyptiens, pour les Grecs et, à un moindre degré, pour les Italiens, la papyrologie est en même temps une discipline qui concerne leur histoire nationale. Les Israéliens s'intéressent à la papyrologie surtout dans la mesure où elle

¹ L'accomplissement de ce travail fut facilité par un "grant" de la "Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture". L'auteur a bénéficié aussi de l'aide généreuse de ses collègues israéliens et de membres des familles des papyrologues décédés (Lea Adar, fille de V. Tcherikover; Bella Fuks, veuve de A. Fuks, et Hava Stern, veuve de M. Stern). Mlle Sylvie Honigman a bien voulu corriger son français. M. le Prof. J. Bingen a eu la bonté de rédiger la version finale de la communication. À toutes les personnes et institutions qui l'ont aidé dans son travail, l'auteur exprime sa profonde reconnaissance. Il accueillera avec gratitude toute information supplémentaire.

² Le cas de R. Katzoff est tout à fait particulier. Appartenant à la septième génération d'une famille établie en Palestine dès le XIX^e siècle, il est par hasard aux U.S.A. et a perdu sa qualité de « sabra ».

fournit des données relatives à l'histoire des Juifs, soit en Israël soit dans la diaspora : ce n'est pas par hasard qu' A. Fuks a intitulé son article publié dans un volume dédié à la mémoire de V. Tcherikover « Le fondateur de la papyrologie juive »³ (juive, et non israélienne) et y parle d'une branche particulière de la papyrologie : la papyrologie juive. Bien entendu, comme nous le verrons, cela ne veut pas dire que les Israéliens ne s'occupent pas des problèmes de la papyrologie proprement dite, mais la prédominance de la thématique juive dans les travaux des papyrologues israéliens est incontestable.

Une autre particularité de la papyrologie israélienne — elle découle de celle que j'ai mentionnée ci-dessus —, c'est son lien étroit avec les études sémitiques. La papyrologie, on le sait, est une science interdisciplinaire.⁴ Bien que ce soient les papyrus et les ostraca grecs, et dans une moindre mesure, les papyrus et les ostraca latins qui constituent le domaine privilégié des études papyrologiques proprement dites, celles-ci ne peuvent se passer des données et des résultats des sciences connexes — égyptologie, études démotiques, coptologie, etc. Bien entendu, ces exigences s'imposent aussi aux papyrologues israéliens. Comme une grande partie des papyrus qui concernent les Juifs d'Égypte est constituée par des papyrus araméens, que les papyrus trouvés en Israël sont souvent écrits en araméen, hébreu ou nabatéen, et que, même dans les documents grecs et latins, l'onomastique est d'origine juive, la papyrologie israélienne se développe dans le cadre d'une étroite collaboration avec les études sémitiques, même si les sémitisants ne prennent pas toujours formellement part aux publications. Chaque papyrologue israélien possède plus ou moins une formation sémitisante, l'hébreu étant lui-même une langue sémitique et la littérature religieuse constituant une des composantes de la culture israélienne.

Israël ne possède pas de collections de papyrus provenant d'Égypte. Cela s'explique par des raisons d'ordre politique et par des contraintes financières. Mais Israël est une de rares régions extérieures à l'Égypte où, par suite de fouilles clandestines des Bédouins et des fouilles effectuées par des archéologues professionnels, des papyrus, des ostraca, des parchemins et d'autres types de documents grecs, latins, araméens, hébreux, nabatéens, sont sortis du sol même du pays. Les trouvailles faites sur le territoire d'Israël et les achats aux Bédouins ont contribué à la constitution des collections israéliennes. La publication en a débuté récemment avec succès. En Israël, l'archéologie jouit de beaucoup d'attention et de faveur, elle est en quelque sorte un *hobby* national et a transformé le peuple juif, comme l'a exprimé L.M. Feldman, en une « nation where digging is a veritable form of prayer ».⁵ On ne peut donc exclure la possibilité de nouvelles découvertes de papyrus et d'ostraca.

Enfin, il faut souligner les liens étroits des papyrologues israéliens avec leurs collègues occidentaux, principalement avec les collègues américains et anglais. La collaboration internationale est de nos jours une caractéristique de toute activité scientifique. Même les papyrologues soviétiques, malgré les obstacles formels presque insurmontables qu'on dressait devant eux, réussissaient à publier des articles à l'étranger. Mais, sauf erreur, en aucun pays cette collaboration n'est aussi constante et multilatérale qu'en Israël. La plupart des papyrologues israéliens ont fait des études, ont soutenu des thèses, ont publié des articles comme des livres et ont enseigné aux États-Unis (H.M. Cotton, A. Fuks, J. Geiger, J.C. Greenfield, R. Katzoff, H.-J. Polotsky, B. Porten, M. Stern, V. Tcherikover), en Angleterre

³ A. Fuks, 'Yotzer ha-papirologia ha-yehudit' (en hébreu), *Al Prof. Avigdor Tcherikover z.'l'* (Jérusalem, 1958), pp. 11-14. Tcherikover a vécu de 1894 à 1958.

⁴ C'est le titre même d'un article de J. Kramer: 'Papyrologie — eine interdisziplinäre Wissenschaft', *Siegener Hochschulblätter* VII, 1 (1984), pp. 64-73.

⁵ Extrait de la Préface de *Masada I* (Jérusalem, 1989), cité note 20.

(H.M.Cotton, A. Fuks, J. Geiger, D. Rokeah, M. Stern, Y. Yadin, R. Yaron), en Allemagne (J. Geiger, A. Gulak, A. Kasher, R. Katzoff, H.-J. Polotsky, V. Tcherikover), en Italie (A. Fuks, J. Geiger, B. Lifshitz, M. Pucci, R. Yaron), en France (A. Kasher, B. Lifshitz), en Belgique (J. Geiger), aux Pays-Bas (J. Geiger, R. Katzoff, M. Stern, Y. Yaron), en Pologne (A. Fuks, J.J. Rabinowitz, V. Tcherikover), etc. Parallèlement, des savants occidentaux ont participé à la publication des papyrus d'Israël (R.A. Kraft, N. Lewis, P. Parsons, J. David Thomas) ou ont aidé leurs collègues israéliens par leurs conseils (E.Badian, R.S. Bagnall, E.L. Bowie, A.K. Bowman, J.G. Keenan, N. Lewis, M. Manfredi, J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, F. Millar, P. Parsons, J. Rea, C.H. Roberts, A.E. Samuel, F. Sartori, J.D. Thomas etc.) et ont publié des articles dans des revues et des recueils israéliens (N. Lewis, J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, W.F. Walbank, etc.).

La papyrologie n'existe pas en Israël comme discipline scientifique autonome. Pas d'institut, pas de chaire, pas de bibliothèque spécialisée, pas de revue, qui soient réservés à cette discipline. Tous ceux qui se sont occupés de recherches papyrologiques le faisaient et le font encore dans le cadre d'autres fonctions. Dans la plupart des cas, ils étaient ou sont des professeurs d'Histoire ancienne, de philologie classique, d'Histoire juive ou de philologie sémitique, de droit ancien, etc.

On a pratiqué et on pratique plus que jamais la papyrologie d'une façon ou d'une autre, on l'enseigne et on fait des recherches dans les universités suivantes :

1) The Hebrew University of Jerusalem — la plus ancienne université d'Israël où V. Tcherikover, le premier titulaire de la chaire d'Histoire ancienne, a organisé les études papyrologiques : H.M. Cotton, A. Fuks, J. Geiger, J.C. Greenfield, A. Gulak, B. Lifshitz, J. Naveh, H.-J. Polotsky, B. Porten, D. Rokeah, M. Stern, V. Tcherikover, E. Tov, A. Wasserstein, Y. Yadin, A. Yardeni, R. Yaron et récemment I. Fikhman.

2) Université de Bar Ilan (Ramat Gan, près de Tel Aviv) : R. Katzoff.

3) Université de Tel Aviv : A. Kasher.

4) Université Ben Gurion de Beer Sheva : Pucci Ben Zeev, D. Urman.

4) Université de Haïfa : U. Rappaport.

Le développement des études papyrologiques et la présence dans le pays de papyrus découverts ou achetés ont suscité l'apparition de nombreuses publications. Je ne puis en citer ici que les principales.

P. Yadin I. The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri, edited by Naphtali Lewis. *Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions*, edited by Ygaël Yadin and Jonas C. Greenfield (Judean Desert Series, 2. Jérusalem, 1989). Ces documents avaient été trouvés par l'expédition archéologique dirigée par Y. Yadin au cours des fouilles menées en 1960 et 1961 à Naḥal Hever un wadi du désert de Judée situé à 15 km. au Sud de Wadi Murabba'at.⁶ L'histoire de ces fouilles a été racontée par Y. Yadin lui-même;⁷ la teneur et l'importance de ces textes ont été présentées par N. Lewis au Congrès d'Athènes,⁸ ce qui nous dispense de la nécessité d'en donner une description et une analyse détaillées. Limitons-nous à l'essentiel. Le volume en question contient seulement les archives de Babatha, fille de Simon. Originaires de Maoza, cette dernière est probablement juive, puisqu'elle fut mariée à un Juif deux fois successivement. Ces documents embrassent une période allant de 94

⁶ Ces fouilles organisées furent précédées par les fouilles clandestines des Bédouins qui ont réussi à en trouver et à en vendre quelques pièces; cf. J. Starcky. 'Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus', *R.B.* 61 (1954), pp. 161-181. Dans leur hâte, les Bédouins ont oublié dans la cave, à l'entrée, deux fragments d'un papyrus publié par J. Starcky.

⁷ Voir la bibliographie citée dans l'Introduction à *P. Yadin I*, p. 3.

⁸ N. Lewis, 'The Papyri from Nahal Hever', *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology. Athens 25-31 May 1986*, vol. II (1988), pp. 127-132.

à 132, c'est à dire de la fin du royaume nabatéen jusqu'à la révolte de Bar-Kokhba. C'est cette révolte, dernier grand soulèvement juif contre Rome, et l'imminence des représailles de l'armée romaine qui ont déterminé Babatha et d'autres Juifs à chercher refuge dans les caves du désert de Judée où ils ont péri.

A côté des documents de Babatha, on a retrouvé également un groupe de documents appartenant à la « correspondance de Bar-Kokhba ». Deux de ces lettres, écrites en grec, ont été publiées par B. Lifshitz en 1962;⁹ elles ont attiré l'attention des spécialistes qui ont été intéressés par le problème de la triglossie (araméen, hébreu, grec) en Palestine.¹⁰

Quant aux archives de Babatha, leur publication a été assumée par H.-J. Polotsky qui, après avoir publié trois papyrus,¹¹ a renoncé. Mais cette publication a immédiatement retenu l'intérêt des spécialistes, particulièrement des juristes.¹² Puis, on publia le contrat de mariage de Shelamzion, belle-fille de Babatha (P. Yadin 18, de l'an 128),¹³ qui a suscité une ardente controverse,¹⁴ et la déclaration de propriété d'un habitant du village de Maoza,¹⁵ similaire à la déclaration de Babatha dans P. Yadin 16 (127), mais qui n'appartient pas à ces archives. Enfin parut le recueil d'ensemble de ces documents.¹⁶ Selon le texte de Y. Yadin, cité dans l'Introduction générale au volume, il y avait en tout 35 textes : 6 nabatéens, 3 araméens, 17 grecs et 9 textes grecs avec des souscriptions et signatures en araméen ou nabatéen ou simultanément dans les deux langues. L'existence de fragments non localisables ont amené les

⁹ B. Lifshitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aeg.* 42 (1962), pp. 240-256 (= SB VIII 9843 et 9844).

¹⁰ Voir la bibliographie citée dans G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Vol. 5. *Linguistic Essays* (Macquarie University 1989), pp. 22-23; ajouter L.B. Rosén, *L'hébreu et ses rapports avec le monde classique. Essai d'évaluation culturelle* (Études chamito-sémitiques. Supplément 7. Paris, 1979), pp. 49-51.

¹¹ V. H.-J. Polotsky, 'The Greek Papyri from the Cave of the Letters', *I.E.J.* 12 (1962), pp. 258-262, et surtout, du même, 'Three Greek Documents from the Family Archive of Babatha', *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), pp. 46-51 (= SB X 10288, 1, 2, 3). Ces textes furent réédités avec corrections par N. Lewis, 'Two Greek Documents from Provincia Arabia', *I.C.S.* 3 (1978), pp. 100-114; puis par H.-J. Wolff, 'Römisches Provinzialrecht in der Provinz Arabia (Rechtspolitik als Instrument der Beherrschung)', *A.N.R.W.* II, 13, pp. 767-775, et enfin dans P. Yadin : SB X 10288, 1 = P. Yadin I 15 (125); SB X 10288, 2 = P. Yadin I 27 (132); SB X 10288, 3 = P. Yadin I 28-30. Dans les *P. Yadin* fut encore ajouté le frg. Inv. N 30, qui manquait dans les éditions précédentes.

¹² E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 5); M. Lémousse, 'Le procès de Babatha', *I.J.*, n.s., 3 (1968), pp. 363-376; E. Seidl, 'Ein Papyrusfund zum klassischen Zivilprozessrecht', *Studi in onore di G. Grosso*, II (Torino, 1968), pp. 343-361; M. Lémousse, 'Indications nouvelles sur le iussum iudicandi', *R.D.* 47 (1969), pp. 291-293; A. Biscardi, 'Nuove testimonianze di un papiro arabo-giudaico per la storia del processo provinciale romano', *Studi in onore di G. Scherillo*, I (Milano, 1972), pp. 111-152; et, du même, 'Sulla identificazione degli "Xenokritai" e sulla loro attività in P. Oxy. 3016', *Festschrift für Erwin Seidl zum 70. Geburtstag* (Köln, 1975), pp. 15-24 (ibidem, p. 15 note 8, autres travaux de l'auteur); H.-J. Wolff, 'Le droit provincial dans la province romaine d'Arabia', *R.I.D.A.* 23 (1976), pp. 271-290; et, du même, *Römisches Provinzialrecht*, pp. 763-806; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 75-79, 85-89, etc.

¹³ N. Lewis, R. Katzoff, J.C. Greenfield, 'Papyrus Yadin 18. 1. Text, Translation and Notes. 2. Legal Commentary. 3. The Aramean Subscriptions', *I.E.J.* 8 (1987), pp. 229-250.

¹⁴ A. Wasserstein, 'A Marriage Contract from the Province of Arabia Nova. Notes on Papyrus Yadin 18', *J.Q.R.* 80 (1989), pp. 93-130; R. Katzoff, 'Papyrus Yadin 18 Again : A Rejoinder', *J.Q.R.* 82 (1991), pp. 171-176; J. Geiger, 'A Note on P. Yadin 18 (à paraître dans *Z.P.E.*, 93 (1992)).

¹⁵ N. Lewis, 'A Jewish Landowner in Provincia Arabia', *S.C.I.* 8-9 (1985-1988), pp. 132-137.

¹⁶ Sur les archives de Babatha, en dehors des travaux déjà cités, voir : M. Goodman, 'Babatha's Story', *J.R.S.* 81 (1991), pp. 169-175, et B. Isaac, 'The Babatha Archive : A Review article', *I.E.J.* 42 (1992), pp. 62-75. Sur le P. Yadin 19, voir R. Katzoff, 'Papyrus Yadin 19. Shtar matana mi-midbar Yehuda ve-hitpathut dinei hatsavaa be-israel (Papyrus Yadin 19: Donatio post mortem du Désert de Juda et le développement du testament en Palestine)', *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem. August 16-24, 1989*, Division C, Volume I. *Jewish Thought and Literature* (Jérusalem, 1990), pp. 1-8; voir aussi sa communication au présent congrès : 'An Interpretation of P. Yadin 19 : A Gift after Death from the Judaean Desert'.

éditeurs à croire qu'il y avait 36 ou 37 documents.¹⁷ Ces textes sont d'une importance capitale pour l'étude de la paléographie, de la langue et surtout du droit. R. Katzoff prépare un commentaire juridique aux P. Yadin; H.M. Cotton, en se fondant sur les données de ces archives, procède à l'étude de la situation juridique de la population de la province d'Arabia.

Une année plus tard parurent les fragments grecs des *Petits Prophètes*. Comme l'ont prouvé les fouilles des archéologues israéliens, ils appartiennent au même fonds. L'édition en fut assurée par Emanuel Tov, avec la collaboration de Robert A. Kraft, et une contribution de Peter J. Parsons, dans la série « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert » à Oxford.¹⁸ Enfin, en 1991, H.M. Cotton publia encore un texte de Naḥal Hever (papyrus Temple du Livre Inv. 3001), qui porte le nombre des déclarations de recensement à trois.¹⁹

Deux autres volumes de textes récemment publiés (en 1989) sont le résultat des fouilles spectaculaires effectuées sous la direction de Ygael Yadin à échelle nationale et même internationale (à côté de l'armée y ont participé aussi des centaines de volontaires du pays et de l'étranger) à Massada, le dernier bastion de la résistance juive pendant la « Grande révolte » de 66-73, entré dans l'histoire par le suicide collectif de ses derniers défenseurs qui ont préféré la mort à la reddition.

Le premier volume (*Masada 1*), commencé par Y. Yadin mais publié après sa mort par J. Naveh et Ya. Meshorer,²⁰ contient 701 ostraca et inscriptions sur jarres, presque tous en araméen et en hébreu. Ces textes se réfèrent à la période 66-73 à l'exception de quelques ostraca en nabatéen et en syriaque se rapportant à une période plus tardive. Les ostraca sont publiés par Y. Yadin et J. Naveh, les monnaies par Ya. Meshorer.

L'édition des textes grecs et latins fut confiée à Hannah M. Cotton et à Joseph Geiger, et le volume (*Masada II = Doc. Masada*) parut la même année avec une contribution de J. David Thomas.²¹ Le volume contient 230 textes (NN 721-951),²² papyrus, ostraca, tituli picti, graffiti, estampilles d'amphores en latin et en grec ainsi que des textes bilingues (en grec et latin: NN 924-927). Les papyrus, ostraca et tituli picti grecs sont issus d'un milieu juif (à l'exception de quelques textes d'époque byzantine), les documents en latin, selon toute probabilité, sont dus aux soldats romains. En dépit de leur caractère et de leur dimension, les textes retrouvés à Massada constituent une contribution importante non seulement à l'élucidation de maints problèmes concernant l'histoire de cette forteresse, mais aussi à l'étude de la paléographie, de la langue latine et de certains aspects de l'organisation militaire romaine.²³

¹⁷ En réalité, il y avait au moins 39 documents, car deux textes sont publiés séparément sous le numéro 32 (32 et 32a), et le dernier consiste en deux fragments appartenant, selon l'éditeur, à des documents différents.

¹⁸ E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scrolls from Nahal Hever (8 Hev. XII Gr)* (Oxford, 1990). Voir le c. r. de A. Martin dans *Cd'É* 65 (1990), p.344; on y trouve le renvoi à la notice N 285 de J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976), où (p. 107) est mentionnée la littérature précédente.

¹⁹ H.M. Cotton, 'Fragments of a Declaration of Landed Property from the Province Arabia', *Z.P.E.* 85 (1991), pp. 263-267. Selon l'information de H.M. Cotton (p. 263), il se trouve encore dans le Temple du Livre (Jérusalem) quelques fragments (N 3002-3007), illisibles et endommagés, peut-être aussi de même provenance.

²⁰ *Masada I. The Ygael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports. Ygael Yadin and Joseph Naveh, The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions. Yacov Meshorer, The Coins of Masada.* (Jérusalem, 1989).

²¹ *Masada II. The Ygael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Hannah M. Cotton and Joseph Geiger, with a Contribution by J. David Thomas, The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jérusalem, 1989). Les auteurs ont proposé le sigle : Doc. Masada.

²² La numérotation continue celle de *Masada I* en laissant vingt numéros libres pour les textes littéraires en hébreu que doit publier S. Talmon.

²³ Voir H.M. Cotton, 'The Date and the Fall of Masada : The Evidence of the Masada Papyri', *Z.P.E.* 78 (1989), pp. 157-162; et, de la même, 'Teudot shel ha-legion ha-asiri Fretensis shenitgalu be-Mezada' [Documents de la Legio X Fretensis découverts à Massada], *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990), pp. 54-58; H.M. Cotton,

Ces deux volumes ne font qu'inaugurer la publication des résultats des fouilles de Y. Yadin à Massada. D'autres volumes suivront dont un, par S. Talmon, contiendra les textes littéraires en hébreu pour lesquels on a laissé, comme nous l'avons noté, les numéros libres 701-720.

Enfin la troisième grande publication — après P. Yadin et Doc. Masada, si nous nous plaçons sur le plan des papyrus documentaires grecs et latins —, est le *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* conçu par Victor Tcherikover tout au début de sa carrière scientifique et publié, on le sait, en trois volumes en 1957-1964 par Victor A. Tcherikover, Alexander Fuks et Menahem Stern avec une contribution épigraphique de David M. Lewis. Le *C.P.Jud.* qui a reçu un accueil élogieux de tous les papyrologues et hébraïsants est si bien connu qu'il est inutile de le présenter à cet auditoire. Presque trente ans après sa parution, il reste toujours une source irremplaçable d'information et de référence pour tout savant qui s'intéresse à l'histoire des Juifs en Égypte à l'époque gréco-romaine. V. Tcherikover lui-même a utilisé le matériel papyrologique pour ses articles et travaux publiés en hébreu et en anglais.²⁴ Les matériaux du *Corpus* ont servi aussi de base pour les *Prolegomena* publiés dans le *C.P.Jud.*, pp. 1-111, et cet ouvrage monumental a été largement utilisé par les auteurs des travaux de synthèse ultérieurs, comme A. Kasher,²⁵ J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski²⁶ et d'autres.²⁷

J. Price, 'Mi kavash et Mezada bi-shnat 66 vemi yashav bah ad linefiletah' [Qui a conquis Massada en 66 ap. J.-C. et qui y a habité jusqu'à la chute de la forteresse?], *Zion* 55 (1990), pp. 449-454.

²⁴ *Ha-yehudim ve-hayevanim ba-tkufa ha-helenistit. Hakira historit* [Juifs et Grecs à l'époque hellénistique] (Tel Aviv, 1931; 2^e éd., Jérusalem, 1963); 'Eretz-Israel le-or ha-papyrusim shel Zenon' [La Palestine à la lumière des papyrus de Zénon], *Tarbiz* 4 (1933), pp. 226-247, 354-365; *Tarbiz* 5 (1934), pp. 37-44; 'Palestine under the Ptolemies (A Contribution to the Study of the Zenon Papyri)', *Mizraim* 4-5 (1937), pp. 9-90; 'Le-toldot yehudei Fayum ba-tkufa ha-helenistit' [Sur l'histoire des Juifs du Fayoum à l'époque hellénistique], *Sefer Magnes* (Jérusalem, 1938), pp. 199-206; 'Jewish Religious Influence in the Adler Papyri?' (en collaboration avec F.M. Heichelheim), *H.Th.R.* 35 (1942), pp. 25-35; 'Shkiatah shel ha-golah ha-yehudit be-mizraim ba-tkufa ha-romit' [Le déclin de la diaspora juive en Égypte à l'époque romaine] *Kneset* 9 (1945), pp. 143-162; *Ha-yehudim be-mizraim ba-tkufa ha-helenistit - ha-romit le-or ha-papirologia* (Jérusalem, 1945) [Résumé anglais: *The Jews in Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*] (2^e éd., avec des addenda et corrigenda par D. Rokeah, Jérusalem, 1963); 'The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri' *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* 1 (1947), pp. 111-142; *Rashei prakim le-heker ha-sifrut ha-yehudit-ha-aleksandronit* [Considérations générales sur l'étude de la littérature judéo-alexandrine], *Sefer Johanan Levy* (Jérusalem, 1949), pp. 139-160; 'Ha-matza ha-ideologi shel 'tigeret Aristees' [L'idéologie de la 'Lettre d'Aristée], *Sefer Dinburg* (Jérusalem, 1949), pp. 83-101; 'Syntaxis and laographia', *J.J.P.* 4 (1950), pp. 179-207; 'Hamekorot ha-sifrutit le-toldot ha-yehudit ha-helenistit be-mizraim le-or ha-papirologia' [Les sources littéraires de l'histoire du judaïsme hellénistique en Égypte à la lumière de la papyrologie], *Ha-kinus ha-olami le-madaei ha-yehudit* I (Jérusalem, 1952), pp. 350-356; 'The Sambathions', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 1 (1954), pp. 79-98; 'Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered', *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag dedicatae* III (= *Eos* 48, 3, 1957), pp. 169-193; 'The Ideology of the Letter of Aristees', *H.Th.R.* 51 (1958), pp. 59-85; *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959; traduction par S. Applebaum d'une version élargie de *Ha-yehudim ve-ha-yevanim*, de 1931); 'The Third Book of Maccabees as a Historical Source of Augustus' Time', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 7 (1961), pp. 1-26; *Ha-yehudim ba-olam ha-yevani ve-ha-romi* [Les Juifs dans le monde gréco-romain] (Jérusalem, 1961. Recueil d'articles de V. Tcherikover sous la rédaction de M. Amit); *Ha-yehudim ve-ha-yevanim ba-tkufa ha-helenistit* (Jérusalem, 1963; 2^e éd. du livre paru en 1931); *Ha-yehudim be-mizraim ba-tkufa ha-helenistit ve-ha-romit* (Jérusalem, 1963; 2^e éd. avec des addenda et des corrigenda par D. Rokeah); 'The Decline of the Jewish Diaspora in the Roman Period', *J.J.S.* 14 (1963), pp. 1-32.

²⁵ A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen, 1985. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum VII).

²⁶ *Les Juifs d'Égypte. De Ramsès II à Hadrien* (Paris, 1991). Voir aussi ses aperçus 'Sur l'antisémitisme païen', *Pour Léon Poliakov. Le racisme. Mythes et sciences* (Bruxelles, 1981), pp. 411-439; 'Splendeurs grecques et misères romaines. Les Juifs d'Égypte dans l'antiquité', *Juifs du Nil* (Paris, 1959), pp. 15-48, 237-245.

²⁷ Voir, par exemple, la thèse inédite de A. Varsat, *Les Juifs dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine. Aspects sociaux et institutionnels* (Paris, 1975).

Enfin il y a eu des découvertes mineures ces dernières années. Des fragments d'au moins six papyrus ont été découverts en 1986 dans une cave d'Abior près de Jéricho par l'expédition de H. Eshel. Trois de ces documents araméens sont déjà publiés.²⁸ Trois papyrus grecs en un très mauvais état (en partie carbonisés) ont été confiés à N. Cohen. L'un d'eux, mieux conservé, est constitué de la partie gauche de 17 lignes et concerne un recensement ou un bail (ou vente ?) de terrain (ou maison ?). À la l. 12, on lit le nom juif de Ἰούδας. Selon une information orale de H. Eschel, cinq papyrus ont été également découverts par M. Gichon à Ein Boqueq et deux par A. Negev à Kurnub (Mamshit) dans le Negev.

Comme vous l'avez sans doute remarqué, je n'ai pas encore mentionné quelques découvertes importantes de papyrus faites en Palestine qui n'ont qu'un lien indirect avec la papyrologie israélienne.

Il s'agit tout d'abord de P.Nessana (ou P.Colt ou P.Colt Nessana, comme on les désigne parfois), bien connus de tout papyrologue. Ces papyrus, découverts avant la seconde guerre mondiale (lors des fouilles de H.D. Colt) en 1935-1937 se trouvent actuellement à New York dans la Pierpont Morgan Library et ont été publiés par des savants américains.²⁹ Mais, comme Nessana se trouve sur le territoire d'Israël (= Nitzana), les Israéliens, nous le verrons plus loin, ont repris les fouilles sur le site, et de futures publications sont à attendre.

Plus compliquée est la situation concernant les P. Murabba'at.³⁰ Découverts par les fouilles clandestines des Bédouins en 1951 à Murabba'at (qui se trouvait alors sur le territoire administré par la Jordanie), les premiers papyrus furent vendus au Palestine Archaeological Museum, actuellement le Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem. Le reste fut découvert grâce aux fouilles systématiques entreprises en 1952³¹ par G.L.Harding et R. de Vaux. Les papyrus furent publiés par une équipe de spécialistes non-israéliens. Mais, des 173 textes, 154 se trouvent actuellement à Jérusalem et seulement 14 à Amman; 88 textes sont en hébreu et araméen, et même la majorité des textes grecs, à en juger par l'onomastique et d'autres indices, concernent les Juifs. Tous les papyrus (araméens, hébreux, grecs) contiennent des informations sur la vie sociale et économique, la toponymie, l'onomastique des Juifs de la Palestine aux deux premiers siècles après J.-C. et fournissent une contribution importante à l'étude de la révolte de Bar-Kokhba.³²

Comme nous l'avons noté, la papyrologie israélienne a une orientation, pour ainsi dire, nationale, et cela se reflète dans les éditions des textes comme dans l'objet des recherches.

²⁸ H. Eshel, H. Mesgav, 'A Fourth Century B.C.E. Document from Ketef Yeriho', *I.E.J.* 38 (1988), pp. 158-176; E. Eshel, H. Eshel. 'Ketaim mi-shteit teudot aramit sheovou le-maarat abior ba-tkufat mered Bar-Kokhba' [Fragments de deux documents araméens qui ont été apportés à la cave d'Abior pendant la Révolte de Bar-Kokhba], *Eretz-Israel* 23 (1992), *Sefer A. Biran*, pp. 276-285.

²⁹ *Excavations at Nessana*, I. *Introductory Volume*, ed. H.D. Colt (Londres, 1962); II. *Literary Papyri*, ed. L. Casson and E.L. Hettich (Princeton, 1950); III. *Non-Literary Papyri*, ed. C.J. Kraemer Jr. (Princeton, 1958).

³⁰ P. Benoît, J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, avec des contributions de G. M. Crawford, E. Crawford, A. Grohman (D.J. D. 2; Oxford, 1961).

³¹ Voir l'historique des découvertes relaté par R. de Vaux (pp. 1-9 et le Post-Scriptum à la Préface, p. III).

³² Sur les P. Mur., voir M.R. Lehmann, 'Studies in the Murabba'at and Nahal Hever Documents', *R.Q.* 4 (1963), pp. 53-81; E. Koffmann. 'Die "Restitutionsklausele" in Murabba'at', *R.Q.* 4 (1963), pp. 421-427; de la même, 'Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda; R. Yaron. The Mesada Bill of Divorce', *Studi in onore di E. Volterra* VI (Milano, 1971), pp. 433-455.

Signalons d'abord les monographies qui concernent l'histoire générale des Juifs d'Égypte, avec les livres de V. Tcherikover,³³ R. Yaron,³⁴ B. Porten,³⁵ M. Pucci,³⁶ A. Kasher (voir note 25), ou encore les deux volumes de B. Porten et A. Yardeni.³⁷

Il faut, bien entendu, mentionner un grand nombre d'articles consacrés à des sujets particuliers. Signalons, par exemple, ceux qui ont été consacrés aux troubles d'Alexandrie sous Caligula (A. Kasher), à la révolte juive sous Trajan (A. Fuks, M. Pucci Ben Zeev), aux archives d'Éléphantine (J.C. Greenfield, B. Porten, A. Yardeni, R. Yaron), aux archives de Babatha (H.M. Cotton, J. Geiger, R. Katzoff, A. Wasserstein) etc.

En même temps, il faut souligner que les papyrologues israéliens ne se sont pas repliés exclusivement sur « l'aspect juif » des papyrus. Si, dans l'oeuvre de V. Tcherikover, les travaux de papyrologie générale constituent une exception, les travaux de R. Katzoff sont consacrés surtout à l'histoire juridique et administrative de l'Égypte romaine.³⁸ Enfin, l'auteur de la présente communication se permet de rappeler que depuis longtemps il s'est consacré à l'histoire socio-économique de l'Égypte romaine et surtout byzantine, aussi bien en Union soviétique³⁹ qu'après son installation en Israël.⁴⁰

Poursuivons par quelques mots sur les travaux en projet.

Nessana, comme dit plus haut, est l'objet de nouvelles fouilles depuis 1987; en octobre 1991, D. Urman a donné des informations sur celles-ci dans une communication inédite.⁴¹ Les

³³ Voir à la note 24 la liste de ses travaux.

³⁴ *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961); *Ha-mishpat shel mismakhei Yeb* [Le droit des documents d'Éléphantine] (Jérusalem, 1961).

³⁵ *Archives from Elephantine : The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1968).

³⁶ *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano* (Biblioteca di studi antichi, 33; Pisa, 1981).

³⁷ *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt Newly Copied*, I. Letters ; II. Contracts (Jérusalem, 1986-1989).

³⁸ 'The Provincial Edict in Egypt', *T.R.G.* 37(1969), pp. 415-437; 'BGU 19 and the Law of Representation in Succession', *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (A.S.P. 7; Toronto, 1970), pp. 239-242; 'Judicial Reasoning in P. Catt. : Fraus legi', *T.A.Ph.A.* 101 (1971), pp. 241-252; 'Precedents in the Courts of Roman Egypt' *Z.R.G.* 89 (1972), pp. 256-292; 'The Validity of Prefectural Edicts in Roman Egypt', *Bar Ilan Studies in History* (Ramat Gan, 1978), pp. 45-53; 'Sources of Law in Roman Egypt. The Role of the Prefect', *A.N.R.W.* II, 13 (1980), pp. 807-844; 'On the Intended Use of P. Col. 123', *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology* (A.S.P. 23; Chico, Ca., 1981), pp. 559-573; 'Prefectural Edicts and Letters', *Z.P.E.* 48 (1982), pp. 209-217; 'Responsa prudentium in Roman Egypt', *Studi in onore di A. Biscardi*, II (Milano, 1972), pp. 523-535; 'Donatio ante nuptias and Jewish Dowry Additions', dans N. Lewis (éd.), *Papyrology (Y.C.S. 28, 1985)*, pp. 231-244. 'Law as *katholikos*', *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. A. Schiller* (Columbia Studies in Classical Tradition, 13. Leyde, 1986), pp. 119-126; C. r. de P. Oxy. LV, *B.A.S.P.* 25 (1988), pp. 157-168 etc. — Nous omettons ici les nombreux travaux concernant la « papyrologie juive ».

³⁹ Pour une bibliographie (choisie) jusqu'en 1985, voir I. F. Fikhman. *Vvedenie v dokumental'nyuy papirologiyu* [Introduction à la papyrologie documentaire] (Moscou, 1987), pp. 275-277, 327-328, 505.

⁴⁰ 'De nouveau sur le colonat du Bas Empire', *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana* (Pap. Flor. 19. Florence, 1990), pp. 159-179; 'G. Zereteli et l'Allemagne', *Z.P.E.* 84 (1990), pp. 57-66; Καταμειν() = καταμήν(τος) ?, *Z.P.E.* 84 (1990), pp. 66-67; 'Pozdnerimskiy kolonat — mif, sozdannyi istorikami ? (Po povodu statey J.-M. Carrié)' [Le colonat du Bas Empire est-il un mythe créé par les historiens? (A propos des articles de J.-M. Carrié)], *Vestnik drevney istorii* 1991, n° 1, pp. 27-45; 'Gosudarstvo i ceny v vizantiyskom Egipte' [L'état et les prix dans l'Égypte byzantine], *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 52 (1991), pp. 13-26; 'Iz istorii povinnostnogo truda v vizantiyskom Egipte (Istochniki i problemy)' [De l'histoire du travail obligatoire dans l'Égypte byzantine (Sources et problèmes)], *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie discipliny* 23 (1991), pp. 85-94; 'Raby i kolony v vizantiyskom Egipte', *Vizantiyskie ocherki* (Moscou, 1991); 'State and Prices in Byzantine Egypt', *S.C.I.* 11 (1992), pp. 139-148; 'Oksirinkh', *Kratkaya Evreyskaya Enciklopediya* [The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia, en russe], VI (Jérusalem, 1992), col. 146-148.

⁴¹ Mme Bruria Hermon (Jérusalem), qui a assisté à la conférence, a eu l'heureuse idée d'enregistrer le texte hébreu et de nous fournir une traduction anglaise que nous avons utilisée. Nous l'en remercions.

fouilles menées à l'est du village, où se trouvaient les terres des soldats byzantins, au sud et à l'est de l'église Sainte-Marie (église du sud), ont permis de découvrir quelques chambres qui servaient probablement de chambres d'étude. C'est ici, croit-on, que furent écrits les papyrus découverts par les Américains. On y a mis au jour une collection d'ostraca. A ce qu'il semble, on a réussi à déblayer quelques-unes des maisons mentionnées dans les papyrus déjà publiés. Au nord du fort ont été déblayés les restes d'un édifice massif du I^{er} siècle avant J.-C. Au nord de l'église des S.S. Serge et Bacchus et du monastère dont elle faisait partie, on a découvert un autre monastère avec une citerne nabatéenne. Dans la région de la ville basse, on a mis au jour une église (l'église de l'est), qu'on attribue au VI^e siècle. Selon les archéologues israéliens, l'escalier qui menait à l'église du nord, et que H.D. Colt considérait comme byzantin, doit être attribué au plus tard au I^{er} s. après J.-C. Parallèlement, D. Urman a étudié les fragments des papyrus que les Américains n'ont pas publiés et a réussi à reconstituer et à déchiffrer quelques 15 à 18 documents qu'il a l'intention de publier. Parmi ces textes, le plus important, selon lui, est un recensement mentionnant vingt nouvelles maisons avec une plus grande densité de population que les maisons mentionnées dans le recensement de 589 publié comme P. Ness. 76.

On annonce d'autres publications. J.C. Greenfield doit publier le second volume des *P. Yadin*; il contient les textes araméens et nabatéens. H.M. Cotton prépare une édition de quelque vingt ostraca provenant de Massada qui n'ont pas été inclus dans le volume mentionné plus haut,⁴² de quelques ostraca de Nessana et d'un ostracon latin de Beer-Sheva. La dissertation de N. Cohen, disciple de R. Katzoff, *Documentary Papyri from the Berlin Museum*,⁴³ sera consacrée à l'édition de 25 papyrus d'époque romaine et protobyzantine. R. Katzoff lui-même travaille à une *Collection of Documentary Papyri Illustrating the Background to Talmudic Literature*,⁴⁴ à un volume des *Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum* consacré à *The Edicts of the Roman Governors of Egypt on Papyri*, et, comme nous l'avons déjà noté, à un commentaire juridique sur les *P. Yadin*. B. Porten et J.J. Farber préparent un recueil de traductions commentées des papyrus d'Éléphantine et de Syène, y englobant les textes araméens et grecs.⁴⁵ M. Pucci Ben Zeev travaille à un livre intitulé *Les droits des Juifs dans le monde romain. Le témoignage de Flavius Josèphe*, où les données des papyrus seront sans doute utilisées.

Enfin, l'auteur de cette communication envisage la compilation d'*Addenda et Corrigenda* au *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Le dernier volume du *C.P.J.*, on le sait, est paru en 1964. Depuis lors, beaucoup de nouveaux documents ont été publiés, et un grand nombre de travaux apportent des corrections aux textes du corpus ou remettent même en question la légitimité de l'inclusion de maints papyrus dans le *C.P.J.*. La préparation d'un tel volume s'impose donc, mais la réalisation du projet se heurte à des obstacles d'ordre objectif ou subjectif.

La plus grande difficulté réside dans l'imperfection des critères qui permettent de dépister d'une façon infaillible que des textes concernent des Juifs, quand ils ne contiennent pas des indications incontestables, comme, par exemple, les ethniques *Ἰουδαίος* ou *Ἰουδαία*.

Bien mieux, l'onomastique, qui dans bien des cas nous apporte une aide précieuse, peut souvent induire en erreur. A l'époque ptolémaïque, même au III^e siècle, quand, selon l'opinion dominante, l'onomastique peut servir d'indice ethnique sûr, beaucoup de Juifs portent des

⁴² Un premier ostracon sera bientôt publié par H.M. Cotton, J. Geiger et E. Netzer dans *I.E.J.*

⁴³ Voir la courte information publiée dans *S.C.I.* 11 (1992), p. 220.

⁴⁴ La traduction en hébreu du livre de A. Gulak, *Das Urkundenwesen im Talmud im Lichte der griechisch-ägyptischen Papyri und des griechischen und römischen Rechts* (Jérusalem, 1935), paraîtra bientôt avec des *Addenda* de R. Katzoff.

⁴⁵ Voir J.J. Farber, B. Porten, 'The Paternmouthis Archive. A Third Look', *BASP* 23 (1986), pp. 81-98.

noms grecs qui, en eux-mêmes, sans l'indication Ἰουδαῖος, etc., n'auraient jamais fait penser à des Juifs.

Prenons, par exemple, la publication récente par Bärbel Kramer du C.P.R. XVIII : *Das Vertragsregister von Theogenis (P. Vindob. G.40618)* (Vienne, 1991). Ce registre mentionne 24 Juifs indubitables portant 18 noms: Ἀπολλώνιος, Διαγόρας, Διοκλῆς (2 fois), Δωσίθεος (3 fois), Θεογένης, Θεόδοτος, Θεόδωρος (2 fois), Θεόφιλος, Ἴωναθᾶς (3 fois), Μενέστρατος, Νέων, Νικοπόλη, Πυθοκλῆς, Τήρης, Φίλιππος, Φιλιστίων, Φιλόπατρος, Φιλουμένη. À l'exception de Ἴωναθᾶς, tous les anthroponymes sont grecs. Nous pouvons alléguer le fait que certains de ces noms grecs sont très répandus dans le milieu juif (Δωσίθεος, Θεογένης, Θεόδοτος, Θεόδωρος, Θεόφιλος) : en fait, ils représentaient la traduction de noms juifs. Ajoutons-y que, sur dix-huit noms, huit ne figurent pas dans la prosopographie des Juifs en Égypte recueillie dans *C.P.Jud.* III, *Appendix II*, pp. 167-196.⁴⁶ On peut même supposer que l'onomastique grecque prédominait dans certaines familles. Par exemple, Ἀπολλώνιος est fils de Φίλιππος; Διαγόρας, fils de Διοκλῆς. Un Δωσίθεος est fils de Θεογένης; un autre est fils de Θεόφιλος. Voici Θεόδωρος fils de Θεόδωρος, Φιλιστίων fils de Νέων, Φιλόπατρος fils de Τήρης. Φιλουμένη et Πυθοκλῆς sont les enfants d'un Διοκλῆς. Les noms féminins sont grecs : Νικοπόλη et Φιλουμένη. Or, dans notre cas, il ne s'agit pas d'Alexandrie, mais du Fayoum, une région, il est vrai, qui fut l'objet d'une intense colonisation grecque. Nous sommes donc en droit de supposer que nous avons pu ne pas relever dans certains textes de l'époque ptolémaïque ou romaine des Juifs portant des noms grecs et, par conséquent, écarter de nos prosopographies les documents où ils sont mentionnés.

À l'époque byzantine se produit un phénomène inverse. À la suite de la conversion au christianisme, l'onomastique biblique prend un grand essor (voir, par exemple, les index de P. Oxy. XVI ou de la *Prosopographia Arsinoitica*). Même la présence de quelques noms bibliques ne peut témoigner d'une façon infaillible de l'appartenance d'un texte à un milieu juif. Cette particularité de la documentation impose une prudence accrue, mais, pour peu que cette prudence soit exagérée, elle peut entraîner l'élimination injustifiée d'un certain nombre d'occurrences significatives. Or, une telle élimination peut avoir des conséquences sérieuses : à cette époque, les textes mentionnant les Juifs ne peuvent pas être nombreux en raison des coups portés à la communauté juive à la suite de la répression de la révolte juive sous Trajan, et l'omission, fût-ce de quelques textes, peut dénaturer le tableau général.

La seconde difficulté, de caractère subjectif, concerne l'auteur lui-même ou, plus exactement, ses conditions de travail. Comme nous l'avons noté, en Israël, il n'y a pas d'institut ou de bibliothèque papyrologiques spécialisés, les livres sont dispersés et beaucoup d'éditions de textes, de travaux récents ou même anciens sont inaccessibles. C'est pourquoi, tout en en éprouvant de l'embarras, l'auteur de cette communication se permet de prier ses collègues de lui signaler leurs nouvelles éditions de textes et les travaux mentionnant des Juifs et, si possible, de lui envoyer des tirés à part ou des xérocopies.⁴⁷

Proof-note:

Le Comité scientifique du Service des Antiquités d'Israël pour les manuscrits de la mer Morte a confié à H.M. Cotton, en remplacement du regretté J. Schwartz, de Strasbourg, le soin de publier les papyrus grecs du Wadi Seiyal, conservés au Musée Rockefeller de Jerusalem. Ces documents s'apparentent étroitement à l'archive de Babatha : les noms et l'origine ethnique des protagonistes, la toponymie, les dates, les conventions, les idiomes employés, la diplomatie trahissent le même milieu social. On y relève un contrat de mariage et au moins deux lettres.

⁴⁶ Τήρης en est absent, mais un Τηρίων y figure.

⁴⁷ L'auteur profite de la présente occasion pour remercier les collègues qui lui ont envoyé leurs travaux qui ont trait à ce sujet, ou plus généralement aux Juifs ou à d'autres matières.

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS AT ARSINOE AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

Penelope Glare

1. Introduction

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe is known primarily through one document, BGU II 362, which was first edited by Wilcken over a century ago.¹ This document is the section of an account from the temple which records its income and expenditure over a period of about eight months in the years A.D. 214-5. The historical importance of the temple is twofold. First, it was administered by the *boule* of Arsinoe and its organization forms a contrast to that of the more traditional temples in Egypt. Second, the bulk of the festivals celebrated at the temple were connected with Rome or members of the imperial family. I shall look here at these two aspects of the temple and conclude by asking whether the temple is illustrative of the development of the imperial cult in Egypt or whether it is an exceptional case.

2. Organization

There are two sides to the organization of the temple: its personnel and the means by which it was financed. We are told of various groups or individuals involved in the running of the temple. First the *boule* of Arsinoe was responsible for appointing an *epimeletes* or overseer and for keeping a check on his activities. Second, there was the overseer himself, a liturgical official who served for a limited length of time, perhaps six months.² His role seems to have been purely administrative: to maintain and increase the wealth of the temple and to meet its expenses from these resources. Third, there was a group of regular employees who performed such tasks as guarding the shrine and keeping the records. Finally extra personnel were hired for some of the bigger festivals. These are referred to merely as *ergatai*, that is, workers. Overall the metropolite authorities were in control.

The *metropolis* background is also very important for the funding of the temple. The financial base of the temple was twofold. On the one hand it owned land and other forms of property in various parts of the Arsinoite nome which it leased out. In this the temple is very similar to a number of Egyptian style temples. Less typical for a temple in Egypt, however, is the system of loans operated by the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Most of the temple's wealth seems to have been stored in the form of loans. Expenditures were made from the interest repayments. Three factors seem to me to be important about these loans. First, the rate of interest was a low 6% as opposed to the more usual 12% attested in Egypt. Second, demand for repayment seems to have been lax. Interest was paid by the various debtors sporadically and, it would seem, at their discretion. Third, the loans seem to have been made to members of the metropolite elite and almost always to members of the bouletic class.³ Thus the temple which members of the metropolite elite were responsible for running also provided them with a source of money which they could borrow on favourable terms. The temple was very much part of the metropolite fabric of Arsinoe.

¹ U. Wilcken 'Arsinoitischen Tempelrechnungen aus dem J. 215 n. Chr.' *Hermes* XX (1885) pp. 430-476.

² The *epimeletes* seems at least to have submitted his accounts at the end of a six month period (III 7-9): whether or not this period constituted his entire term of office is not clear.

³ The same would also seem to be true of the leases.

3. *The imperial cult*

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe not only supplies us with our most detailed knowledge of a *metropolis* run temple. It also provides the clearest instance of the imperial cult in Egypt.⁴ Most of the festivals for which expenditures were recorded were connected with Rome. Above all, the temple was concerned with the imperial household of the reigning emperor Caracalla, his mother Julia Domna and his father Septimius Severus. The sensibilities of Rome are carefully respected. The power and eternal life of Caracalla are honoured but only his father who is dead is called a god. Various factors are worth discussing in more detail.

First, we can see from the amounts spent which festivals were felt to be the most important. The rites performed are described indirectly through the listing of the cost of the materials and personnel required for them. These ranged from a standard crowning of objects in the temple and the lighting of oil lamps in the enclosure to a range of additional honours such as incense, anointing of statues and processions. The more important the festival, presumably, the more of these rites were performed.

The birthday of the god Severus was celebrated to the cost of about 58 drachmai (XI 8-14). Caracalla may not have been a god but as a reigning emperor he received more attention. His birthday cost about 90 drachmai (X 9-19). 70 drachmai was spent on the Roman New Year (I 4-9). The most lavish occasion was the visit of the prefect (VII 8-23). The total spent was 170 drachmai: 110 drachmai for cult activities, 60 for an orator who delivered a presumably encomiastic speech.

The priority given to the visit of the prefect is significant and raises a further point that can be made about the festivals. As elsewhere in the empire the force of worshipping the emperors was to some extent mitigated by their being honoured with or through another cult. On the one hand, the power of Rome is brought to the fore. This seems to me to be the significance of paying more for the visit of a Roman official than for the birthday of the reigning emperor or his father. It is also borne out here by the inclusion of the Roman festivals such as the Kalends of January and the birthday of Rome (XII 8-10). The second way in which full ruler cult is blunted here is through association with another god, that is, Jupiter Capitolinus. Not only is the temple in which these festivals are celebrated nominally dedicated to him but the statue which was carried in procession to honour the prefect and the birthdays of Caracalla and his father was almost certainly that of Jupiter Capitolinus. This is an interesting choice, partly because gods with Roman names are few and far between in Egypt, partly because studies of other Roman provinces such as Africa⁵, have shown that certain gods, among them Jupiter Capitolinus, appear with particular frequency in connection with the emperors.

4. *The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and Egypt*

The subtlety of the imperial cult, the choice of god associated with it and the city setting of the temple all seem to set Egypt firmly within Roman provincial history. But the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is more or less without parallel in the Egyptian evidence. We might ask,

⁴ For the imperial cult in Egypt see in particular F. Dunand 'Culte royal et culte impérial en Égypte. Continuités et ruptures' in *Das römisch byzantinische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier = Aegyptiaca Trevernsia 2* (Mainz am Rhein 1983) pp. 47-56.

⁵ See, for example, E. Smadja 'L'empereur et les dieux en Afrique romaine' *Dialogues d'histoire romaine* 11 (1985) pp. 541-555.

then, to what extent this temple is representative or illustrative of the development of cults in Roman Egypt, in particular the development of the imperial cult. I shall concentrate here on just two aspects: first, the importance of *metropoleis* and second, the association of the imperial cult with other cults.

First, then, the role of *metropoleis*. Simon Price's study of the imperial cult in Asia Minor⁶ has shown the importance of local elites in promoting and being seen to promote the imperial cult. Such elites were not necessarily city elites - all organized communities had their aspirations - but in the Greek east cities were the most important foci for local men of ambition. The *metropolis* setting of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoe was, I have stressed, fundamental to its character. Arsinoe, like the other *metropoleis* of Egypt, had only recently been granted a *boule* by Septimius Severus. It is worth considering both whether one might have expected particular attention to the imperial cult in an Egyptian *metropolis* like Arsinoe before the Severan reform and whether this was a facet of all *metropoleis*.

The answer to both these questions is, I think, yes. Recent studies have argued that long before the reforms of Severus, Egyptian *metropoleis* had the conscious aspirations of Greek *poleis*. Bowman and Rathbone argue in a forthcoming article that the Romans deliberately fostered the elite of *metropoleis* by offering them tax and other privileges in return for performing certain administrative duties.⁷ The work of Łukaszewicz⁸ and Bailey⁹ has shown that the aspirations of the new elites gave metropoleis a strongly classical appearance with a range of buildings which were very typical of a *polis* as well as those peculiar to Egypt. As in other provinces, the city elite was prepared to bear the brunt of the cost of buildings. And these included temples. Before the third century A.D. one can see metropolite officials taking a hand in financing or running temples of both Egyptian and non-Egyptian style.¹⁰ Following Price's model, one would certainly expect Egyptian *metropoleis* to have provided an environment in which the imperial cult would flourish.

Various illustrations of this can be given. First, Arsinoe itself showed an early attention to the new Roman rulers. Some impressive busts of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia were found there.¹¹ These were quite probably set up for honorific purposes and not for cult. But cult was certainly offered by the city to Nero who wrote back to the elite of Arsinoe, the so-called 6475, that he declined their shrine 'on the grounds', he said, 'that this honour is granted by men justly to the gods alone'.¹² Second, by the second century A.D., the evidence suggests that all *metropoleis* had their temple dedicated to the imperial family whether it was a *Kaisareion*, *Sebasteion* or *Hadrianeion*.¹³ Indeed, within the reign of Augustus temples had been dedicated to the emperor in cities as geographically and culturally distinct as Alexandria and Philae.¹⁴

⁶ S.R.F.Price *Rituals and Power: the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984).

⁷ A.K.Bowman and D.W.Rathbone 'Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt' *JRS*.LXXXII (1992) 107-127.

⁸ A.Łukaszewicz *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine, problèmes administratifs et financiers* (Warsaw 1986).

⁹ D.Bailey 'Classical architecture in Roman Egypt' in M.Henig ed. *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman empire* (Oxford 1990) pp. 121-137.

¹⁰ P.Oxy. XXXI 2563 (c. AD 170).

¹¹ M.Hofter et al. ed. *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius Bau, Berlin, 7. Juni - 14. Augustus 1988* (Mainz am Rhein 1988) p326 nos 170-172

¹² O.Montevecchi 'Nerone a una polis e ai 6475' *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) pp. 5-33.

¹³ See C.Kunderewicz 'Quelques remarques sur le rôle des ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ dans la vie juridique de l'Égypte romaine' *JJP* 13 (1961) pp. 123-129 for a list of such shrines. Also Łukaszewicz *op. cit* n.8 above.

¹⁴ Suidas s.v. ημετερον (Alexandria); L.Borchardt 'Der Augustustempel auf Philä' *JdI* 18 (1903) pp. 73-90 (Philae).

Finally traditional temples were involved. In A.D. 163-4, the priests of the temple of Athena-Thoeris in Oxyrhynchus elected a sacred virgin to take part in a procession for the Tyche of the emperors.¹⁵ Villages as well as *metropoleis* did possess shrines of the imperial cult - Philadelphia even had a *Kaisareion*¹⁶ - but the range and combination of shrines in the *metropoleis* gave them a distinctive air.¹⁷

Second, we have the association of the imperial cult with other cults. The temples that come most obviously to mind when thinking about the imperial cult are the *Kaisareia* and such like where the names immediately advertise the imperial connection. Yet I find it hard to believe that, at least in A.D. 214-5, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was not the prime focus of the imperial cult in Arsinoe. Again the integration of the imperial cult with other cults is a feature which is easily discernible in Egypt as in other provinces.

There are a number of examples, ranging from the celebration of the emperor's birthday in the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos¹⁸ and a shrine of Augustus attached to the temple of Anubis and Leto in the Cynopolite nome¹⁹ to syncretistic portraits of gods such as Horus and Amon in imperial form.²⁰ One example is of particular interest. A group of documents from Oxyrhynchus refers to *komastai* of the divine busts of the emperors and their advancing victory.²¹ They were attached to temples in the *metropoleis* and various villages in the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes and were mostly also *hiereis*. The gods whom they served form a distinctive group. Zeus and Hera, who are otherwise infrequently attested in the temples of Middle Egypt, are often paired in these documents. Sometimes there is a large number of deities including Atargatis, Kore, Neotera, Dionysus and Apollo as well as Zeus and Hera. One point is certain. Whilst priests of a similar group of gods are attested in Oxyrhynchus as early as the first century A.D.,²² the addition of the rank of *komastes* does not appear until the early third century A.D. One might suggest that the imperial cult was therefore a later addition to these temples, at least in so strong a form, and that the early third century A.D. saw a higher degree of integration between the imperial cult and other cults in these temples than the previous two centuries had.

5. Conclusion

This brings us back in conclusion to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoe. The metropolite setting and the integration of the imperial cult with the cult of another god is very much what we might expect although the choice of a Roman god still stands out in Egypt. What we do not know is the earlier history of this temple. The letter of Nero and the busts of the Julio-Claudians show that the Arsinoite elite were interested in the imperial cult from the very

¹⁵ P.Mert.II 73 (AD 163-4). Note the corrections made to this document by Hagedorn and Vandoni. *BL* VI pp. 78-9.

¹⁶ SB V 7523 (AD 153); BGU VII 1655 (AD 169)

¹⁷ See in particular the range of buildings in Hermopolis Magna listed in SB X 10299 (c. AD 266-7).

¹⁸ SPP XXII 183 (AD 138).

¹⁹ P.Oxy. X 1256 (AD 282).

²⁰ See, for example, L.Castiglione 'Kunst und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten' *Acta Antiqua* XV (1967) pp. 107-152 and in particular pl. XI.

²¹ P.Oxy. XII 1449 (AD 213-7); P.Mich.XI 610 (AD 282); P.Oslo III 94 (II/III AD); SB X 10231 (III AD cf *BL* VI p163; P.Oxy. X 1265 (AD 336). See also H.Heinen 'Herrscher kult im römischen Ägypten und damnatio memoriae Getas. Überlegungen zum Berliner Severertondo und zu Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XII 1449' *MDAI(R)* 98 (1991) pp. 263-298.

²² P.Yale I 64 (AD 75/6) refers to a certain Amois son of Leukios the younger, *hiereus* of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Kore, Dionysus and the hearth sharing (*synestioi*) gods. See also P.Oxy. III 483 (AD 108)

beginning of Roman rule. But the *komastai* of the imperial busts indicate that the imperial cult developed throughout the first three centuries and perhaps that its integration into the religious life of Egypt increased. At what point the imperial cult and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus joined will probably remain unknown.

PTOLEMAIOS EUPATOR

Werner Huß, Bamberg.

Ptolemaios Eupator, ein Sohn Ptolemaios' VI. und seiner Schwester Kleopatra II., ist eine Randfigur der Geschichte des ptolemaischen Ägypten gewesen. Er findet daher das Interesse des Forschers weniger aufgrund seiner persönlichen historischen Bedeutung¹ - persönliche historische Bedeutung ist bei einem Jungen, der etwa 13 Jahre alt geworden ist, auch nicht zu erwarten² - als aufgrund der Tatsache, daß aus den von ihm ausgeübten Funktionen politische Pläne des Vaters erschlossen werden können.

Die maßgebenden Meinungen zu Eupator³ hat für längere Zeit W. Otto⁴ geprägt. Sie lassen sich - sieht man von dem Problem der Datierung der Geburt ab - folgendermaßen wiedergeben:

¹Die Gestalt des Eupator ist in der früheren Forschung in unterschiedlicher Weise in die Geschichte der ptolemaischen Dynastie eingefügt worden. Vgl. L. Pareti, *Ricerche sui Tolemei Eupatore e Neo Filopatore*, *AAT* 43, 1908, 497 - 524, hier 498 - 501; außerdem Rachel Evelyn White, *Women in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *JHS* 18, 1898, 238 - 266, hier 256 f. Noch A. Bernand, *IG Philae I*, S. 122. 124 f. 155. 177, identifiziert die Person des Eupator mit der des Neos Philopator. (Zu Neos Philopator vgl. nunmehr M. Chauveau, *Un été 145*, *BIFAO* 90, 1990, 135 - 168.)

²Eupator ist vor dem 21. September 164 geboren worden und vor dem 31. August 152 gestorben. Vgl. einerseits UPZ I 110, Z. 1 - 3. 19: 21. September 164 (τέκνα); [IG XII 3, 466, Z. 3 f. (vgl. IG XII 3 Suppl. 1390) =] SEG I 343, Z. 3 f. (υἰός); IG XII 3, 467, Z. 2 f. (vgl. IG XII 3 Suppl. 1391, Z. 4 f.) (υἰός); IG XII 3, 468, Z. 5 (τέκνα); OGIS I 121, Z. 2 = IG Philae I 12, Z. 2 (υἰός) ≈ F. Ll. Griffith, *Four Granite Stands at Philae*, *BIFAO* 30, 1, 1930, 127 - 130, hier 130 ("*Ptwlmys pe-w šr*" = "Ptolemy their son"), und andererseits P. dem. Tur. Botti 5: 31. August 152 ("theos Eupator" vor "theoi Philometores"); dazu W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers. Ein Beitrag zur Politik und zum Staatsrecht des Hellenismus* (ABAW N. F. 11), München 1934, 8 - 13 (mit anderer Interpretation von UPZ I 110); J. D. Ray, *Observations on the Archive of Hor*, *JEA* 64, 1978, 113 - 120, hier 119 (15. Oktober 166 [?]); außerdem W. Huß, *Die Herkunft der Kleopatra Philopator*, *Aegyptus* 70, 1990, 191 - 203, hier 193 f. ¹¹ (zu τέκνα). Anderer Meinung ist L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 506, der die Geburt des Eupator etwa in das Jahr 170 setzt. - Die Statuen, die zur philensischen Bilingue OGIS I 121 = IG Philae I 12 / *BIFAO* 30, 1, 1930, 130 gehörten, könnten zur Zeit der Mitregentschaft des Eupator aufgestellt worden sein - wie die Statuen, die mit einer aus Elephantine stammenden bilinguen Inschrift eine Einheit bildeten. Die Publikation dieser Inschrift bereiten H. Maehler und H.-J. Thissen vor. Für diesen Hinweis habe ich Herrn Kollegen Maehler, London, zu danken. Möglicherweise ist die Errichtung der Statuen von Philai und der Statuen von Elephantine aufgrund eines identischen oder teildidentischen Anlasses beschlossen worden.

³Die Ägypter hatten Schwierigkeiten, den griechischen Kulttitel εὐπάτωρ ("von einem vornehmen Vater abstammend") ins Ägyptische zu übersetzen. In demotischen Texten finden sich die Wendungen (*tnj tn jt-f* ("der seinen Vater erhebt/ehrt") und *r.tn jt-f* ("den sein Vater erhoben/geehrt hat"). Dem griechischen Sinn von εὐπάτωρ entspricht eher die letztere Wendung. Vgl. dazu G. Vittmann, *Zu den ägyptischen Wiedergaben von "Eupator"*, *Göttinger Miszellen* 46, 1981, 21 - 26; außerdem H. J. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anchsheschonqi* (P. BM 10508) (Papyrol. Texte u. Abhandlungen 32), Bonn 1984, 43 f. In den hieroglyphischen Texten von Philai finden sich folgende Formen: *tnj jt. f* bzw. *r tnj jt. f*. Vgl. H. Junker - E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Wien 1965, S. 5, Z. 17 einerseits und S. 255, Z. 14 (vgl. auch S. 3, Z. 12) andererseits. Zu einem weiteren Beispiel einer hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe von "Eupator" vgl. J.-C. Grenier, *Ptolémée Evergète II et Cléopâtre II d'après les textes du temple de Tôd*, in: *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano I. Studi in onore di A. Adriani*, Roma 1983, 32 - 37, hier 36. (Auf diesen Beitrag hat mich freundlicherweise Herr Kollege H. Heinen, Trier, aufmerksam gemacht.) - Gelegentlich wird der Titel nur transkribiert (*3wptr*). Vgl. G. Vittmann, a. e. a. O., 24¹. - Die "theoi Eupatores" von P.dem. Cairo 50126, Z. 2 verdanken ihre Entstehung natürlich einem Irrtum.

⁴Vgl. W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 9 - 12. 97. 119 - 123. H. Volkmann, *RE* XXIII 2, 1959, 1719 f., s. v. Ptolemaios 25, folgt Otto. Teilweise tut dies auch É. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (323 - 30 av. J. - C.) II, Nancy ²1982, 364.

Erstens: Eupator ist unabhängiger König Zyperns gewesen.
 Zweitens: Eupator ist aus der Mitregentschaft mit Vater und Mutter ausgeschieden.
 Drittens: Eupator ist i. J. 150 gestorben.

Ich bestreite die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptungen.

1. Eupator ist nicht unabhängiger König Zyperns gewesen.

Otto weist zur Stützung seiner Ansicht darauf hin, daß Eupator in drei zyprischen Inschriften⁵ als βασιλεύς bezeichnet wird, u. zw. - seiner Meinung nach - als alleiniger βασιλεύς: "Aus der Tatsache, daß in ihnen der junge König und nicht auch sein Vater genannt ist, obwohl man diesen, wenn sie zusammen regierten, neben dem Sohne erwarten müßte, muß man folgern, daß bei der Errichtung der Inschriften eine gemeinsame Regierung von Vater und Sohn nicht mehr bestanden haben kann, und daß damals der Vater sogar auch nicht mehr Herrscher von Kypern gewesen sein kann."⁶ Darauf ist einerseits zu erwidern, daß Eupator, wie wir sehen werden, Mitregent gewesen ist und als solcher nur als βασιλεύς hat bezeichnet werden können,⁷ und andererseits, daß die epigraphischen Untersuchungen Mitfords gezeigt haben, daß Eupator - im Gegensatz zur Meinung Ottos - in zwei der drei genannten Inschriften in Verbindung mit Philometor genannt ist.⁸

Der Hinweis Ottos, Antipatros von Sidon⁹ habe in einem Epigramm Eupator als ἄναξ tituliert - eine "Anwendung der für die Mitglieder kyprischer Dynastien altüblichen Bezeichnung"¹⁰ - , richtet sich eher gegen die Hypothese Ottos, nach der Eupator als selbständiger König über Zypern geherrscht hat, als daß er sie stützt; denn Otto selbst ist aufgrund eines aristotelischen Texts gezwungen zuzugeben, daß "mit ἄνακτες ... allerdings gerade die nicht regierenden Mitglieder der kyprischen Dynastien bezeichnet worden (sind)".¹¹ Dieser Text lautet: οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἄνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἄνασσαί. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Κυπρίων πολιτείᾳ.¹² Im übrigen

⁵OGIS I 125 - 127.

⁶W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 120; vgl. 121⁰. Ihm folgen beispielsweise A. Wilhelm, *Αἰγυπτιακά* I (SAWW 224, 1), Wien 1946, 17, und E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios*, Diss. Berlin 1959, ersch. 1961, 19.

⁷Als βασιλεύς wird Eupator auch in der Überschrift eines Epigramms des Antipatros von Sidon bezeichnet. Vgl. Anth. Pal. VII 241: εἰς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα. - Verständlicherweise leugnen W. Otto - H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches. Ein Beitrag zur Regierungszeit des 8. und des 9. Ptolemäers* (ABAW N. F. 17), Hildesheim 1978 (= München 1938), 62². 220 f., die Berechtigung der Ergänzung βασιλεύς in OGIS I 144, Z. 1 (im Hinblick auf den Memphites). Ich halte ihre Einwände gegen diese Ergänzung nicht für durchschlagend. M. E. ist Memphites Mitregent Ptolemaios' VIII. und Kleopatras III. gewesen und hat "als König" die besagte Inschrift in Stein schlagen lassen. Über die tatsächlichen Machtverhältnisse ist damit natürlich nichts ausgesagt. - Zu den Begriffen "Mitregentschaft" und "Samtherrschaft" vgl. W. Otto - H. Bengtson, *Niedergang*, 219 f.

⁸Vgl. T. B. Mitford, *The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos*, *ABSA* 56, 1961, 1-41 u. T. 1 - 3, hier 22 f. Nr. 56 (zu OGIS I 126); *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia 1971, 85 - 87 Nr. 38 f. (zu OGIS I 125 bzw. 123). - Wenn W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 120⁸, behauptet: "Auch Ptolemaios X. Alexandros I. ist ... schließlich König von Kypern geworden", so trifft diese Behauptung zwar zu - vgl. W. Otto - H. Bengtson, *Niedergang*, bes. 171 - 173 - , besagt aber für Eupator nichts.

⁹Das Verständnis des Epigramms ist vor allem von C. Cichorius, Panaitios und die attische Stoikerinschrift, *RhM* N F. 63, 1908, 197 - 223, hier 213 - 215, gefördert worden. Vgl. auch R. Laqueur, Ein Epigramm des Antipatros von Sidon, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 146 - 150; W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 10⁰.

¹⁰W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 120.

¹¹W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 120⁹.

¹²Aristot. fr. 526 (Rose).

ist aus der aus Idalion stammenden phoinikisch-griechischen Bilingue KAI 39 (389 v. Chr.) klar zu ersehen, daß ἄναξ 'dn ("Gebierter") und nicht *mlk* ("König") entspricht. Auch verhält es sich keineswegs so, daß die Verwendung des Begriffs ἄναξ in hellenistischer Zeit auf Zypern beschränkt ist¹³ - so wird Ptolemaios I. in einer aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' III. stammenden theraiischen Inschrift als ἄναξ¹⁴ bezeichnet. Und schließlich ist natürlich in Rechnung zu stellen, daß wir uns beim Epigramm des Antipatros im Bereich der Poesie befinden, d. h. in einem Bereich, in dem die Begriffe nicht staatsrechtlich zu pressen sind. M. a. W.: mit dem Titel ἄναξ ist nichts zu beweisen.

Den Todesstoß versetzt der Hypothese Ottos der bereits erwähnte Nachruf des Antipatros, in dem es heißt, Eupator sei gestorben,

πρὶν πατέρων νεαρῶ σκᾶπτρον ἐλεῖν παλάμα.¹⁵

Ein unabhängiger König, dem es jedoch nicht vergönnt war, das Szepter in die Hand zu nehmen? Dies gibt es nicht.¹⁶

2. Eupator ist nicht aus der Mitregentschaft ausgeschieden.

In Dokumenten, die aus den Jahren 153/52 und 151/50 stammen,¹⁷ wird zum einen Eupator nicht mehr in der Datierung genannt, und erscheint zum anderen sein Kulttitel in der Reihe der vergöttlichten Ptolemaier vor denen seiner Eltern. Otto interpretiert diesen Tatbestand folgendermaßen: "Es war ... ein alter Brauch, daß in jener Reihe der apotheosierten Ptolemäer die lebenden Regenten an der letzten Stelle erschienen, und Eupator hat daher, als er nicht mehr Mitregent, sondern zum König von Kypern bestellt worden war ..., aus der Stellung *nach* seinen Eltern verschwinden müssen; er ist aber damals wenigstens den früheren Herrschern angereicht worden, da man ihn, den gewesenen Mitregenten, aus allgemeinen politischen Gründen nicht ganz verschwinden lassen wollte."¹⁸ Dies ist eine "schlichte", dazu noch unwahrscheinliche Behauptung. Eine andere Erklärung des Tatbestands liegt näher. Diese

¹³Anders beispielsweise R. Laqueur, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 149 f.

¹⁴IG XII 3, 464 (vgl. IG XII Suppl., S. 87), Z. 6. - Vgl. außerdem É. Bernand, *Inscr. métr.*, S. 678, s. v. ἄναξ.

¹⁵Anth. Pal. VII 241, V. 10.

¹⁶Vgl. auch E. Van 't Dack, *Encore le problème de Ptolémée Eupator*, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson ... dargebracht ...* (Historia-Einzelschr. 40), hg. v. H. Heinen, Wiesbaden 1983, 103 - 115, bes. 113. (Dieser Beitrag ist aufgenommen in: E. Van 't Dack, *Ptolemaica selecta* [Studia Hellenistica 29], Lovanii 1988, 157 - 173.) - W. Otto, 6. *Ptolemäer*, 120. 120⁷, bezieht die zitierte Aussage des Epigramms auf die Hypothese - seiner Meinung nach handelt es sich um eine Tatsache! -, nach der Eupator aus der Mitregentschaft ausgeschieden ist. Dieser Ansicht läßt sich zum einen entgegenhalten, daß Eupator (auch nach der Interpretation von Otto) das Szepter schon eine Zeitlang in Händen gehalten hat, daß also die Wendung πρὶν ἐλεῖν, streng genommen, in *keinem Fall* das Richtige trifft, und zum anderen, daß wohl auch eine unabhängige königliche Herrschaft des Eupator über Zypern - eine königliche Herrschaft, die er aus den Händen des Vaters übernommen hätte! - mit dem Bild des Ergreifens des "Szepters der Väter" hätte ausgedrückt werden können.

¹⁷Vgl. P. dem. Tur. Botti 5 (31. August 152); P. dem. Hamb. 1 (31. Oktober 151); P. dem. Berl. 3097 und 3070 (31. Januar 150); außerdem UPZ II 174 (18. April 150). - Zu dem von J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, London 1976, 99 (demot. Text 29, Z. 2), edierten Ostrakon ("year 2 [?] which makes year 30") vgl. E. Van 't Dack, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson ... dargebracht*, 108; *Ptolemaica selecta*, 174; M. Chauveau, *BIFAO* 90, 1990, 148³⁶.

¹⁸W. Otto, 6. *Ptolemäer*, 10^o

Erklärung lautet: Eupator war damals tot.¹⁹ Da er tot war, konnte sein Kulttitel nicht mehr *nach* dem der lebenden Eltern genannt werden.²⁰ Und wenn Antipatros sagt, Eupator sei gestorben, πρὶν πατέρων νεαρῶ σκᾶπτρον ἐλεῖν παλάμα, dann kann diese Aussage nur dahingehend interpretiert werden, daß der Junge nie die führende Position innerhalb einer ptolemaischen Samtregierung eingenommen hat,²¹ nicht dahin, daß er im Zeitpunkt seines Todes nicht mehr Mitregent gewesen ist.²²

3. Eupator ist nicht i. J. 150 gestorben.

Da für Otto die Datierungsprotokolle über den Zeitpunkt des Todes des Eupator nichts aussagen, ist er gezwungen, in anderen Quellen eine Antwort auf diese Frage zu suchen. Er findet sie in dem mehrfach zitierten Epigramm des Antipatros. Zur Zeit einer dort erwähnten totalen Mondfinsternis sei Eupator gestorben, und diese könne nur die Mondfinsternis des 3. Juli 150 oder die des 28. Dezember 150 gewesen sein.²³ Ist seine Argumentation zwingend? Vielleicht dann, wenn man u. a. auch folgende Züge des Epigramms wörtlich zu nehmen hat: Ägypten hat sich die Haare ausgerissen, und Europa hat tief geseufzt.²⁴ Und vielleicht dann, wenn man eine (angebliche) Mondfinsternis, die der Epigrammatiker Krinagoras von Mytilene

¹⁹Vgl. auch L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 500. 504. 506 - 509; A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Münchener Beitr. z. Papyrusforsch. u. antiken Rechtsgesch. 43), München 1962, 143; E. Van 't Dack, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson ... dargebracht*, bes. 108. 113. Mit Recht sagt W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 10⁰: "Die Reihenfolge - Eupator vor den Philometores - begegnet uns ... in allen Dokumenten, die aus der Zeit des Philometor nach dem Tod des Eupator stammen." Doch zieht Otto nicht die naheliegende Folgerung. Unentschlossen äußert sich L. Mooren, *The Governors General of the Thebaid in the Second Century B. C.* (I), *AncSoc* 4, 1973, 115 - 132, hier 126⁵⁶ (zu OGIS I 111 = SB V 8878 = IG Thèbes/Syène 302): "The sequence Eupator-Philometores points to a period when Eupator was no longer co-regent, i. e. his kingship of Cyprus (after April 152) or after his death (150)."

²⁰Nach dem Tod Ptolemaios' VI. ist man teilweise zu der Reihenfolge Philometores-Eupator zurückgekehrt. Vgl. R. Laqueur, *Quaestiones epigraphicae et papyrologicae selectae*, Roma 1970 (= Straßburg 1904), 35 f.; L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 513 - 517. 520 - 524; F. Ll. Griffith, *P. dem. Ryl.* III, S. 141; W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 10⁰. Dies ist verständlich. War doch Eupator der *Sohn* der Philometores gewesen und war er doch *nach* ihnen zur Herrschaft gelangt bzw. in den dynastischen Kult aufgenommen worden! Irrige Vorstellungen finden sich bei R. Laqueur, *Quaestiones*, 46 - 51. - P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. - 453 ap. J.-C.)* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 15), Lugdunum Batavorum 1967, 145, stellt folgende Regel auf: "Dans les textes venant de Basse Égypte, l'épithète de Philometor figure après celle d'Eupator, dans les autres avant." Zu Ausnahmen vgl. J. Quaegebeur, *The Egyptian Clergy and the Cult of the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, *AncSoc* 20, 1989, 93 - 116, hier 110 f.; E. Lanciers, *Die ägyptischen Priester des ptolemäischen Königskultes*, *REgypt* 42, 1991, 117 - 145 u. T. 2, hier 122³⁴.

²¹Das Problem des gleichzeitig König- und Nicht-König-Seins des Eupator versucht R. Laqueur, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 147, folgendermaßen zu lösen: "... wir wissen, daß in Ägypten der Königstitel mitunter auch ohne die tatsächliche Ausübung der obersten Königsgewalt geführt wurde. Das Scepter der Väter - es gab also nur eins - konnte nur in den Händen eines einzigen sein, der Königstitel wurde weiterhin verliehen." Völlig zutreffend ist diese Ansicht nicht, wie ein Blick auf die Zeit der gemeinsamen Herrschaft Ptolemaios' VI. und Ptolemaios' VIII. (und Kleopatras II.) zeigt.

²²Vgl. auch T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* 56, 1961, S. 22 f.; *Inscriptions Kourion*, S. 86 f. Anders W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 120⁷. Die Tatsache der Mitregentschaft geht ja aus *P. dem. Ryl.* III 16, Z. 1 - 3 (5. April 152) eindeutig hervor. (*P. dem. Ryl.* III 16 ist nach E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* [Ägyptol. Abhandlungen 1], Wiesbaden 1960, 88, nicht auf den 4. (?) April 152, sondern auf den 5. April 152 zu datieren.) - Herr Dr. P. Schubert, Genf, wird in Bälde in der *ZPE* einen Genfer Papyrus veröffentlichen, der das bisher einzige bekannte, in griechischer Sprache erhaltene papyrologische Zeugnis der Mitregentschaft des Eupator enthält. Ich danke Herrn Schubert für die Zusendung des Manuskripts aufs herzlichste.

²³Vgl. W. Otto, *6. Ptolemäer*, 10⁰. Anders P. Waltz, *Anthologie grecque* I. *Anthologie Palatine* IV, Paris²1960, 160²: "La date exacte de l'éclipse ... ne nous est pas connue."

²⁴*Anth. Pal.* VII 241, V. 5 f.:

ἃ μεγάλα δ' Αἴγυπτος ἐὰν ᾠλόψατο χαιταν
καὶ πλατὺς Εὐρώπας ἐστονάχησε δόμος

mit dem Tod der Kleopatra Selene in Verbindung bringt,²⁵ auf den 22. März 5 v. Chr. datieren und Kleopatra Selene an diesem Tag sterben lassen kann,²⁶ obwohl die Königin sich noch nach dem Jahr 11 n. Chr. guter Gesundheit erfreut zu haben scheint.²⁷ Ich frage noch einmal: Ist seine Argumentation zwingend? Mir scheint nicht.²⁸ Im übrigen behauptet nicht einmal Antipatros,²⁹ die totale Mondfinsternis sei just zum Zeitpunkt des Todes des Eupator eingetreten.³⁰

Es wird klüger sein, sich auf die Dokumente zu verlassen. Und hier ist insbesondere ein Turiner Papyrus zu nennen, der vom 31. August 152 datiert ist und in dem Eupator vor den Philometores erscheint.³¹ Vor diesem Tag dürfte Eupator gestorben sein.³²

Abschließend stellt sich die Frage nach den politischen Hintergründen der Entsendung des Eupator nach Zypern, die nach der Aufnahme in die Mitregentschaft, d. h. nach dem 3. Februar 152 und vor dem 5. April 152, erfolgt ist.³³ Und hier behauptet Otto zu Recht: "...

²⁵Vgl. Anth. Pal. VII 633.

²⁶Vgl. etwa G. Ancey, Sur deux épigrammes de Crinagoras, *RA* IV 15, 1910, 1, 139 - 141, hier 140 f.

²⁷Vgl. etwa Stähelin, *RE* XI 1, 1921, 784 f., hier 785, s. v. Kleopatra 23; A.S.F. Gow - D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology* II, Cambridge 1968, 225f. Anders S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord VIII*, Osnabrück 1979 (= Paris 1928), 220 - 223; K. Fittschen, Juba II. und seine Residenz Jol / Caesarea (Cherchel), in: *Die Numider*, hg. v. G. Horn - Ch. B. Rüger, Köln 1979, 227 - 242, hier 228⁶.

²⁸Auch E. Van 't Dack, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengison ... dargebracht*, 113, hält es für möglich, "que l'allusion à une éclipse est trompeuse". Zur Stützung seiner Ansicht verweist er auf Claire Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque* (Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique T. LXI, fasc. 4), Bruxelles 1973, p. 124. - Auf eine interessante Parallele macht M. Smith, Did Psammetichus I die Abroad?, *OLP* 22, 1991, 101 - 109, aufmerksam. Smith bringt den Tod Psammetichs I. mit der Mondfinsternis des 22. März 610 in Beziehung. Wenn seine Interpretation das Richtige trifft, ist durch sie natürlich jedoch noch nicht die Historizität der zeitlichen Koinzidenz des Todes des Eupator und einer Mondfinsternis der späten 50er Jahre des 2. Jh. bewiesen. - Auf das in einen ähnlichen Zusammenhang zu stellende Erzählstück Mk. 15, 33 Parr. sei nur am Rande verwiesen.

²⁹Reitzenstein, *RE* I 2, 1894, 2513 f., s. v. Antipatros 22, charakterisiert ihn u. a. mit folgenden Worten: "in der Sprache kühn und prunkvoll, ... vor allem stets rhetorisch".

³⁰Vgl. Anth. Pal. VII 241, V. 7 f.:

καὶ δ' αὐτὰ διὰ πένθος ἀμαυρωθεῖσα Σελάνα
ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανίας ἀτραπιτοῦς ἔλιπεν.

³¹Vgl. P. dem. Tur. Botti 5. (M. el-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes* II, Cairo 1959, 157 [Nr. 14], irrt sich im Datum: "19th year Philometor and Cleopatra II [163 B.C.].") Vgl. außerdem P. dem. Hamb. 1 (31. Oktober 151); P. dem. Berl. 3097 und 3070 (31. Januar 150); SB I 4637 (mit unsicherer Datierung).

³²In J. D. Ray, *Archive*, demot. Text 4, Z. 11 heißt es: "That which concerns the month (?) of groaning (?) means (that) the son shall not [---] from him (?) again." J. D. Ray, *Archive*, S. 32 (vgl. S. 129), meint dazu: "The text as it stands suggests that misfortune, perhaps even death, has befallen the young prince." Fast fühlt man sich an Anth. Pal. VII 241, V. 5 f. erinnert.

³³Vgl. einerseits P. Köln III 144 und andererseits P. dem. Ryl. III 16. Auf die Bedeutung von P. dem. Ryl. III 16 haben bereits B. P. Grenfell - A. S. Hunt, *P. Tebt. I*, S. 554, hingewiesen. Vgl. auch L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 504. - P. Amh. II 45 ist nicht in die Regierungszeit des Eupator zu datieren. Vgl. P. W. Pestman, *Agoranomoi et actes agoranomiques. Krokodilopolis et Pathyris 145 - 88 av. J.-C.*, in: *Auctores varii, Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (Papyrologica Lugduno - Batava 23), hg. v. P. W. Pestman, Leiden 1985, 16, 24². Anders L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 504 f. 520. - E. Van 't Dack, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengison ... dargebracht*, 109, 113, 115, geht wohl zu weit, wenn er die Annahme, Eupator sei nach Zypern entsandt worden, ablehnt: "Il n'y a aucune indication que la corégence s'est accompagnée ou a été suivie d'une mission royale à Chypre. Il nous semble normal que le retentissement de la promotion d'Eupator à la corégence a été plus grand à Chypre dont la possession fut contestée par Évergète II, qu'ailleurs dans le royaume" (115). Dies hieße, den historischen Wert der genannten zyprischen Inschriften und vermutlich auch des Epigramms des Antipatros (V. 3 f.) auf ein Minimum zu reduzieren. Auch durch J.D. Ray, *Archive*, demot. Text 4, Z. 5 f. ("That which concerns the eldest son [of] Pharaoh means [that] he shall be born [and] cause to endure another province of his supreme inheritance.") und die Erklärung von J. D. Ray, *Archive*, S. 31 (vgl. S. 129) ("This 'other province', referred to in a rather cryptic manner, may well be the island of Cyprus.") läßt sich E. Van 't Dack, *Ptolemaica selecta*, 174, nicht beeindrucken.

wenn uns ... Eupator trotz seiner Jugend als Mitregent begegnet, so kann dies kein Zufall sein, sondern diese Maßregel dürfte mit der im Jahre 154 v. Chr. von dem gefährlichen Bruder heraufbeschworenen Gefahr zu erklären sein.³⁴ Er behauptet aber kaum zu Recht: "Für das an sich kaum verständliche Handeln des Philometor ... gibt es wahrlich keine andere Erklärung, als daß dieser hierdurch Roms Wünschen auf die Abtrennung Kyperns vom Reich entgegenkommen wollte;"³⁵ denn Zypern ist nicht, wie wir gesehen haben, vom Reich getrennt worden, Zypern sollte im Gegenteil durch die Personen des Königs Eupator und seines $\tau\iota\theta\eta\nu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ³⁶ Andromachos (PP VI 14637),³⁷ des Zypern-Spezialisten und möglicherweise sogar des Strategos der Insel,³⁸ enger an das Reich gebunden werden.³⁹ "Rom" ist in diesen Jahren nicht hinter allem und jedem zu sehen.⁴⁰

Priester des *theos Eupator* waren u. a. Lysanias (PP III/IX 5189, 5. April 152), Zenon (PP III 5131, etwa 148), Marrepachois bzw. Marres (PP IX 5395 c, 14. Februar oder Juni 146 oder 11. Februar oder Juni 135), Lysimachos (PP III 5190, Juli 141 oder 140 - nicht: zwischen 145 und 142[?]) und Ptolemaios (PP III/IX 5248, 138/37). - Verkehrt äußert sich J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Verhandelingen van de Kon. Vlaamse Acad. voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Kl. d. Letteren 42), Brussel 1961, 127: "... Philometor ... anno XXIX⁰ (153/52) nullis quae in usu erant regulis observatis, Eupatorem filium natu maiorem regni consortem deumque adscivit eique insuper in flaminis titulo ante, non ut par erat, post se locum dedit."

- ³⁴W. Otto, 6. *Ptolemäer*, 121. Möglicherweise hat bei der Entscheidung des Eupator nach Zypern auch der Gedanke an den Verrat des Strategos Archias - vgl. Polyb. XXXIII 5 - eine Rolle gespielt. Vgl. É. Will, *Histoire politique* II, 364. Die chronologische Folge der Ereignisse scheint allerdings für die Annahme zu sprechen, daß der entscheidende Grund für die Entsendung des Eupator in dem (fehlgeschlagenen) Versuch Ptolemaios' VIII., sich der Insel zu bemächtigen, zu sehen ist; denn Andromachos wird erst nach seiner Ausweisung aus Rom (154), wohl zusammen mit Eupator, als Strategos (?) nach Zypern gereist sein - der Verrat des Archias (155/54?) dürfte schon einige Zeit zurückliegen. Zur Datierung dieses Verrats vgl. F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* III, Oxford 1979, 546. Anders beispielsweise R.S. Bagnall, *Administration*, 45. 257: i. J. 158.
- ³⁵W. Otto, 6. *Ptolemäer*, 121. Otto scheint einen verkehrten Gedanken Laqueurs auf die Spitze zu treiben. R. Laqueur, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 148 f., schreibt: "Philometor wollte die Pläne seines Bruders Euergetes, der in Rom eine Stütze fand, durchqueren. Der Senat unterstützte aber den Euergetes unter dem Vorwand, die Teilung des Reichs unter die Brüder sei nicht gerecht (Polyb. 31, 10 [18]), Philometor müsse darum Cypern abtreten; in Wahrheit wollte Rom keinen der Brüder zu mächtig werden lassen. Da war es ein feiner Schachzug, wenn Philometor seinen Sohn zum Pseudokönig von Cypern machte und damit nach außen der Insel eine gewisse Selbständigkeit verlieh ..." König oder Pseudo-König war Eupator nicht als König oder Pseudo-König Zyperns, sondern als König oder Pseudo-König des Reichs. Vgl. auch L. Pareti, *AAT* 43, 1908, 506³.
- ³⁶Zu $\tau\iota\theta\eta\nu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ bzw. $\tau\iota\theta\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ vgl. W. Otto, *Ptolemaica* (SBAW 1939, 3), München 1939, 27 f.; E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios*, 181 - 193.
- ³⁷Bis zu einem gewissen Grad weist das Gespann Eupator/Andromachos auf das Gespann Ptolemaios X./Helenos voraus. Vgl. dazu etwa L. Koenen, Kleopatra III. als Priesterin des Alexanderkultes, *ZPE* 5, 1970, 61 - 84 u. T. III a, hier 82 f.
- ³⁸Vgl. T. B. Mitford, Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus, *APF* 13, 1939, 13 - 38, hier 24 - 28; *ABSA* 56, 1961, S. 23. 24; *Inscriptions Kourion*, S. 87; R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Columbia Studies in the Class. Trad. 4), Leiden 1976, 258. Zu Andromachos vgl. auch T. B. Mitford, Ptolemy Macron, in: *Studi in onore di A. Calderini - R. Paribeni* II, hg. v. E. Arslan, Milano 1957, 163 - 187, hier 163 - 176; außerdem F. W. Walbank, *Commentary* III, 554. - Zu *Inscriptions Kourion* 44 vgl. R. S. Bagnall - Th. Drew-Bear, Documents from Kourion: A Review Article, *Phoenix* 27, 1973, 213 - 244, hier 216; R. S. Bagnall, *Administration*, 258. - Ph. A. Verdult, P. Erasm. II, S. 71 f., hält es - "with some reservation" - für möglich, daß der Reeder Andromachos von P. Erasm. II 36 (22. Juli 152) bzw. P. Erasm. II 52 (17. Juli 149) mit "unserem" Andromachos identisch ist.
- ³⁹In ähnlicher Weise hatte Ptolemaios "der Sohn" als *Mitregent* die ptolemaïschen Interessen in Kleinasien vertreten. - Zur Stellung Ptolemaios' III. in der Kyrenaia vgl. W. Huß, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV.* (Münchener Beitr. z. Papyrusforsch. u. antiken Rechtsgesch. 69), München 1976, 176 - 178.
- ⁴⁰Vgl. auch E. Van 't Dack, in: *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson ... dargebracht*, 111 - 113. 115. - Zum Zypernkonflikt des Jahres 154 vgl. etwa W. Huß, Die römisch-ptolemaïschen Beziehungen in der Zeit von 180 bis 116 v. Chr., in: *Auctores varii, The Relations between Rome and Egypt in Classical Antiquity* (im

Druck). - Bemerkenswerterweise war Antipatros von Sidon, der Verfasser des Epigramms auf den Tod des Eupator, seleukidischer Reichsangehöriger. Diese Tatsache dürfte im Rahmen der Syrien-Politik Ptolemaios' VI. zu sehen sein.

AN INTERPRETATION OF P.YADIN 19: A JEWISH GIFT AFTER DEATH

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P.Yadin 19, one of the group of papyri from the Judean desert perhaps more familiar as the Babatha archive,¹ records a gift which Judah, Babatha's second husband, gives to Shelomzion, here called, perhaps affectionately, Shelamzious, his daughter from an earlier marriage. The gift is dated just eleven days after P.Yadin 18, the marriage contract of this Shelomzion to one Judah Cimber, so it is no doubt part of the marriage settlement. In line 12, Judah gives Shelomzion all his property in Ein Gedi, or rather almost all. As it turns out the gift includes a courtyard, rooms upstairs and downstairs, but not, line 14, "the small old courtyard near the said courtyard (line 14)." Since this property is in Ein Gedi, not, say, in Knossos, if Judah says the courtyard is small, we may believe it is indeed very small. What is all this about?

Another curious feature is that Judah gives this property "half now half after death (21-22)." That is, he gives Shelomzion a fifty percent interest in the house immediately, the balance after his death. I have not run across such an arrangement in Greek papyri, nor in Roman juristic literature, and in Jewish literature only once in the apocryphal book Tobit.²

Thirdly, I draw attention to the clauses beginning in line 23 - "the transaction is made validly and securely for all time, to build, raise up, raise higher, excavate, deepen, possess, use, sell, and manage in whatever manner she may choose, all valid and secure." Judah certainly appears to intend this gift to be permanent and irrevocable. This is surprising in light of contemporary Greek papyri. It will be recalled that among the Greek papyri there are two distinct types of documents, the one the *διαθήκη*, the will in the modern sense, which typically begins with something like "May it be mine to own my property in good health, but if I should suffer the lot of man, I bequeath and so on." The other the gift after death, *μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν*, or *μετὰ τὸ τελευτήσαι*, which reads like a regular transfer of property except for the clause of after death. In the Hellenistic period, the two forms entailed two distinct legal results. The *διαθήκη* was revocable, the gift after death was written to be irrevocable. About the middle of the first century of this era, this changed. Gifts after death were also made

¹*The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, ed. Naphtali Lewis (Jerusalem 1989). The operative parts of the document, in Lewis' translation are as follows: "Judah son of Elazar Khthousion, an En-Gedian domiciled in Maoza, willed to Shelamzious, his daughter, all his possessions in En-Gedi, viz. half of the courtyard across from(?) the synagogue(?)... including(?) half of the rooms and the upper-storey rooms therein, but excluding the small old court near the said courtyard, and the other half of the courtyard and rooms Judah willed to the said Shelamzious [to have] after his death; of which courtyard and rooms the abutters [are], etc., together with entrances and exits, bricks, roof, doors, windows and existing appurtenances of every kind, so that the aforesaid Shelamzious shall have the half of the aforesaid courtyard and rooms from today, and the other half after the death of the said Judah, validly and securely for all time, to build, raise up, raise higher, excavate, deepen, possess, use, sell and manage in whatever manner she may choose, all valid and secure. And whenever Shelamzious summons the said Judah he will register it with the public authorities."

²Tobit 8.21. Contrary to the view attributed to me by A. Wasserstein, "A Marriage Contract from the Province of Arabia Nova: Notes on Papyrus Yadin 18," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1989) 93-130 at 110-112, I do not incline to see in this matter a continuous Jewish tradition (pace Lewis). The circumstances in Tobit are special. The bride, an only daughter and sole heir of aged parents, will soon leave her parents' home in Ecbatana for her husband's home in Nineveh, described as being in a different country and a difficult journey away (1.15). There is no assurance that she will ever see her parents again (though in the event she does), nor that there will be any way of her receiving the inheritance upon their death. The parents, then, may be concerned on the one hand to ensure that the young couple receive their worldly goods, and on other hand to retain enough for the rest of their own lives. Hence the 50%-50% solution.

revocable, like διαθήκαι. Modern scholars call this a blurring of the distinctions between the two. The point can be made dramatically by comparing P.Mich. V 321 of AD 42, which is a gift after death irrevocable,³ with P.Ups.Frid 1, of AD 48, a gift after death revocable.⁴ The change is sharp. There are no revocable gifts before 42, and hardly any irrevocable gifts after that until the Byzantine period. So, in the period when Greek dispositions, wills and gifts after death, are revocable, P.Yadin 19 is irrevocable. And in a blurring of the distinctions of its own, uses the verb διέθετο certainly in line 15, possibly also in line 11, where it seems inapposite, since that is the part "as of now." We could just say that legal developments worked at a different pace even in closely neighbouring provinces and leave it at that.

However, I believe we can do better by explaining P.Yadin 19 on the background of Jewish law. This is not an unreasonable procedure even though the document is written in Greek. The parties to the transaction bore characteristically Jewish names, lived, or had lived, in Judea, and had the kind of associations that resulted in this document turning up in a cave which appears to have been a command post in the Jewish revolt against Rome in AD 135. There are, moreover, in the document some slight deviations from the usual Greek documentary practice which point to Jewish background.⁵ Lists of the constituent parts of the house being sold, "bricks, roof, doors, windows," such as in lines 19-20 of our document, are found in Greek sale of house documents only infrequently, and then more often by way of description of the house, such as "built, roofed and doored."⁶ These lists are found regularly in Jewish contracts.⁷ The usual Greek expressions for things subsidiary to the house included in

³P.Mich. V 321.7, 21-23: Ὁρσηοῦς ὃς καὶ Ἡρώδης Νεσπτήφιος ὁμολογῶ μεμερικέναι μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν ... ἐφ' ὃν χρόνον περιέμι μὴ ἔχιν με τὸν Ὀρσεά τὸν καὶ Ἡρώδην τὴν ἐξουσίαν παλὶν τι τῶν προκιμένων ὑπαρχόντων πάντων μηδ' ὑποτίθεσται μηδὲ ἐκσαλλοτριοῖν μηδὲ ἐτέροις τέκνοις ἀπομερίσαι εἰ μὴ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις. τὰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα παρανομηθόσμενα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συνχωρῶ ἄκυρα καὶ ἀπρόσδεκτα εἶναι καθὼς πρόκειται. "I, Orseus, also called Herodes, son of Nestephis, acknowledge that I have distributed after my death etc. And that as long as I live, I, Orseus, also called Herodes, shall not have the power to sell any of the aforesaid property, nor to mortgage it, nor to alienate it, nor to give any part of it to any children except the aforesaid. I agree that anything done by me in violation of these terms shall be null and void as aforesaid."

⁴P.Ups.Frid. 1.2, 6, 19-20: Ὁμ[ο]λογεῖ Σωτήριχος ... μ[ε]ρικέναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν ... [ἐφ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον περιέμι μὴ ἔχιν με τὸν Σωτήριχος ... ±15]α τῶν [ἐα]υτοῦ [...±27 πω]λεῖν ὑποτίθ[ε]σθ[αι] ...±36] τρόπω[ι]. "Soterichos acknowledges ... that he has divided to them after his death.... But for as long as Soterichos lives [he shall have complete power with respect to] his [possessions] to sell, to mortgage, [to alter the will, to administer them] in any manner [he may desire]."

⁵These features, familiar from rabbinic juristic literature and from papyrus documents in Hebrew and Aramaic, are not necessarily uniquely Jewish. They may well be common to other peoples of the region, though in the near absence of evidence there cannot be certainty. An alternative view, then, would picture the Jews in these documents as so assimilated to a hypothesized amalgam of Oriental and Greek peoples and cultures that when their practice does conform to Jewish tradition it is merely by chance, rather on the model of assimilated Jews of nineteenth and twentieth century western Europe and America. See Wasserstein (above note 2) 125-130. For my disagreement see R. Katzoff, "Papyrus Yadin 18 Again: A Rejoinder," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 82 (1991) 171-176.

⁶ὠικοδομῆνης καὶ ἐστεγαμένης καὶ τεθυρωμένης. P.Lond. III 1204 p.10 = M.Chr. 152.18 (113 BC). Similarly e.g. in BGU III 996 iii 2 (107 BC), BGU III 997.6 (103 BC), BGU III 999.5 (99 BC), P.Köln I 51.4 (99 BC), P.Grenf. II 35.6 (98 BC), P.Amh. II 51 = Sel.Pap. I 28.23 (88 BC). Closer to the phrasing in our document are P.Vindob.Tandem 26.14 (143 AD), P.Mich. VI 428.5 (154 AD), P.Ryl. II 162.26 (159 AD), P.Hamb. I 15.8 (209 AD), P.Stras. I 9.8 (307 or 352 AD).

⁷Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen 1984) p. 320, document V 45.7. M. Broshi and E. Qimron, "A House Sale Deed from Kefar Baru from the Time of Bar Kokhba," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986) 201-214, at p. 206, line 4. For such lists in somewhat later documents of Jews in the eastern Mediterranean region, see Moshe Gil, "Hamoche et hechatzer etc.," *Tarbiz* 46 (1977) 17-28 (Hebrew). This tradition was not maintained in the Hebrew house sale documents from medieval England and Europe collected in Asher Gulak, *Otzar Hashetarot* (Jerusalem 1926) nos. 179-182, 185; but are maintained in diplomatic handbooks, *ibid* no. 186, and note 2 there. For discussion relating this practice to rabbinic literature, see Gil, as above, drawing on A. Gulak, *Das Urkundenwesen im Talmud im Lichte der griechisch-*

its sale are καὶ τὰ συγκύροντα, "and what belongs there," or καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, "and the appurtenances." The expression in line 20 of our document, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσι πανταίοις, "and all that is in there," corresponds exactly to the Hebrew *kol shebo* in P.Mur. 30,19, and *v'chol ma sheb'tocha* quoted repeatedly in the Mishna, Bava Batra 4.3-9.⁸ The permission clause, "to build, etc.," in line 24 of our document, is not characteristic of Greek documents before the Byzantine period, but is of Jewish documents.⁹

I turn, then, briefly to the historical development of the Jewish law on testamentary succession as set out by Reuven Yaron in *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (Oxford 1960). Biblical law made almost no allowance for provisions after death. Rabbinic law, however, did adopt the two forms of the Hellenistic disposition - the proper will, that is the revocable διαθήκη, with its Greek name, and the irrevocable gift after death.¹⁰ To judge from the Greek papyri from Egypt, this development would have had to occur before the middle of the first century of this era, for after that time difference in form would not have entailed this difference in legal effect. Once, however, having been embedded in Jewish law, these institutions were no longer affected by subsequent changes undergone by these institutions outside it. No surprise, then, that Judah should be able to write an irrevocable gift after death.

The rabbis required that the gift after death be made "as of now" or "from today," because they insisted, as did Roman jurists, that there could be no transaction with someone who was not alive. So they assimilated the gift after death to a gift *inter vivos* with reservation of a usufruct for the duration of the life of the donor.¹¹ That makes good sense if I want my daughter to have my house after I die. I transfer ownership to her now, but reserve the right to live in the house as long as I am alive. However, this made no sense for Judah and Shelomzion, because the house Judah owned was in Ein Gedi, where the young couple lived, while he lived in Maoza with his second wife, Babatha. He presumably wanted his daughter

aegyptischen Papyri und des griechischen und roemischen Rechts (Jerusalem 1935) 95-98. Cf. my reservations in Chapter 4, note 3, of the forthcoming Hebrew translation of Gulak, *Urkundenwesen*.

⁸Similarly in Aramaic documents: Beyer (above note 7) V 45.7; 46.6.

⁹Broschi and Qimron (above note 7) line 6; Gulak, *Otzar Hashetarot* (above note 7) nos. 179-181, 186; though not in Beyer (above note 7) V 45.

With some hesitation I add another "Semitism" listed by Lewis (above note 1) 16, the phrase in line 25, πάντα κύρια καὶ βέβαια, "everything is valid and secure." Greek documents regularly assert that the particular transaction, such as the will, or the sale, is valid, not that everything is valid. Also, before the Byzantine period the word for "valid" appears without an attached synonym. The phrase in line 25 corresponds exactly to the Hebrew *v'hakol sharir v'kayam*, which would later, from at least the tenth century until today, become the standard closing of every type of Jewish document. The hesitation is caused by the fact that the phrase is not found in any of the Hebrew or Aramaic documents from the Judean desert. Neither is it found in this use in the Talmud. The words *sharir v'kayam*, "valid and secure," without *v'hakol*, "everything," appear once in each of the Babylonian Talmud, *Bava Batra* 160b, and Palestinian Talmud, *Gittin* 9.9,50c, with some variation, as the authorizing note to a postscript in a document. See Mordechai Akiva Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine. A Cairo Geniza Study. Volume I: The Ketubba Traditions of Eretz Israel* (Tel Aviv and New York 1980) 478. Aaron Skaist, "The Background of the Talmudic Formula *v'hakol sharir v'kayam*," *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages in Memory of Y. Kutscher*, ed. G. Sarfati et al., (Ramat Gan 1980) XL-LIV, argues for a continuity of the clause from cuneiform documents of the second millennium BC, contra Reuven Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford 1961) 103-104, who suggests that the clause derives from the Greek *kyria* clause.

¹⁰*Tosefta Bava Batra* 8.10: If one writes a *diateke*, he may revoke it; a gift, he may not revoke it. What is a *diateke*? "May this be for life and health, but if I die let my property be given to so-and-so." What is a gift? "Let my property be given to so-and-so as of today."

¹¹*Mishna Bava Batra* 8.7: If one writes his property over to his sons, he must write "from today and after death," says Rabbi Judah. Rabbi Yossi says he need not. If one writes his property over to his son after his death, the father cannot sell, because the property is assigned to the son; the son cannot sell, because it is in the possession of the father. If the father sold, the property is sold only until his death; if the son sold, the buyer has nothing until the father dies.

and her husband to live in the house, but himself to retain during his own lifetime enough of the ownership to be able to move in should he want to return to Ein Gedi. So instead of the gift minus usufruct, he reworked the formula "from today and after death" to "half from today, half after death."

In a further development, the rabbis made the revocable διαθήκη the appropriate document for an ill donor, and the irrevocable gift after death the appropriate document for a healthy donor.¹² In fact, the distinction ill versus healthy became the critical one rather than the form of the document, with one further proviso. If an ill person wrote a gift after death - treated now as a revocable διαθήκη - but did not give away all his landed property, it is construed again as a gift *inter vivos*, and irrevocable.¹³

Now, Professor Lewis suggests in his introduction to this papyrus that Judah may have been ailing, for he must have been no longer alive some time before P.Yadin 20 was written, two years after P.Yadin 19. Judah does not say in P.Yadin 19 that he is ailing, so we do not know for sure. More important, a judge would not know for sure. Imagine if after Judah's death this gift is contested, as these things so often are, say by Shelomzion's mother, Miriam, known to be litigious, or by her stepmother, Babatha, or by her cousins in Ein Gedi, who in fact two years later signed a waiver on this very house. They might claim that Judah was ailing, as Professor Lewis suggests, and that he could and did revoke the gift. Shelomzion might counterclaim that Judah was well, and that the gift was irrevocable. Who has to prove what? The continuation of the Mishna quoted in note 13 shows that the point was disputed a generation later.

Mishna Bava Batra 9.6b: "If he did not write in the gift that he was ill, and later he claims he was ill and the recipients claim he was well, he must prove he was ill, says Rabbi Meir. Other scholars say the burden of proof lies on the plaintiff."

What a mess! What will happen to poor Shelomzion? Worse, what will her new husband Judah Cimber do once it appears that his wife's inheritance, on which he was planning his financial future, just vanished? Will he remain loyal to his marriage? "No, do not worry, dear little Shelamzious," says her father, and reads again the first part of the Mishna, "If an ill person wrote all his property over to others but left himself any land whatever, the gift is permanent." Aha! The little old courtyard in Ein Gedi. Not much larger than a broom closet perhaps, but enough to make this gift, P.Yadin 19, permanent and unassailable.

I admit that this is speculative, but if correct it would provide some support for three positions I would argue on other grounds as well. First, Jewish law adopted important legal institutions from the Greek conquerors, but only during the Hellenistic period, and was relatively unaffected later. Second, in the development of the Jewish law of inheritance the rule on "left himself any land whatever" and all that rule presupposes, must have been in place by A.D. 128. Finally, the community in which the documents of the Babatha archive were written was more attached to Jewish law than other observers have been willing to admit.

¹²Tosefta *Bava Batra* 8.9: If a healthy person wrote a *diateke*, or if an ill person wrote his property as a gift, he has done nothing.

¹³Mishna *Bava Batra* 9.6a: If an ill person wrote all his property over to others but left himself any land whatever, the gift is permanent. If he left himself no land whatever, the gift is not permanent.

THEOCRITUS THE DANCER

Adam Łukaszewicz

In his account of the reign of Antoninus Caracalla, Cassius Dio has the following story:

Theocritus was an imperial freedman, who had taught Antoninus to dance and had been a male lover of Commodus' favourite, Saoterus. Saoterus introduced him to the theatre at Rome, but he was unsuccessful there and moved to Lugdunum, where he amused the local audience, since they were - according to Dio - rather rustic. Dio, or his epitomator, does not explain how it happened, but states that Theocritus advanced to such power that both the prefects had no importance compared to him. He busied himself organizing supplies, selling the goods for his own profit, and condemning numerous people to death. Flavius Titianus, an imperial procurator from Alexandria, attempted to oppose him but paid for that with his own life.¹ Dio, who excels at summarizing the contemporary gossip, describes the following scene that took place in Alexandria: Titianus offended Theocritus in a non-specified manner, whereupon Theocritus left from his seat and drew his sword. At that Titianus said: "That, too, you did like a dancer". Theocritus, extremely offended, ordered Titianus to be executed.

As stated above, in Dio's work there is no date for that event. Other sources pass in silence over both the event and the person of Flavius Titianus.²

Attempts have been made to connect the story of Theocritus and Flavius Titianus directly with Caracalla's dramatic visit to Alexandria.³ However, in Dio's account there is no statement that allows us to assume such a direct connection.

Dio writes that Theocritus travelled to and fro to secure provisions. He personally gave the order to execute Titianus. If it happened in the presence of the emperor, or at the time of Caracalla's presence in Alexandria, it would not be Theocritus who could give such an order, but only the emperor himself. It seems, therefore, much more probable that Titianus' death took place during Theocritus' "business visit" to Alexandria preceding Caracalla's presence in Egypt, as we may assume from the order of Dio's narrative. About the time of the visit, by the way, Theocritus led an unsuccessful expedition to Armenia. His further history is unknown. Obviously his career ended very soon. Moreover, after Caracalla's departure from Egypt it was rather impossible to look for provisions in the devastated Alexandria.

In papyri there are no direct hints regarding the Titianus affair. However, in P.Gen. I 1 we have an almost complete text of a circular by one Aurelius Theocritus. The papyrus bears a date: 15th Pauni, year 21 of emperor Antoninus. The editor situated that date in the reign of Antoninus Pius and interpreted it as 9th June 158. Obviously the reign of Caracalla is equally possible, which would mean 9th June 213, as Wilcken pointed out in an article published in 1906.⁴ Further details make the Caracallan date the only possible one.

In line 3 the editor read [Ἀτί]λιον, while in reality the person concerned is Valerius Titianus and the text probably contained an erroneous *gentilicium* [Ἀύρη]λιον, influenced by the name of the author of the letter and certainly also by the *gentilicium* of Caracalla, becoming extremely common at that very time as a consequence of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. *A priori* the possibility of a double *gentilicium* can not be rejected either.

¹ Cassius Dio LXXVIII (77) 21.2-4.

² Cf. the numerous Flavii Titiani, PIR (2) III nos. 378 - 382. See below.

³ e.g. PIR (2) III 381: "Flavius Titianus, procurator Alexandriae (ἐπιτροπεύων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ) occisus a Theocrito, quem lacessiverat a. 215".

⁴ U. Wilcken, Les papyrus de Genève, *APF* 3, 1906, 379.

It may seem platitudinous to insist that Flavius Titianus is not the same person as Valerius Titianianus, but such an identification has been proposed by Milne in 1898.⁵ Milne also erroneously dated P.Gen.I 1 and the Titianus affair to the year 214. Milne was in error as to Titianianus. There were many well-known Titiani (cf. *supra*).⁶ The name was also quite common in Egypt.⁷ Nevertheless, Milne was correct in associating Theocritus of the papyrus with the influential favourite of Caracalla. The former part of Milne's proposal has been duly rejected; the latter is consistently overlooked.

To more recent researchers, Aurelius Theocritus is an epistrategus, although he is not confirmed elsewhere. Thus, J.F. Gilliam considered him as an epistrategus of the Heptanomia⁸. J. David Thomas⁹ hesitates, prudently putting Theocritus among "possible epistrategoi". Other authors (Pflaum, Geudens and Vandoni) without any hesitation call Theocritus an epistrategus. Wilcken was more cautious: "über seinen Rang wage ich keine bestimmten Vermutungen", but, not without some doubts, he rejected the hypothesis of Milne, that Theocritus of the papyrus might be the known favourite of Caracalla.¹⁰

In fact the hypothesis that Theocritus was an epistrategus is founded only on one single and insufficient fact: that he wrote to the strategi as their superior, and it is certain that he was not a prefect.

The author of the letter, Aurelius Theocritus, who issues that unusual order concerning the privileged status of Valerius Titianianus to the strategi of the Arsinoite nome, is in my opinion nobody else but the well-known Theocritus, author of the catastrophe of Flavius Titianus. It is difficult to overlook the sharp, almost impertinent tone of the circular. The word ἐπανορθώσομαι (line 17) is a part of the unpleasant wording and possibly (but not necessarily, since it is by no means a special term) indicates that the speaker is a very high ranking official (although not unavoidably ἐπανορθωτής or *corrector*).

There are no doubts as to the date of P.Gen. I 1, since Titianianus is attested in other Severan papyri.¹¹ If Theocritus of P.Gen. I 1 is to be regarded as the ex-dancer who was Caracalla's favourite, we have to situate Theocritus' visit to Alexandria in the early summer of 213. In theory it is possible that Theocritus visited Egypt more than once in the same period. However, there is a strong probability that we actually have to do with the visit of Theocritus

⁵ J.G. Milne, *The History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, London 1898, 222.

⁶ cf. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2, 12, 1532 - 1535, especially no 2: a commander of the Verus' time, no 3; C. Maesius Aquilinus Fabius Titianus. *CIL* X 7345, consul of 245, no 4; T. Flavius Postumius Titianus, a governor of the Tarraconensis and of Africa.

It was supposed that Flavius Titianus could be a cousin of the wife of Pertinax, Flavia Titiana; it is, however, impossible to demonstrate this - cf. Whitaker, *Herodian*, 422 - 423 n. 1.

⁷ cf. Preisigke *NB*, s.v.; BGU II: Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s. v.; see *PSA* Athen 36 (II); P.Vars.14 (III); P.Oxy. XVIII 2182 (A.D. 166), XXIV 2413 (probably after A.D. 140). Flavius Titianus is known as a prefect of A.D. 132 and 164-167, cf. P. Oxy XVIII 2182, comm. p. 130; A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bernae 1950, 65-68, 91-93; O.W. Reinmuth, A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt 30 B.C. to 299 A.D. *BASP* 4, 1967, 94, 99; G. Bastianini, Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30a al 299p., *ZPE* 17, 1975, 285-286, 296.

⁸ *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV, 17, 1964, 298 n.1; cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 1091 and M. Vandoni, *Gli epistrategi nell'Egitto greco-romano*, Milano, s.a., 39; cf. *PIR* (2), A 1616.

⁹ *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, 2, *The Roman epistrategos*, Opladen 1982, 163 n. 28, 208 - 209.

¹⁰ *APF* 3, 1906, 379 - 380

¹¹ N. Lewis, 'The Non-Scholar Members of the Alexandrian Museum' *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, 16, 1963, 257 - 260; J.F. Gilliam, *op.cit.* 293 - 299; N. Lewis, 'Literati in the Service of Roman Emperors: Politics before Culture' *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World. Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell*, Detroit, 1981, 149 - 166, n. 3, 4.

to Alexandria and thus have also the correct date of his clash with Titianus. Such dating accords well with the view that Theocritus visited Alexandria before Caracalla's arrival.

It is now only a matter of purely hypothetical thinking to visualize the further course of events. It is undoubtedly possible that Theocritus' visit and connected incidents could induce Alexandrians to send an embassy to Caracalla. There is absolutely positive, although indirect, evidence of such an embassy about the time of P.Gen. I 1. We know from the Hermopolis papyrus published by J. Schwartz and *Père* Benoît, that at the end of 215 or early in 216 Caracalla referred to his earlier order forbidding Alexandrians to send embassies (ἀπόρητον ὑμῖν πρεσβείαν).¹² That order was surely a consequence of an earlier embassy that angered the emperor and possibly a consequence of Theocritus' affair. Of course we do not know whether Titianus' death was the only problem involved. Titianus was not a municipal officer but an imperial procurator (ἐπιτροπεύων). However, he may very well have been a native of Alexandria or just popular enough among the upper class of the city to become one of the symbols of the Alexandrian struggle with Rome.

¹² P. Benoît, J. Schwartz, Caracalla et les troubles d'Alexandrie en 215 après J.-C., *Etudes de Papyrologie* 7, 1948, 17-33.

ARCHIVES PRIVÉES ET CACHETTES DOCUMENTAIRES

Alain Martin

Les réflexions qui suivent tentent de cerner le statut et le contenu des ensembles de documents que nous appelons *archives*.¹ Leur caractère général et simplificateur ne m'échappe pas. Pour les étayer, je tirerai l'essentiel de mes exemples de publications récentes. Réglons d'abord un point de terminologie. La doctrine qui s'est développée au siècle dernier parmi les juristes et les historiens, médiévistes et contemporanéistes, donnait un sens étroit au mot *archives* : seuls méritaient d'être ainsi qualifiés les ensembles issus du domaine public. Cette définition restrictive trouve encore des échos dans l'érudition des dernières années. Des voix continuent à s'élever, même parmi les papyrologues, pour condamner l'usage trop large que nos études imposeraient au terme. Depuis longtemps pourtant, les archivistes de métier ont pris l'initiative d'enrichir leurs fonds de lots de provenance privée.² Leur exemple confère une légitimité suffisante à nos habitudes. Le mot *archives*, caractérisant des ensembles publics ou privés, me paraît maintenant entré dans le bon usage de la κοινή papyrologique.

Quelques distinctions élémentaires peuvent être installées, dans le fil de ce qui précède. Convenons, dans une tentative de conciliation avec les puristes, de ne ranger dans les *archives publiques* que les lots de documents émanant directement des administrations ou dûment enregistrés dans leurs bureaux. Tout le reste relève des *archives privées*, qu'il s'agisse de papiers accumulés par des individus, des familles ou des collectivités.³ Il arrive bien entendu que des pièces à caractère public figurent au sein d'un ensemble privé. De nombreux fonctionnaires, en activité ou sortis de charge, ont rangé dans leurs papiers des pièces de service. Il ne me paraît pas utile pour autant d'ériger ces *archives mixtes* ou *hybrides* en catégorie distincte : elles sont des archives privées à part entière, marquée seulement par une pratique de la bureaucratie qui n'est pas complètement tombée en désuétude.⁴

En 1988, O. Montevecchi, sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, dénombrait déjà 135 ensembles archivistiques en provenance de l'Égypte gréco-romaine.⁵ Le domaine des archives publiques est maintenant bien balisé. L'ouvrage de H.J. Wolff et les articles de synthèse de W.E.H. Cockle ou de F. Burkhalter constituent des guides sûrs dans une matière que je ne développerai pas davantage ici.⁶ L'étude des archives privées, en revanche, est relativement

¹ Sur le pluriel *archives*, cf. *infra*, Appendice I.

² Sur le statut des ensembles privés, cf., par exemple, R.-H. Bautier, 'Les archives,' *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, Paris, 1961, p. 1120-1121; 1145.

³ Le nom de Zénon s'impose pour illustrer les archives rassemblées par un seul individu — à moins que son frère n'ait joué un rôle dans l'archivage : cf. P.W. Pestman, *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive*, Pap.Lugd.-Bat. XX, p. 5-6. Les archives familiales, dont il est essentiellement question ci-dessous, sont sans doute les plus nombreuses. Pour les collectivités, je renvoie aux archives récemment complétées des choachytes de la nécropole thébaine, qui incluent d'ailleurs un ensemble d'origine familiale : cf. P.Tor.Choachiti, p. XXI.

⁴ Il est plus rare de trouver des pièces privées apparemment égarées dans des archives publiques : cf. P.W. Pestman, 'The Official Archive of the Village Scribes of Kerkeosiris. Notes on the So-Called Archive of Menches,' *P.Rainer Cent.*, p. 129, n. 9.

⁵ O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Turin, 1973 [1988], p. 248-261, n^{os} 1-96; 575-578, n^{os} 1-39; cf. déjà 'Aspetti e problemi di organizzazione degli studi papirologici,' *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milano, 1965, Milan, 1966, p. 44-46.

⁶ H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*. II. *Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs*, Munich, 1978; W.E.H. Cockle, 'State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 B.C. to the Reign of Septimius Severus,' *JEA* 70, 1984, p. 106-122; F. Burkhalter, 'Archives locales et archives centrales en Égypte romaine,' *Chiron* 20, 1990, p. 191-216.

négligée.⁷ Les éditions sont certes nombreuses; il ne manque pas non plus de travaux de qualité consacrés à l'exploitation de ce matériel.⁸ Mais on aborde rarement l'étude des archives privées en tant que telles, dans leur cohérence et leur organisation.⁹

Les archives familiales ont fait l'objet en 1986 d'une série de conférences à l'Université de Leyde. P.W. Pestman en a réuni les textes, et il y a beaucoup à glaner dans ce volume, qui mériterait d'être mis à la disposition d'un public plus large, sous la forme d'une traduction.¹⁰ L'éditeur signale l'absence même d'une introduction au domaine qui nous occupe.¹¹ Celle-ci ne pourrait se concevoir, me semble-t-il, sans l'appui d'un inventaire critique.¹² La composition de chaque ensemble devrait y être précisée selon la clé que P.W. Pestman utilisait déjà en 1965 pour caractériser les archives de Pétéharsemtheus:¹³ on indiquerait les proportions respectives, au sein de chaque ensemble, des *documents d'ordre strictement privé* (le plus souvent des lettres) et des *documents d'ordre juridique*. Parmi ces derniers, on distinguerait principalement les pièces qui établissent des droits matrimoniaux, celles qui prouvent des droits de propriété, celles enfin qui attestent le paiement de dettes ou de taxes. Des fragments littéraires peuvent prendre place parmi les documents d'ordre strictement privé;¹⁴ on réservera bien entendu l'étiquette *archives* aux lots (essentiellement) documentaires, l'étiquette *bibliothèque* aux lots (essentiellement) littéraires.

J'ai plaidé plus haut en faveur d'un usage assez large du mot *archives*. Quelques bornes doivent cependant être posées, pour éviter que le terme ne perde toute signification propre. Nous pourrions ainsi formuler une exigence minimale: les pièces constituant un ensemble archivistique ne peuvent en aucune manière être le fruit d'un conglomérat fortuit, fût-il ancien, ni d'une récolte menée de nos jours à travers des lots distincts; elles doivent, dès l'Antiquité, avoir fait l'objet d'une accumulation et d'un classement délibérés. Si cette double condition n'est pas remplie, on préférera *dossier* à *archives*.¹⁵ Les caractéristiques ainsi définies

⁷Ainsi E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, consacre un chapitre entier à l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine (p. 136-159), mais les archives privées y sont traitées rapidement, en guise de conclusion (p. 156-159).

⁸Par exemple, N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1986.

⁹Cl. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec*, Besançon-Paris, 1985, a analysé dans cette direction les papiers de Zénon. Convaincu que "les archives privées en général sont des ensembles signifiants" (p. 42), il explique de la manière suivante la genèse des archives de Zénon: "Ce sont des archives comptables ..., réunies dans le but de déterminer ce que j'ai appelé 'les revenus futurs juridiquement exigibles', de telle manière qu'à tout moment leur recouvrement puisse être effectué sur la base des pièces justificatives" (p. 70).

¹⁰*Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao*, Zutphen, 1989. Le texte des conférences est précédé d'une présentation générale du matériel par P.W. Pestman, 'Familiearchieven in Egypte,' p. 7-13; 163.

¹¹P.W. Pestman, 'Familiearchieven in Egypte' [n. 10], p. 163.

¹²Les listes d'O. Montevecchi [n. 5] suivent l'ordre chronologique et consacrent à chaque ensemble une brève notice descriptive. E. Seidl a poussé plus loin la caractérisation, mais son classement — d'ailleurs différent selon les époques ('Familienarchive', 'Buchführungsarchive', 'Amtsarchive', y compris ou non les 'Tempelarchive') — confond les ensembles publics et privés: *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, Glückstadt, 1962², p. 15-49, n^{os} 1-41; *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz (Die Behauptung des ägyptischen Rechts neben dem römischen)*, Sankt Augustin, 1973, p. 55-71, n^{os} 1.1-26; 2.1-8; 3.1-3; 4.1-2.

¹³P.W. Pestman, 'Les archives privées de Pathyris à l'époque ptolémaïque. La famille de Pétéharsemtheus, fils de Panebkhounis,' *Studia papyrologica varia*, Pap.Lugd.-Bat. XIV, p. 73.

¹⁴La présence de fragments littéraires dans quelques ensembles archivistiques a été étudiée par W. Clarysse, 'Literary Papyri in Documentary Archives,' *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium*. Leuven, 1982, Louvain, 1983, p. 43-61.

¹⁵Sur la distinction entre *archives* et *dossier*, cf. *infra*, Appendice II.

permettent de répondre à une objection formulée en 1982 par M.I. Finley:¹⁶ “Il est ... fallacieux d'attribuer à la collection tout entière des papyrus de Zénon le nom d'*archives de Zénon* ou de *dossier de Zénon*, pas plus qu'on ne peut légitimement appeler *archives* le contenu des tiroirs de mon bureau”. Dans sa dernière chronique, J. Modrzejewski, qui n'a cessé de dénoncer l'utilisation papyrologique du mot *archives* et le plus souvent cite ce dernier entouré de guillemets, a repris la formule à son compte.¹⁷ Je ne sais comment se présente le bureau de notre savant collègue. S'il ne s'y trouve qu'un amoncellement stratigraphique de lettres et de documents divers, abandonnés là sans ordre, comme ils auraient pu être abandonnés ailleurs, je me rallie à son jugement. Mais une ébauche de classement commanderait cette accumulation, et je ne verrais aucune raison pour refuser de considérer que les tiroirs en question hébergent bien des archives privées.

Quand il s'agit d'un contemporain, il suffit d'une indiscretion pour trancher. Mais, à vingt siècles de distance, la tâche est moins aisée. Un examen prudent s'impose, qui ne conduira pas chaque fois à des conclusions sûres. Prenons le cas des tablettes de Vindolanda. A.K. Bowman et J.D. Thomas y ont mis en évidence quelques séries, parmi lesquelles ce qu'ils ont conventionnellement appelé les archives de Flavius Cerialis.¹⁸ La publication de 1983 rassemblait déjà sous ce titre huit lettres, parfois très mutilées, adressées à Cerialis et le brouillon (?) d'une lettre rédigée par ce dernier: ce sont les Tab.Vindol. I 21-29, découvertes entre 1973 et 1975. D'autres pièces relatives à Flavius Cerialis ou à son épouse Sulpicia Lepidina ont été exhumées lors des campagnes ultérieures.¹⁹ L'examen des écritures suggère maintenant d'insérer dans le dossier les Tab.Vindol. I 37, 51-52, 60 et 83, qui seraient de la main même de Cerialis.²⁰ Les tablettes trouvées dans les années 1970 ont été extraites de la couche 8, qui a fourni près des deux tiers des Tab.Vindol. I. Le rapprochement des documents qui concernent Flavius Cerialis n'a donc de signification que s'ils ont été découverts côte à côte au sein de ce matériel. L'écart entre les n^{os} d'inventaire, l'étalement dans le temps des découvertes éveillent à ce sujet des doutes.²¹ Si les tablettes reposaient séparément dans la couche 8, parmi d'autres documents, je n'oserais pour ma part conclure à l'existence d'archives au sens propre: il se pourrait que les pièces aient été jetées au rebut isolément, sans avoir jamais été accumulées et classées dans ce qui tenait lieu de tiroirs et de bureau au préfet de la IX^e cohorte.²²

¹⁶M.I. Finley, 'Le document et l'histoire économique de l'Antiquité,' *Annales (ESC)* 37, 1982, n^{os} 5-6, p. 704 = *Ancient History. Evidence and Methods*, Londres, 1985, p. 36 = *Sur l'histoire ancienne. La matière, la forme et la méthode*, Paris, 1987, p. 81.

¹⁷J. Modrzejewski, 'Chronique. Droits de l'Antiquité. Égypte gréco-romaine et monde hellénistique,' *RD* 67, 1989, p. 560; cf. déjà *RD* 57, 1979, p. 120: "... les vraies [archives], c'est-à-dire les dépôts publics de documents, et non pas ce que l'on appelle *archives* dans le jargon papyrologique".

¹⁸Tab.Vindol. I, p. 49: "We use this term in its conventional sense as referring to a group of documents which are linked by virtue of having the same author, recipient or place of origin."

¹⁹A.K. Bowman et J.D. Thomas, 'Vindolanda 1985: The New Writing-Tablets', *JRS* 76, 1986, p. 122-123 (cf. *A.E.* 1987 747); 'New Texts from Vindolanda,' *Britannia* 18, 1987, p. 126; 129-130; 137-140.

²⁰A.K. Bowman et J.D. Thomas, 'Vindolanda 1985' [n. 19], p. 122; 'New Texts' [n. 19], p. 126, n. 3, observent que de nouveaux fragments portant le nom de Cerialis (Inv. 85/1 et 85/12) sont de la même main que la Tab.Vindol. I 37. Or les Tab.Vindol. I 51-52, 60 et 83 avaient déjà été paléographiquement rapprochées de la Tab.Vindol. I 37.

²¹Parmi les pièces mentionnées, portent des n^{os} d'inventaire voisins les Tab.Vindol. I 60 (Inv. 83.iii) et 83 (Inv. 83.iv), 27 (Inv. 91.i) et 28 (Inv. 91.ii), 23 (Inv. 177) et 26 (Inv. 178). Les autres pièces sont isolées, depuis la Tab.Vindol. I 22 (Inv. 1) jusqu'à la Tab.Vindol. I 21 (Inv. 188).

²²Il ne fait pas de doute pour autant que, à Vindolanda comme dans tous les camps de l'armée romaine, des documents de différente nature ont été archivés. [Monsieur Bowman fait remarquer que la découverte de brouillons — par exemple, les Tab.Vindol. I 26 et 37, dans le cas de Cerialis — et surtout de copies de lettres pourrait témoigner de cette pratique. Cf. déjà Tab.Vindol. I, p. 49: "Letters may have been kept 'on file' for a considerable period after they were written."]

Je formulerais la même réserve à l'égard des archives qu'A. Bülow-Jacobsen vient de réunir dans les O.Claud. I 124-136: il y a là douze lettres adressées à un dénommé Successus et un fragment mentionnant le même individu au nominatif. La localisation du matériel est soigneusement consignée par l'éditeur. Or il ne s'agit pas d'une découverte groupée: les documents relatifs à Successus, mêlés à d'autres pièces, se répartissent à travers trois micro-carrés du sebakh fouillé en 1987 et 1988.²³ L'argument doit être utilisé avec prudence, car les dépôts de tessons ont quelquefois subi des bouleversements susceptibles de disperser des séries cohérentes.²⁴ Dans l'état de notre information, rien ne garantit toutefois que les documents portant le nom de Successus aient un jour été accumulés et classés par ce dernier. En revanche, je serais disposé à reconnaître un petit ensemble archivistique au sein de ce que J. Bingen désigne prudemment comme le dossier de τῶν ἀρχιτέκτων Hèracleidès. Les O.Claud. I 27-34 sont tous adressés à Hèracleidès par Apollônios, qui lui demande chaque fois de prendre livraison de la charge d'un chameau. Ces huit pièces ont été trouvées en 1989 dans le même micro-carré du sebakh, qu'elles avaient rejoint après avoir été collectées et conservées ensemble, fût-ce pendant un bref laps de temps seulement:²⁵ à ce titre elles constituent de véritables archives.

Nous avons limité notre champ d'investigation aux ensembles pour lesquels nous avons de bonnes raisons de penser qu'ils ont été délibérément constitués et organisés par leurs utilisateurs anciens. Devons-nous exiger en outre, comme Cl. Orrieux,²⁶ que les pièces aient été soumises dans l'Antiquité à une sélection ? L'assurance d'un tri discriminatoire achève bien sûr de garantir le caractère organisé d'un ensemble archivistique. Mais comment, dans de nombreux cas, parviendrons-nous à cette assurance ? Sur quels indices objectifs l'établirons-nous ? Je suggère donc de ne pas joindre un troisième critère à notre définition, mais d'inclure l'appréciation du degré de sélection parmi les éléments de caractérisation des archives privées.

L'idée même d'une discrimination appelle deux remarques, qui relèvent de l'évidence. D'abord, la sélection a nécessairement engendré des déchets. Les pièces écartées lors de l'archivage ont été détruites ou jetées, et nos éditions sont sans doute pleines de ces rebuts isolés. Il se pourrait même qu'un certain nombre de lots que l'on considère à bon droit comme des archives, parce qu'ils présentent tous les signes d'une accumulation et d'un classement, soient le produit d'une telle opération. La question doit être posée en particulier pour les séries chronologiquement concentrées de documents de taxation ou de pièces comptables.²⁷ Certains de ces ensembles, accumulés pendant un temps, puis jugés périmés, pourraient avoir été envoyés au rebut au moment où l'on aurait décidé de procéder à un classement qui dépassât la simple suite chronologique.

Ensuite la sélection, exercée sur des masses de documents d'ampleur très variable, peut avoir été poussée très loin. Le petit nombre de pièces ne doit pas empêcher d'identifier des archives. L'exemple que je propose est bien connu. Il s'agit des deux lettres qu'Apollinaris, une nouvelle recrue de la flotte romaine, a expédiées à sa mère, Taësis, demeurant à Karanis:

²³Les fouilleurs du Mons Claudianus ont délimité des micro-carrés de 5 x 5 m, divisés chacun en 9 cantons. Les O.Claud. I 124-136 proviennent de cantons, parfois non adjacents, des micro-carrés f7, f8 et g6. L'éditeur ne signale une trouvaille commune que pour les O.Claud. I 127, 129 et 135.

²⁴Cf. J. Bingen, O.Claud. I, p. 21: "Le dépotoir n'est même pas pour le tesson un cimetière de tout repos: on y fait des trous pour enterrer certaines immondices ...; des constructions empiètent sur la décharge, et voilà le tesson revenu pour quelque temps à la surface."

²⁵Les O.Claud. I 27-34 proviennent sans exception de la couche 7 du canton S.-O. du micro-carré f6. "Rien n'interdit de penser que ces documents ont pu être écrits le même jour pour une même opération", note J. Bingen, O.Claud. I, p. 48.

²⁶Cl. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos* [n. 9], p. 41: "De vraies archives se reconnaissent à deux critères objectifs: d'une part, elles ont une croissance naturelle ...; d'autre part, elles font l'objet d'une discrimination partielle, à savoir entre les pièces à conserver ou à détruire, en fonction de leur utilisation future."

²⁷La question se pose, par exemple, au Mons Claudianus pour les archives d'Hèracleidès: cf. *supra*, n. 25.

P.Mich. VIII 490-491. Apolinaris écrit sa première lettre dès son arrivée en Italie, à Portus; la seconde, envoyée de Rome, lui est à peine postérieure. Or les deux pièces ont été trouvées ensemble à Karanis, réunies par un lien.²⁸ Si les deux lettres sont bien parvenues à leur destinataire, ainsi que le suggère la provenance, si, après les avoir lues, Taësis ne s'est pas contentée de les jeter au rebut telles qu'elles les avaient reçues, c'est-à-dire enliassées au cours de l'acheminement, si elle les a un temps au moins conservées par-devers elle, nous tenons un exemple d'archives limitées à deux pièces. Le critère minimal est respecté: il y a eu accumulation et classement. Y eut-il en outre sélection ? Taësis n'a-t-elle remisé que deux des lettres de son fils ? Ou bien Apolinaris, mort, oublieux ou négligent, a-t-il cessé ensuite d'écrire ? Les questions pourraient être multipliées, mais on sent bien, par cet exemple extrême, que le degré et les circonstances de la sélection constituent le point le plus délicat et le plus subjectif dans la caractérisation d'un ensemble archivistique.

Les lettres d'Apolinaris, comme les tablettes de Vindolanda ou les tessons du Mons Claudianus, montrent en outre tout l'intérêt que présentent, pour l'étude des archives, le compte rendu de la découverte et la description archéologique du matériel. Là réside, avant les recoupements prosopographiques, onomastiques et autres, l'indice le plus sûr pour l'identification d'archives. Bien sûr, ces informations nous manquent souvent: nos prédécesseurs, dans la hâte excusable de leur chasse aux textes, se sont rarement arrêtés à ces détails. Mais, quand ces données nous sont bien parvenues, y sommes-nous toujours attentifs ? Insiste-t-on assez, par exemple, sur le fait que notre plus ancien document grec daté, P.Eleph. 1,²⁹ et notre plus ancien papyrus littéraire en provenance d'Égypte, P.Berol. Inv. 13270,³⁰ appartiennent aux mêmes archives ? O. Rubensohn les a découvertes en 1906, sous un carrelage d'époque copte. Un vase contenait cinq pièces, les quatre premières entourées d'un papyrus portant une élégie de banquet et des chansons de table, une cinquième insérée à côté de la liasse. Il y avait là, dans l'ordre: le fameux contrat de mariage de 311/0; un testament et deux contrats de concubinage datés des années 280; un compte, sans doute contemporain, relatif à la liquidation d'un héritage. Aucun lien de parenté ne peut être établi avec assurance entre les individus concernés par ces documents, pourtant conservés ensemble avec soin. Depuis 1906, ils ont suscité une abondante littérature, presque exclusivement consacrée aux problèmes de chronologie et de droit.³¹ Je ne doute pas que tel est bien l'apport essentiel de ces pièces. Faut-il pour autant ne pas poser la question du rapport qui les unit, soit de la raison d'être de ces archives, que seules les données archéologiques permettent d'identifier comme telles ?³²

²⁸Cette particularité, que ne mentionnent pas les P.Mich. VIII, est signalée dans l'*editio princeps*: J.G. Winter, 'In the Service of Rome: Letters from the Michigan Collection of Papyri,' *CPh* 22, 1927, p. 238; cf. P.Mich. IX, p. 1. — Les archéologues américains ont fixé sur la pellicule le moment de la découverte. Nous montrons tous à nos étudiants cette photographie, reproduite par E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*, Oxford, 1968 [1980], pl. I. Je ne m'étais pas aperçu de l'énigme que pose la légende de cette planche: "A papyrus letter found in a house in Karanis". Il n'est question que d'une lettre aussi chez A.E.R. Boak et E.E. Peterson, *Karanis. Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-28*, Ann Arbor, 1931, p. 19, pl. VIII/16: "There can be seen one of the papyrus letters from Apolinaris to his mother Taësis." Un regard attentif sur le cliché dissipe le mystère: à côté du papyrus clair, bien repérable, que désignent sans doute les publications citées plus haut, un autre objet est visible; la couleur du papyrus, la poussière ou l'éclairage empêche simplement de l'identifier au premier coup d'œil.

²⁹M.Chr. 283 = *Sel. Pap.* I 1; cf. maintenant P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leyde, 1990, p. 67-69, n° 1.

³⁰BKT V/2 56-63 (Pack² 1924); cf. maintenant P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* [n. 29], p. 70-71, n° 2.

³¹Cf. en dernier lieu E. Grzybek, 'Die griechische Konkubine und ihre Mitgift (P.Eleph. 3 und 4)', *ZPE* 76, 1989, p. 206-212.

³²"The relationship between the documents themselves remain[s] very dark", souligne W. Clarysse, 'Literary Papyri' [n. 14], p. 47-48. P.W. Pestman, 'Fureter dans les papiers de Totoës. Archives familiales grecques-

Quelques découvertes récentes, sur le territoire de la province romaine de Judée, ont profité d'un contexte archéologique plus favorable encore que la trouvaille d'Éléphantine. Considérons brièvement les archives de Babatha. Lors de la révolte de Bar Kochba, Babatha, une Juive de la province d'Arabie, a cherché refuge, avec d'autres infortunés, dans l'une des grottes qui s'ouvrent dans le Nahal Hever, sur les hauteurs de la rive ouest de la mer Morte. Ses papiers, presque intacts, ont été retrouvés en 1961, au fond de la crevasse où ils avaient été cachés, à proximité d'objets divers et de restes humains; on dénombre trente-cinq pièces, dont vingt-six grecques, rédigées entre 94 et 132. Babatha a réuni là des documents, à contenu juridique, qui lui permettraient, une fois la paix revenue, d'affirmer ses droits et ceux de ses proches. Les circonstances de la découverte, les intentions que l'ont peut prêter à Babatha imposent une comparaison: en cachant ses papiers dans une crevasse, comme tant d'autres en des temps troublés ont enfoui dans le sol leurs pièces de monnaie, Babatha a constitué une cachette documentaire dont le contenu est en tous points comparable à un trésor numismatique.

Le volet grec des archives de Babatha a fait l'objet en 1989 d'une publication exemplaire, à laquelle on peut seulement reprocher de ne pas s'attarder suffisamment à la réalité matérielle de l'ensemble. Nous ne disposons, pour apprécier cette dernière, que du rapport préliminaire de Y. Yadin et du livre, bien illustré, qu'il a consacré à la révolte de Bar Kochba.³³ Voici comment se présentaient les archives de Babatha. Dans un sac a été trouvée une trousse de cuir, maintenue par une corde. La trousse contenait une série de documents, soigneusement rangés: quatre liasses rassemblaient des papyrus relatifs à des affaires communes; d'autres pièces, plus importantes, étaient emballées séparément; enfin quelques documents étaient joints à l'ensemble sans traitement particulier. Il serait intéressant de pouvoir établir avec précision le contenu de chacun des lots. Hélas les n^{os} d'inventaire ont été attribués, de l'aveu même de Y. Yadin, en fonction de l'état de conservation,³⁴ et l'édition a redistribué les P. Yadin en établissant un ordre chronologique strict. L'occasion devrait être saisie d'étudier l'organisation d'un ensemble archivistique privé.³⁵

La Dacie fournit un parallèle inattendu et méconnu aux archives de Babatha. Th. Mommsen a publié en 1873 vingt-cinq tablettes extraites des mines d'or d'Alburnus Maior;³⁶ en 1975, I. I. Russu en a fourni une nouvelle édition, accompagnée d'un abondant commentaire en roumain.³⁷ Ces documents sont pour la plupart immédiatement antérieurs aux hostilités qui ont éclaté dans la région sous le règne de Marc Aurèle.³⁸ Présentant trois tablettes au nom de Iulius Alexander, Th. Mommsen pensait déjà que leur propriétaire avait déposé ces pièces au fond d'une mine pour les préserver de toute destruction;³⁹ nous aurions donc là un

démotiques de Turin,' *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte*, Pap.Lugd.-Bat., XXIII, p. 146, attire l'attention sur les chemins détournés qu'ont quelquefois empruntés les pièces composant un ensemble archivistique privé: Senmouthis confie son contrat de mariage en secondes noces à Totoès, l'époux d'une fille qu'elle a eue d'un premier lit; cf. 'Familiearchieven in Egypte' [n. 10], p. 11-12.

³³Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D. The Cave of the Letters,' *IEJ* 12, 1962, p. 235-248; *Bar-Kokhba. The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome*, Londres, 1971 [1978], p. 222-253.

³⁴Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* [n. 33], p. 227

³⁵Les grottes de Murabba'ât, à quelques kilomètres au nord du Nahal Hever, ont également livré des documents contemporains de la révolte de Bar Kochba et associés à des objets variés: cf. P. Mur. II, p. 48. Même si les découvertes se sont ici produites pour l'essentiel en dehors de tout contrôle archéologique, il vaudrait la peine de reprendre l'examen du matériel, à la recherche de l'un ou l'autre ensemble archivistique.

³⁶*CIL* III, p. 921-960, n^{os} I-XXV.

³⁷*IDR* I 31-55.

³⁸Cf. maintenant P. Grimal, *Marc Aurèle*, Paris, 1991, p. 188-239. Les hostilités sur le Danube s'ouvrent à la fin de 166 ou au début de 167 (p. 189) et se poursuivent pendant tout le règne. La Dacie est particulièrement menacée en 170 (p. 194; 202).

³⁹*CIL* III, p. 921: "Nec dubium est ... Alexandrum illum instrumenta rei familiaris eo loco seposuisse ... Crediderim id explicandum esse ex cladibus belli Marcomanici." Il s'agit des documents suivants: *CIL* III, p.

nouvel exemple de cachette documentaire. Le parallèle avec Babatha peut être poursuivi: comme dans le Nahal Hever, des objets de la vie quotidienne ont été découverts dans les mines d'or.⁴⁰ Un témoin oculaire rapporte même qu'en 1791 six tablettes ont été trouvées à proximité du corps d'un vieillard barbu, lequel serait tombé en poussière au moment où on l'aurait touché.⁴¹ Il n'est donc pas interdit de penser que les propriétaires des tablettes ne se sont pas contentés de cacher leurs documents les plus précieux, mais qu'ils ont eux-mêmes trouvé refuge dans les mines, tout comme Babatha avait cherché un abri dans les grottes de la mer Morte.

Les tablettes de Dacie, en dehors de quelques pièces remontant jusqu'à 132, se concentrent dans les années 160, peu avant la date probable de leur enfouissement. Les archives de Babatha présentent la même concentration chronologique. Quelques documents appartiennent aux années 90, mais la majorité d'entre eux (21 sur 35) se placent entre 124 et 132. Le fait mérite d'être souligné, car il n'est pas caractéristique des archives familiales. Dans le cas de Pétéharsemtheus, pour s'en tenir à ce seul exemple, les dix dernières années de la période couverte représentent moins d'un sixième des pièces (12 sur 71). À ma connaissance, aucun des ensembles familiaux n'affiche en outre la même spécialisation que les archives de Dacie ou de Judée: celles-ci sont uniquement constituées de documents d'ordre juridique, à l'exclusion de pièces d'ordre strictement privé. Nous pouvons donc caractériser nos deux cachettes documentaires par une concentration à la fois chronologique et typologique. Cela s'explique: les propriétaires des archives ne se sont pas encombrés au moment de rejoindre leur refuge; ils n'ont emporté que les pièces importantes, ainsi que celles, récentes et plus nombreuses, qui se rapportaient à des affaires en cours ou susceptibles de susciter encore des contestations.

Si elle est fondée, la caractérisation esquissée ci-dessus permet peut-être enfin d'étayer une hypothèse relative aux documents du Moyen Euphrate dont D. Feissel et J. Gascoü ont révélé il y a peu la teneur.⁴² Une trouvaille unique, dont les circonstances ne sont pas connues, a livré un lot de vingt et un textes, grecs et syriaques, et une série de petits objets. À nouveau les documents sont ici de nature essentiellement juridique. À nouveau ils s'inscrivent dans un espace de temps relativement court, entre 232 et 256, majoritairement dans la seconde moitié de cette période. Cette double concentration fait songer aux précédentes cachettes documentaires, et c'est dans ce sens que se sont prononcés les éditeurs.⁴³ L'inventaire qu'ils ont dressé ne montre pas où réside la cohérence des archives: s'agit-il de papiers détenus par un fonctionnaire, de pièces familiales ou de documents rassemblés par une petite communauté menacée ? L'étude des textes tranchera peut-être la question.

Qu'elle permette ou non de progresser dans l'interprétation des archives du Moyen Euphrate, la démarche qui consiste à réserver une place propre parmi les ensembles archivistiques aux lots de documents intentionnellement enfouis par leurs utilisateurs me paraît fondée. Les trouvailles de ce genre, à défaut d'être nombreuses, sont assez bien documentées, pour que nous puissions ajouter la cachette documentaire à la petite liste des sources où s'approvisionnent les papyrologues.⁴⁴

930-932, n° III = *IDR* I 33; *CIL* III, p. 934-935, n° V = *IDR* I 35; *CIL* III, p. 950-951, n° XIII = *IDR* I 44 — auxquels il faut peut-être joindre *CIL* III, p. 949, n° XII = *IDR* I 43.

⁴⁰Cf. *CIL* III, p. 935, mais Th. Mommsen estime qu'une partie de ce matériel est postérieure aux tablettes.

⁴¹Cf. *CIL* III, p. 921, n. 1; *IDR* I, p. 173. Les archives de ce fantôme chenu sont apparemment perdues.

⁴²D. Feissel et J. Gascoü, 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.)', *CRAI* 1989, p. 535-561.

⁴³D. Feissel et J. Gascoü, 'Documents d'archives' [n. 42], p. 541: "Il est plausible que, devant l'offensive sassanide de 256, des familles aient cherché refuge à Appadana et n'aient pu par la suite y reprendre leurs papiers."

⁴⁴Au Congrès de Florence, il y a presque un demi-siècle, E. Breccia, 'Dove e como si trovano i papiri in Egitto (con riferimento agli Scavi della Società Italiana)', *Aegyptus* 16, 1936, p. 300, énumérait trois sources

* * *

Annexe I — Archives ou archive ?

Le français impose le pluriel *archives*, alors que l'allemand, l'anglais ou l'italien recourent sans obstacle au singulier *Archiv*, *archive* ou *archivio*. Mais une évolution se dessine. Un grand dictionnaire admet depuis quelque temps le singulier pour désigner un "document d'archives".⁴⁵ Dans un livre plein d'humour, A. Farge, spécialiste des fonds judiciaires du XVIII^e siècle, applique le singulier tantôt à une pièce extraite d'un lot, tantôt à un lot entier.⁴⁶ La papyrologie francophone hésite à franchir le pas. J'écris donc *ensemble archivistique* là où bientôt on osera peut-être dire simplement *archive*.

Annexe II — Les archives de Charitè, Adelphios et Asklepiadès

Le thème abordé ci-dessus a suscité un discret débat parmi nos collègues néerlandais. En 1980, à l'initiative de P.J. Sijpesteijn, K.A. Worp rassemblait en un volume intitulé *Das Aurelia Charite Archiv* [= P.Charite] une série de papyrus, conservés à Vienne et au Caire, où il est question, à des titres divers, d'une grande dame active à Hermoupolis dans la 1^e moitié du IV^e siècle. Dix ans plus tard, P.W. Pestman condamnait dans une brève note le titre donné au corpus: "Sometimes data about a person or a family are collected from different sources or archives. Calling such a collection an archive leads to confusion."⁴⁷ K.A. Worp vient de répondre en tête de l'édition des papiers de l'époux et du fils présumés de Charitè, *Die Archive der Aurelii Adelphios und Asklepiades* [= CPR XVIII]. Il accepte de distinguer du point de vue juridique *archives* et *dossier*, mais s'en tient par commodité à son titre précédent: "Es scheint mir ..., daß sich im papyrologischen Jargon *Archiv* auch dort eingebürgert hat, wo im juristischen Sinn *Dossier* am Platz wäre ... Das wesentliche bleibt, unbestritten, daß für eine Person relevante Zeugnisse zusammengetragen werden; die Benennung bleibt ein Kompromiß der Bearbeiter."⁴⁸

P.W. Pestman a raison de refuser de ranger dans les archives de Charitè des documents qui n'ont jamais été en sa possession: le P.Charite 9 reprend, par exemple, deux extraits des registres fonciers connus sous le sigle P.Herm.Landl., où Charitè figure parmi tant d'autres propriétaires terriens. On n'échappe pourtant pas à l'impression qu'une part non négligeable des papiers relatifs à Charitè, Adelphios et Asklepiadès a un jour appartenu à un noyau cohérent. L'examen des inventaires plaide en ce sens, surtout s'ils trahissent quelque chose de la répartition des lots lors de la découverte: les P.Cair. rangés sous les nos 10465-10498, par exemple, ont été assignés pour plus d'un tiers déjà aux dossiers qui nous intéressent;⁴⁹ et la récolte se poursuit.⁵⁰ Ces pièces se rapportent tantôt à Charitè, tantôt à son époux ou à son fils:

d'approvisionnement en papyrus: "nei kiman-immondezzai", "nelle rovine delle case", "nelle tombe"; cf. O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* [n. 5], p. 24-25.

⁴⁵ *Grand dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*, I, Paris, 1982, p. 639.

⁴⁶ A. Farge, *Le goût de l'archive*, Paris, 1989.

⁴⁷ P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* [n. 29], p. 51, n. 1.

⁴⁸ CPR XVIII, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Cf. P.Charite, p. XVIII; CPR XVIII, p. 6; 66-67. Dans la liste dressée par K.A. Worp, 'Die veröffentlichten P.Cair.: Eine Konkordanz,' *ZPE* 91, 1992, p. 97, lire: 10483 = P.Cair.Preis. 46 = P.Charite 11; 10485 = P.Cair.Preis. 40 = CPR XVIII 4.

⁵⁰ On a songé à ranger dans le dossier d'Asklepiadès tous les documents citant le village de Prèktis: cf., en dernier lieu, CPR XVIII, p. 65. Le n° 10488, dans la série cairote ici mentionnée, est du nombre: cf. *SB* XIV 11548.

ainsi se dessine un ensemble archivistique plus vaste que ne le supposent les titres donnés par K.A. Worp à ses éditions. Plutôt qu'aux archives respectives de Charitè, Adelphios et Asklepïadès, il me semble que nous avons affaire ici à d'amples archives familiales, accumulées et classées pendant deux ou plusieurs générations, détenues en dernier lieu par Asklepïadès ou l'un de ses héritiers.⁵¹ Des pans entiers des collections de Vienne et du Caire sont peut-être concernés.⁵²

⁵¹Des variantes au tableau généalogique reproduit dans CPR XVIIIA, p. 65, ont été suggérées par W. Van Gucht, 'Some Egyptian Bishops and the Date of PLandlisten,' *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Napoli, 1983*, III, Naples, 1984, p. 1140, et M. Blume, 'Enquête sur les registres fonciers (PLandl.): la répartition de la propriété et les familles de propriétaires,' *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology. Athens, 1986*, II, Athènes, 1988, p. 281.

⁵²Cf. déjà R.S. Bagnall et K.A. Worp, 'Five Papyri on Fourth Century Money and Prices,' *BASP* 20, 1983, p. 6: "... Aur. Asklepiades ..., from whose archives so many of our fourth-century Hermopolitan texts come."

THE DATING OF 'FAYUM' MUMMY PORTRAITS: A PAPHROLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Dominic Montserrat

Plates 31 - 33

In various collections around the world, there are over one thousand Roman Egyptian mummy portraits and items of related funerary equipment, such as stucco masks and the large painted cloths conventionally called 'Leichentücher' or 'shrouds.' Despite the great importance placed on personalising the dead so that their physical form remained unchanged for the next world, only about twenty-five individuals from this substantial corpus of portraits bear Greek inscriptions identifying them.¹ To avoid circumlocution in this paper, all inscriptions found in conjunction with portraits, whether on the portrait itself or elsewhere, have been called 'portrait inscriptions.' These are usually written in ink on the portrait itself or the wrappings, but are sometimes painted or otherwise worked onto the external carapace.² The texts of these portrait inscriptions are, as Jan Quaegebeur has pointed out,³ related to the information given on mummy labels, though portrait inscriptions tend to be briefer and less informative. Whereas many Greek and Demotic mummy labels give not only the names of the deceased, but sometimes also the profession, date of death, and other information, the Greek portrait inscriptions usually limit themselves to the name of the deceased (generally without patronyms), sometimes with the age and/or the funerary valediction εὐψύχει. It is therefore probable that the inscriptions related to portraits were not the sole means of identifying the mummified person, especially since mummy labels have been found for the same individuals who have inscriptions on their portraits.⁴ Some portrait mummies were certainly equipped with labels,⁵ although none has actually been found with its label still attached.

Of the many problems presented by the Egyptian mummy portraits of the Roman period, none is more intractable than the question of their date. Unlike some of the mummy labels, not a single portrait inscription is dated to a regnal year, and numerous attempts have been made to assign dates to these paintings using such criteria as analysis of the clothing and jewellery, or by comparison with art from other parts of the Roman empire. The thrust of both of Klaus Parlasca's major works on the portraits was to interpret them as precursors of Byzantine art rather than as a continuum of the Roman portrait tradition, and consequently he tended to assign the portraits dates later than those suggested by other scholars. Müller's thesis, the most recent substantial work on the subject, proposes an extensive reappraisal of dating based on a comparison of the hairstyles represented in the portraits with those that appear in Roman art, particularly sculpture. As might be expected, these different dating

¹ These are listed by K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), [henceforward Parlasca (1966)], pp. 79-82, with a more up-to-date list including nine new items by B. E. Müller [now Borg], *Mumienporträts: ihre Datierung und kulturelle Bedeutung im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten* (PhD thesis, Göttingen, 1990) [henceforward Müller], pp. 158-161. In the following article, individual portraits are identified by the numbers assigned in K. Parlasca's catalogue raisonnée of the portraits, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano BI, Ritratti di mummie*, volumes I-III (Palermo, 1969-80, with a fourth volume in press), henceforward Parlasca I-III.

² See, for instance, the Cairo mummy cases of Anubias (CG 33137 = SB I 1427) and Tatyis (CG 33138 = SB I 5984), where the inscriptions are painted on, and the mummy of Artemidorus (London, British Museum, Inv. 21810 = Parlasca I 162) where it is worked in the plaster.

³ J. Quaegebeur in *Mummy Labels: An Orientation*, Appendix F in P. Lugd. Bat. XIX, pp. 232-258.

⁴ Quaegebeur, op. cit., pp. 238-239.

⁵ SB I 3939, 1: καὶ ἔχει ἰκόνα ἐν α(ὐ)τῷ.

methods come up with widely divergent results, so that the date attributed to one painting can differ by over a century depending on which authority is consulted. For example, Parlasca I 61 is assigned by Parlasca to the first century AD, whereas Müller places it in the middle to late Antonine period. Parlasca and Grimm⁶ date Parlasca III 621 to the second half of the fourth century, while Müller's dating suggests that it was painted more than a century earlier, sometime in the late Antonine or early Severan period.

Clearly there is no scholarly consensus on dating. Up to now, however, nobody has used the evidence of the palaeography of the portrait inscriptions as an alternative method of dating these portraits. Neither Parlasca nor Müller makes any substantial use of this material, and I want to examine the potential value of this idea, though in some ways, palaeography can be just as dubious and inexact a means of assigning a date as purely art historical criteria. The portrait inscriptions present some particular problems here, since they are usually very short and do not give an extensive enough sample of the hand on which to base a firm opinion. They also tend not to be cursively written, making them more difficult to date.⁷ Here I shall concentrate on three portraits whose inscriptions would seem to reward analysis by a papyrologist, whether because the dating inferred from their palaeography diverges from the dating assigned by other methods, or because the text presents interesting problems of transcription and interpretation. In the table below, the following abbreviations have been used: KP Date = date assigned in Parlasca I-III; BM Date = date assigned in Müller; DM Date = date assigned by author on palaeographical grounds; *Facsimiles I-II* = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Facsimiles* (vol. I, London, 1893; vol. II, London, 1898); Schubart = W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Bonn, 1911).

Plate 31. New York, Met., Inv. 18.9.2 = Parlasca I 167. Provenance unknown.

Text: Εὐτύχης ἀπελ(εὐθερος) Κα²κσιανοῦ Ἡρακλείδ(ο) Εὐ³λαν(δρο)
 σεσημ(εἰώμα)

Eutyches, freedman of Cassianus son of Heraclides. I, Euander, have signed or Eutyches, freedman of Cassianus. I, Heracleides son of Euander, have signed

KP Date	Hadrianic-early Antonine
BM Date	Early to middle Severan
DM Date	Last quarter of the second century

Palaeographical observations: The inscription was finally read correctly by R. Bagnall and K. Worp (*BES* 3 (1981), 23-4 = SB XVI 12341), but they did not assign any date on the basis of the hand. The text, written by a brush, is more cursive than that on most portraits, with frequent ligatures (κσι, ευ) and abbreviations in forms familiar from second century documentary texts (απε^λ, σεσημ), though the hand is more suggestive of that of a private individual writing for himself than that of a professional scribe. I would compare the hand to P. Oxy. LI 3643 (see the palaeographical analogues given there, which point to a date in

⁶ G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 91 and 125 with Taf. 108.

⁷ See, for example, the inscriptions on the portrait of the child Didyme (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.5.1981; plate XIX, 4 in *JEA* 69 (1982), and on the portrait of Hermione (Girton College, Cambridge = Parlasca I 2), both of which are very difficult to date palaeographically. The assigned dates of the latter portrait vary wildly, from Tiberian (Parlasca) to early Antonine (Müller), and one might find palaeographical support for either hypothesis.

the 170's) and P. Lond. II 341 (= Facsimiles II, pl. 73) of A.D. 183. The portrait of Eutyches is one of two portraits which apparently bear the signature of the artist: the other is a male portrait in Berlin (Parlasca I 42), whose inscription apparently reads $\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\mu(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$ preceded by a some illegible letters which must represent a name.

Plate 32. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts Inv. GA 5 = Parlasca I 236. From Antinoopolis.

Text: Κλαυδιανή χρηστή ²¹ θυ(γατήρ) Φοίβην

2: 1. χρηστή

Klaudiane, worthy, daughter of Phoiben(?)

KP Date Last third of the second century
BM Date Trajanic
DM Date Late first century or first quarter of second century

Palaeographical observations: The scribe started off writing slowly with a brush, but his hand grew more cursive towards the end of the inscription: note, for instance, the cursive η of Κλαυδίανη. This text is very difficult to read and there are some difficulties with the preliminary transcription suggested here. The shape of the abbreviation of θυγατηρ as θυ- is attested in this form (c.f. P. Leeds Mus. 17 r.passim; P. Vind. Bosw. 15 fr. v, 3), but one would expect the adjective χρηστή, frequently found on funerary stelae,⁸ to come after the patronym. Also, the name Φοίβην (if correctly read) is unattested, though it could be a hypocorism of Phoibammon. As for the hand, I find analogues in several papyri dating from the late first century to the early Antonine period. I would compare P. Lond. II 257 (= Facsimiles II, pl. 39) of A.D. 94 (particularly the shape of the ρ), the second hand of P. Lond. I 143 (Facsimiles II, pl. 44) of A.D. 97, P. Lond. II 306 (Facsimiles II, pl. 53) of A.D. 145, whose exuberant τ descending far below the line is very similar. Perhaps the most similar in overall feel is the hand of the farm accounts (BM Pap. 131 = Facsimiles I, pl. 110) of A.D. 78-9, which have some very similar letter forms, particularly cursive η and β . The latter date, however, is improbable, because it would antedate the founding of Antinoopolis, the portrait's provenance.

Plate 33. Berlin, Ant. Inv. 31161/50 = Parlasca III 664. From er-Rubayat.

Text: Ἀσκληπιάδης ²¹ (ἔτων) η εὐψύχ[ει
Asklepiades, aged 8 Farewell.

KP Date First half to middle fourth century
BM Date Hadrianic
DM Date First quarter of third century

Palaeographical observations: This hand is a good, neat example of an early third century chancery hand derivative. Comparable are BGU I 926 (= Schubart, Taf. 32a), dated to

⁸ See F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou* (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 30 and 159.

A.D. 219/20, and P. Lond II 353 (= *Facsimiles* II, pl. 84), written in A. D. 221. Parlasca's assigned date is too late, since this kind of hand looks rather different in the first half of the fourth century, and Müller's definitely too early: I have not been able to find any parallels for this kind of hand in the mid-second century.

The above is only a preliminary survey, and given the very small number of portraits with inscriptions, this method of dating will at best be of only limited use. Probably the most useful function of palaeographical dating would be as a means of corroborating dates arrived at on the basis of other criteria. This is demonstrated by the table above, where although the correlation of Barbara Müller's dates with the dates I have assigned on palaeographical grounds is by no means precise, one consistent theme emerges: that the dates for the Fayum portraits suggested by Klaus Parlasca would be very difficult to support on the basis of the hands in the portrait inscriptions. Clearly much more detailed work needs to be done on the portraits, taking into account all aspects of their construction, iconography and ornamentation, before any conclusions on their dating can be reached.

BISHOPS IN THE PAPYRI¹

Royce L.B. Morris

The intent of this paper is to offer a point of departure for the study of ecclesiastical officials in the papyri. This study will have as a focal point three specific areas as they relate to Bishops in the papyri: 1) names, 2) secular functions, 3) and the increasing use of adjectives to express non-secular perceptions of bishops.²

First of all, with respect to names, it should be pointed out that the study of Christian naming practices has become more manageable and thus more meaningful as a consequence of the recent work by Roger S. Bagnall.³ I have accepted for this paper the categories established by him for the study of names in the papyri,⁴ with Ewa Wipszycka's objections appropriately considered⁵ as well as Bagnall's response to those objections.⁶ Bagnall's basic categories for names are:

1. **distinctively Christian**
2. **clearly Pagan**
3. **not assignable with certainty**

For the extant names of bishops in the papyri,⁷ it is particularly interesting to note how the naming pattern evolved from the IV century through the VII century. This process reveals a rather rapid shift from almost exclusively Pagan names in the IV century to almost exclusively Christian names in the VII century.

Of the twelve names for bishops from IV century documents, (Appendix 1), only four may be placed into Bagnall's category 1: Ἰσάκ because of its obvious Old Testament origin, and Μακάριος because it falls under Bagnall's subset 4.⁸ Also, G.H.R. Horsely has pointed out that, although the name was 'not exclusively a Christian' one, after the III century it seems to have become increasingly popular as such.⁹ Finally, Θεοδώρος and Θεόδοτος are names that fit into Bagnall's category 1, subset 5.

Nine of the thirteen names for bishops from the IV century then are Pagan, category 2. Such a high incidence of Christian bishops with Pagan names from the IV century must raise several questions: were these persons first generation Christians, or was the desire to use

¹ I wish to express appreciation to the Mary and Barry Bingham, Sr. Fund for providing financial support through the Faculty Scholars fund at the University of Kentucky for the research of this paper as a James Still Fellow during the summer of 1991. This paper is dedicated to the beloved memory of Bradley Morris Dew, an historian in the bud now lost to the future, who

. . . . cecidit veluti prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratrost. (Cat.11.22-24).

² The texts used for this study are those retrieved from the *PHI CD Rom #6* (Duke and Michigan: 1991).

³ 'Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt,' *BASP* 19 (1986) 105-123.

⁴ Bagnall, 109.

⁵ 'La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianization de l'egypte, a propos d'une étude de R. S. Bagnall,' *ZPE* 62 (1986) 173-81.

⁶ 'Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply,' *ZPE* 69(1987) 243-50.

⁷ Objections have been raised and, I am confident, will be raised regarding the number of currently published names. I can only reply that that is the nature of our field. More names will be forthcoming; and as more names emerge, to be sure, we will understand the process more clearly.

⁸ 'Religious Conversion,' 111.

⁹ *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 3 (1983) 157.

names without Pagan associations at this point not as strong as it was to become in time, or was there not yet a significant enough distribution of Christian texts from which such names might be taken? Bagnall asserts that bishops would not have been first generation Christians.¹⁰ The position that the desire to avoid Pagan names was not yet as acute among families of episcopal stature as it was among others is reinforced by P.Harr. 1. 94, IV century. In this document, we find a bishop, Διονύσιος, who has a son with the name Ἀπολλώνιος. If then Διονύσιος was not a first generation Christian, we have a family of episcopal stature that continued to use blatantly Pagan names at least into the third generation after conversion. Finally, concerning the question of sufficient distribution of Christian texts in Egypt by the IV century from which names might have taken, a brief survey of Metzger's 'Check-list of the Greek Papyri of the New Testament'¹¹ reveals that, with the exception of a few of the so-called catholic epistles, all books of the New Testament were in circulation in Egypt as early as the III century. In fact, there are more extant texts that date from the III century than any subsequent century through the VII century. Such would have provided an adequate reservoir of Judeo-Christian names for those who desired them. Clearly, such a desire was not yet very strong among IV century families from which bishops were selected.

The names of bishops from the V century reveal a radically changed pattern (Appendix 1). Of the eleven bishops named, one, Καλοσίριος, may be placed into category 2, and two, Κῦρος and Ἑλλάδος, into category 3; all others, however, may be placed with confidence into category 1. Not only are the names of this period predominantly Christian, but also there is a significantly higher incidence of Biblical names, specifically John, Peter, and Timothy.

The pattern for the VI century is quite similar except for a significant increase in the use of Biblical-based names. Of the twelve names from this century, six are Biblical: John, Paul, Peter, and Stephan, with multiple occurrences of John and Peter. The most intriguing name from this period is that of Bishop Χριστόδωρος (Appendix 1). This name obviously fits into category 1; however, it does not fit into any of Bagnall's subsets under that category.¹² It is not a Biblical name, but it is clearly a Christian name, modelled on the familiar Pagan pattern of using -δωρος as a suffix to the name of a deity. The earliest occurrence of this name is in an inscription from Macedonia (*IChMac.3,V/VI cent.*). In the papyri, however, it was used from the VI century through the VII century. During its rather short history as a name, it occurs thirty-three times in its masculine form and six in the feminine.¹³

The VII century reveals the near completion of this rapidly escalating process away from the use of Pagan names. With the exception of one name, Γεώργιος (Appendix 1), the names of all bishops from this century are Biblical.

The many lists in which bishops appear indicates that the early bishops were very much engaged in the day to day administration of his *topos* or church in particular and the economic life of Egypt in general; however, one group of documents from the IV century and into the VI century (CPR 8.37, SB 12.10766 & 10767) reveals bishops engaged in what one might consider a rather trivial administrative matter. Each of these is an official document between a bishop and his baker concerning the supply of bread. One of these documents, CPR 8. 37, makes it very clear that it does not concern the bread supply for the bishop's household but for his *topos*. Moreover, administrative duties involving the baking of bread may not have been as trivial a function as it might appear to be. It may have been a rather significant function, at least

¹⁰ 'A Reply,' 246-7.

¹¹ B. M. Metzger, 'Check-list of the Greek Papyri of the New Testament,' *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford 1964) 247-56.

¹² 'Religious Conversion,' 111.

¹³ *PHI CD Rom #6* (Duke and Michigan: 1991).

the fact that bakers, bakeries, and the baking of bread figure into 112 separate documents between the IV century and the VII century would seem to indicate this.¹⁴

Bishops from the IV and V centuries are found to be engaged in a number of interesting business activities, particularly with regard to the transport business. P.Oxy. 16. 1871, V century, is a business letter in which the author of the letter requests another person to contact the bishop in order to get from him the cost of camel transport. Three other documents from the preceding century reveal bishops engaged with river transport. Two documents, P.Col. 7.160, & P.Oxy. 34. 2729, mention the boat of a bishop; and one document, P.Harr. 1.94, refers to the boat of Apollonios, the son of Dionysios the bishop. The editors of P.Col. 7 consider these boats to be the private property of the bishop.¹⁵ Bishops did act as the agent, which would be a proper function, for the use of property belonging to his church or *topos*. P.Oxy. 16. 1967 is very clear in this respect. This document is a contract for a lease; the property being leased, moreover, is specifically stated to be the property of 'the holy catholic church of God,' and the bishop is listed as the agent of the said church.

The P.Herm.Landlisten reveal that bishops did own private property;¹⁶ P.Michael. 41, 539/554 also indicates that bishops had the authority of a virtual private owner over the property of their churches.

Of all documents that mention bishops, only one reveals a bishop performing an act of charity, even though such was a principal function of the early Christian bishop, at least outside of Egypt.¹⁷ This document, P.Oxy. 16.1848, V/VII century, is an order for grain to be taken from the account of a bishop and given to a man with a large family who had fallen on hard times. A final document from the IV century, P.Oxy. 22.2344, has a bishop acting in what appears to be a rather uncharitable manner. In this text a bishop petitions the strategus in an attempt to avoid appointment as the guardian for some children. Not only does he wish to evade this appointment, but he suggests another person who, according to the bishop, is more qualified than he.

Bishops from a very early point, perhaps from the very establishment of this office of the church, were associated with a specific place, a church, *topos*, or town (Appendix 2).¹⁸ The early V century saw the addition of honorific adjectives to the name or office that reveal new and growing perceptions of episcopal stature and authority that transcends **place** (Appendix 3). This process seems to have culminated in the VI/VII centuries. Whereas Dionysius in 336 was called **bishop of the catholic church of Oxyrhynchus**, and in 481 Cyrus was referred to as **a bishop most beloved by God**, in the VI century John was described as **the bishop of God**. This description was used again twice in the VII century (Appendix 3).

In summary, given the names we have at this time, there appears to be a detectable naming pattern shifting from Pagan to Biblical names. There seems also to have been an evolution from purely administrative responsibilities to a perception of episcopal authority that went well beyond time and space.

¹⁴ PHI CD Rom #6.

¹⁵ PCol.7. p. 103 and note 28.

¹⁶ Horsely, *New Documents* 4.131; PCol. 7.p.103. note 28.

¹⁷ Henry Chadwick, 'The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society' *Protocol of the Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture* 35 (1980) 5-6.

¹⁸ Chadwick, 'The Role of the Christian Bishop,' 1.

Appendix 1

NAMES OF BISHOPS IN THE PAPYRI

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DOCUMENT</u>
	<u>IV Cent.</u>	
335	Ἰσάκ	P.Lond. 6.1914
336	Διονύσιος	P.oxy. 22.2344
340-70*	Ἀμμωνιανός**	P.Herm.Landl. 1.rp.20
	Ἀμμώνιος**	P.Herm.Landl. 2.rp.24
	Ἀρίων	P.Herm.Landl. 1.rp.20
	Μακάριος	P.Herm.Landl. 1.rp.31
	Δίος	P.Herm.Landl. 2.rp.25 CPR 8.37
345-51	Ἰερακαπόλλων	P.Col. 7.160 IV
	Ἀμμωνοθέων	CPR 5.11
	Διονύσιος	P.Harr. 1.94
	Θεόδοτος	PSI 4.311
	Θεοδώρος	P.Oxy. 34.2729
	Ψενεγ	P.Erl. 106
	<u>V Cent.</u>	
406	Εὐσέβιος	P.Prag. 1.51
427	Πέτρος	P.Oxy. 16.1967
447/462	Βίκτωρ	P.Alex. 32.3
477	Ἑλλάδιος	P.Koeln. 3.152
481	Κῦρος	P.Princ. 2.82
V	Εἰρηναῖος	SB 12.10766
	Θεοδώρος	SB 4.7449
	Ἰωάννης	SB 12.10808
	Καλοσίριος	P.Prag.1.100
	Τιμόθεος	SB 12.10939
V/VI	Θεόδωρος	P.Haun. 3.65
	<u>VI Cent.</u>	
528	Πέτρος	P.Oxy. 16.1900
534	Παῦλος	SB 8.9876
	Πέτρος	P.Berl.Zill. 14
539/54	Ἰωάννης	P.Michael.41
VI	Ἰωάννης	P.Rain.Cent.79
	Ἡρακλάμμων	P.Lond. 5.1803
	Οὐλπιανός	SB 12.10809
	Χριστόδωρος	SB 12.10767
VI/VII	Βασίλειος	P.Prag. 1.87
	Θεόδοδος	P.Prag. 1.87
	Μακάριος	SB 16.12869
	Στέφανος	P.Ness. 3.89
	<u>VII Cent.</u>	
663	Πέτρος	P.Berl.Zill. 8 VII
	Γεώγιος	P.Ness. 3.50
	Ἰωάννης	3.52
	Μουσαῖς	3.51
	Μωυσῆς	3.51
323-642	Πέτρος	SB 1.4819
Undated	Πέτρος	Stud.Pal. 20.253

*For this date see Roger S. Bagnall, *BASP* 16 (1979) 159-68.

**For these names see Wilfried Van Gucht, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) 1139.

Appendix 2

Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ/τῆς

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DOCUMENT</u>
323-642	ἐμῆς πόλεως	SB 3.6097
335	ἀπὸ Λητοῦς	
335	κάτω χώρας	P.Lond. 6.1914
336	καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς	
	αὐτῆς πόλεως	P.Oxy. 22.2344
IV	τόπου	CPR 8.37 IV
	Λαυδικίας	PSI 4.311 427
	λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης	
	Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως	P.Oxy. 16.1967
481	καθολικῆς Λυκοπολίτων ἀγίας	
	τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας	P.Princ. 2.282
V	λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης τῶν	
	Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως	SB 4.7449
V	λαμπρᾶς Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως	SB 12.10939
V	ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας	SB 12.10808
528	ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς	
	Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως	P.Oxy. 16.1900
VI/VII	καθολικῆς [c ?] πόλεως	SB 10.10521
663	ταύτης Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως	P.Berl.Zill. 8
VII	Ἀιλάνου	P.Ness. 3.51

Appendix 3

HONORIFIC TITLES FOR BISHOPS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TITLE(S)</u>	<u>DOCUMENT</u>
385-412	ὁ θεοσεβέστατος	SB 6.9527
427	ὁ ἀγιώτατος	P.Oxy. 16.1967
447/462	ὁ θεοσεβέστατος καὶ	
	ὁ ὀσιώτατος πατήρ	P.Alex. 32
477	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	P.Koeln. 3.152
481	ὁ θεοφιλέτατος	P.Princ. 2.82
	ὁ θεοσεβέστατος	" " " "
	ὁ εὐλαβέστατος	" " " "
V	ὁ ἀγιώτατος	SB 4.7449
V	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	SB 12.10808
V	ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ	
	θεοφιλέστατος πατήρ	SB 12.10939

V	ὁ θεοσεβέστατος	P.Oxy. 16.1871
528	ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ θεοφιλέτατος	
	πατήρ	P.Oxy. 16.1900
534	ὁ ὀσιώτατος καὶ	
	θεοφιλέστατος	SB 8.9876
VI	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	P.Berl.Zill. 14
VI/VII	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	SB 16.12869
VI/VII	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	P.Ant. 3.202
VI/VII	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	P.Oxy. 16.1848
663	ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ	
	θεοτίμητος	P.Berl.Zill. 8
VII	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	SB 6.9287
703-715	ὁ ὀσιώτατος	P.Apoll. 46

THE BISHOPS OF GOD

*

VI	θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος	P.Rain.Cent. 79
VII	θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος	P.Ness. 3.50
VII	θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος	P.Ness. 3.51

AXAPES, A BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS AND THE MACHIMOI

John F. Oates

A certain Axapes appears in two Zenon texts. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590 is a request from one Διοκλῆς to Zenon asking him to write to Themistokles and to Petosiris, basilikos grammateus, to ask them to write, on behalf of Paris from the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Axapes who is currently ἱεραγῶν ἐν τῇ Καινῇ. P.Mich. I 82 is a draft or copy of a letter Zenon has sent to Themistokles in which Zenon introduces Paris and says that Diokles claims (Διοκλῆς φάσκει) that Axapes, a basilikos grammateus, has enrolled Paris in the machimoi. The text breaks off with the words οὐ ὄντα προτέρον; presumably Paris had not previously served in the machimoi. For convenience I give here the texts of these two documents.

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590

Διοκλῆς Ζήνωνι χαίρειν.
Πᾶρις ὁ ἀποδιδ[ούς] σοι
τὸ ἐπιστόλιον [.....]λοχου
ἀνακεχώρηκε[ν ἐκ] τοῦ
5 δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκ \και[.]/[.].

[.....ἀπ]οστέλλειν.
εὖ οὐμ ποιήσεις γράψας
Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ Πετοσίρι
τῶι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ
10 γράψαι Ἄξάπη ἕως
ἐπιδημεῖ [.....]
Ἐαυτοῦ/ [ἐν τῇ[ι Κα]ινῇ] τυγχάνει
γὰρ ἱεραγῶν ἐν τῇ
Καινῇ. ἀναγκαῖον
15 []και...[]

P.Mich. I 82

Θεμιστοκλεῖ. Διοκλῆς τις τῶν
ἐξ Ἄρσινόης κληρούχων ὧν
ἡμῖν ἐν συνθείαι ἐπὶ πλείον
σπεύδει \δὲ/ περὶ Αἴγυπτίου τινὸς
5 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου
ὧι ὄνομα Πᾶρις, ὃν φάσκει ἐπι-

λελοχέναι Ἄξάπην τὸν βασι-
 λικὸν γραμματέα εἰς τοὺς
 μαχίμ[ου]ς οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον
 [.....]

Obviously both papyri are in fragmentary condition and neither contains a complete text; as a result it is necessary to attempt any reconstruction of the situation from the information in the two texts together. For instance, Diokles' letter does not mention machimoi in what is preserved of the text nor does it call Axapes a basilikos grammateus. Diokles asks for letters to two officials, but we have only the one draft to Themistokles. Did Zenon write to Petosiris also? Why does Zenon call Axapes a basilikos grammateus? Finally, what does Zenon ask Themistokles to do? In this last case, the answer, so far as the papyrus is preserved, is that, in typical bureaucratic fashion, he asks for no specific action on Themistokles' part.

Before attempting a general reconstruction of the situation, we must address that put forth by C.C. Edgar in his short introductions to these texts and to P.Cair.Zen. III 59308. Edgar believed that Paris had run away from the Oxyrhynchite nome to escape military service and that Axapes was the basilikos grammateus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Edgar assigned Axapes to the Oxyrhynchite nome because he assumed that Petosiris was basilikos grammateus of the Arsinoite and because he believed that there could not be two basilikoi grammateis in one nome. That these assumptions are not necessarily true and that they do not entail assignment of Axapes to the Oxyrhynchite is discussed below.¹

Edgar also thought that P.Cair.Zen. III 59308 might provide further evidence for placing Axapes in the Oxyrhynchite. In this text a certain Axates is ordered by Zenon to pay money due to a priest of Thoeris at Philadelphia. Edgar conjectured that, since Thoeris was a predominantly Oxyrhynchite deity, and that, since Axapes and Axates are rare names, in fact each a *hapax legomenon*, they might be the same person, and that Axates in this text could be the basilikos grammateus of the Oxyrhynchite. Nonetheless this text specifically deals with a temple and its priest located in Philadelphia; and there is no reason, on the face of it, to introduce the Oxyrhynchite nome here. Even if the spellings Axapes and Axates refer to one person, such an identification adds nothing to the understanding of P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590 and P.Mich. I 82.²

Turning to these two texts, we might first consider the bureaucratic and personal relationships among the parties and second the situation of poor Paris. Diokles writes to Zenon introducing Paris and explaining that he, Paris, has been enrolled in the machimoi by a certain Axapes, a basilikos grammateus.³ Diokles asks Zenon to write to Themistokles and to Petosiris, also a basilikos grammateus. Diokles does not ask Zenon for any more specific action than to write the letters. Zenon, in turn, writes to Themistokles introducing Paris and

¹There is an Axapes in P.Rain.Cent. 43 which the editors date to 237 B.C. and which is an order or announcement that 2500 artabas of grain have been placed on a ship belonging to a certain Kleopatra. The editors, somewhat uncritically, associate this Axapes with the man named in the Zenon texts discussed here. He does not, however, title himself as a basilikos grammateus and the date is rather later than the situation concerning Paris. Nonetheless grain shipments do concern agents of the basilikos grammateus and Axapes is a very unusual name. Even if the identification can be made, it does not affect the arguments presented here.

²See now the publication of P.Vat.Gr. 65. R. Pintaudi, "Oxyrhyncha e Oxyrhynchites," *Tyche* 5 (1990) 101-104. Dionysodoros writes to his superior Asklepiades for permission to accompany his workmen in Oxyrhyncha to the Oxyrhynchite nome where they wish to go to worship (ιεραγήσαι). The god in question is undoubtedly Thoeris; see Pintaudi's note to line 2 on page 103.

³In the extant portion of his letter, Diokles does not give Axapes the title of basilikos grammateus; Zenon, however, does in his letter to Themistokles. I am, of course, using both texts to reconstruct the situation.

explaining the situation. It is not clear what action if any Zenon requests of Themistokles. He does make very clear that Diokles is a very good friend (the significance of which cannot now be known by us) and he does explain Paris' situation. We do not have any copy or draft of a letter to Petosiris the basilikos grammateus and thus do not know if Zenon wrote also to him.

The tone of these communications is friendly and implies that this is correspondence among equals. Certainly Zenon indicates that Themistokles will be doing him and Diokles a favour by looking into the matter of Paris. Diokles is clearly worth pleasing. All of this is as expected and well within the framework of the way the small Greek ruling class did its business. There is no line drawn here between official and personal concerns. The matter is otherwise in dealing with the basilikoi grammateis. They are Egyptians and employed in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy precisely for their bilingual ability to mediate between rulers and ruled.

The chief historical problem that these texts present is the relationship between a basilikos grammateus⁴ and the machimoi. We must treat in turn the basilikos grammateus and the machimoi, concentrating on what we know of both in the third century B.C. First, however, we must examine the situation of Paris, the aggrieved in this case.

Paris has come from the Oxyrhynchite nome to the Fayum. The verb ἀναχωρέω can mean simply "come" or it can be a technical term for defection. He claims that he has never been enrolled in the machimoi. He clearly does not think he is fleeing any legal obligations and apparently Diokles believes him. Diokles' interest is enough for Zenon. As a stray Egyptian away from his ἰδίᾳ he was easy prey for Axapes.

What were the machimoi? The best known papyrus text of the mid third century B.C. which mentions them is P.Yale I 33 of 5 April 253. The latest discussion of the machimoi is by the editors of this text, but they did not take into consideration P.Mich. I 82. In the Yale text the machimoi are under the control of a toparch, Harimouthes, and are to be transported under the command of one Bithelminis. They are coupled with theristai and are clearly part of a work force under constraint. In P.Zen.Pestm. 49 of 244 B.C. Eukles, the successor to Zenon, writes a series of orders to his subordinate Apollonius and among other tasks mentions τῶν παρὰ Λυκόφρονος μαχίμων. These men are not soldiers;⁵ the context is private or at least civilian. In P.Tebt. III 703 runaway sailors and machimoi are mentioned as a concern of the addressee of this document. This text is somewhat later and concerns entirely the civil administration and not military matters. Polybius tells us that Philopator was the first of the Ptolemies to enrol native Egyptians in his forces and that they fought at Raphia in 217 B.C. He does not, however, call them machimoi. The machimoi of the Menches archive with their seven aroura allotments clearly do have some connection to the military or the police, but these texts are more than 100 years later than the Zenon documents and are to be seen in an entirely different context. It seems most likely then on the slender evidence we have, that "machimoi" is an expression used to designate native Egyptians who were impressed into work gangs and this impressment is what Paris is trying to avoid at the hands of Axapes.⁶

What does the basilikos grammateus have to do with machimoi? We would certainly be surprised if the basilikos grammateus was in charge of military personnel, but, while it is less

⁴ I am aware that Zenon's designation of Axapes as basilikos grammateus may be an error; but we will see that other evidence supports the probability that he was so and it would be unlike Zenon to make such a slip.

⁵ A Lykophon is a commander in P.Cair.Zen. I 59001 thirty years earlier. If this is the same man, he is not here functioning as a military officer and is part of Eukles' entourage. See P.Col. IV 88 of 243 B.C.

⁶ There are also two instances of ἀρχιμάχοι mentioned in papyri of the third century. SB xvi 12375 is an account of expenses, agricultural in nature, among which are payments to the archmachimos. SB xvi 12468 is a rather amusing petition to an official whose name and title are lost. The petitioner whose donkey load of fodder has been "appropriated" by a policeman. The petitioner has sought relief from an archmachimos named Anchoris. Both texts have an agricultural contexts and in the second certainly a kind of police power that probably prefigures the status of the archmachimos in the papyri of the late second century.

surprising to find him in charge of native Egyptian impressed labour, it still seems outside his usual range of activities. The locus classicus for a definition of the duties of the basilikos grammateus is found in P.Rev. col. 36.3ff.:

Το[ὺς κατὰ τὴν χ]ώραν βασιλικοὺς γραμματεῖς
τῶ[ν νομῶν ἀπ]ογράφειν ἕκαστον οὐ νομοῦ γραμ-
μα[τεύει] τ[ό τ]ε πλῆθος τῶν ἀρουρῶν τῆς ἀμπέ-
λου [καὶ] παρα[δ]είσων καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γενήματα
κα[τὰ] γεωρ[γὸ]ν

During the third century our papyrological texts show the basilikos grammateus for the most part concerned with the registration of land and crops or with activities closely related to this task.⁷ Besides the case of Paris there is one other instance where a basilikos grammateus is mentioned in the case of impressed workers. In P.Cair.Zen.III 59472 (undated) Nektosiris, a tow manufacturer, writes to Zenon and asks him to write to Ἐρμαλάωι καὶ Πετοσίρι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ τῶι ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλι to send back his workers to him. They have evidently run out from Philadelphia across the Nile to Aphroditopolis. It may be that control of the native population involved keeping records of them and that this registration, too, fell to the basilikos grammateus. His bilingual ability and knowledge of the local population may have made him the logical candidate for this task.

Before drawing any conclusions about the machimoi and the basilikos grammateus from the few facts we have, I would like to present an excursus on Petosiris, the other basilikos grammateus in this story. In the preceding paragraph we have cited a Petosiris who is designated as basilikos grammateus in Aphroditopolis and we have also met the Petosiris designated as a basilikos grammateus in Diokles' letter to Zenon (P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590).

The following is a table of texts of the third century B.C. in which a Petosiris occurs designated as a basilikos grammateus.

1. P.Cair.Zen. II 59236 254-253 B.C. (Pros.Ptol. 466)

A petition to Diotimos, διοικητής, from Neoptolemos, Μακέδων, τῶν ἐν Φιλαδελφείαι κληρούχων. His father has been wrongfully taxed or overtaxed on the wrong tax base by Θεοκλέους τοῦ οἰκονομήσαντος τὸν Ἀφροδιτοπολίτην νομὸν καὶ Πετοσίριος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως.

2. P.Petr. III 43 243 B.C. (Pros.Ptol. 465)

A record of transactions of property sold at auction. Petosiris the basilikos grammateus or his agent is recorded as present at the sales.

3. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590 undated (Pros.Ptol. 465)
Discussed above

4. P.Cair.Zen. III 59472 undated (Pros.Ptol. 466)
Discussed above

5. PSI VI 621 undated (Pros.Ptol. 465)

⁷The most amusing case of registration is that found in P.Col. IV 90 (243 B.C.) where a basilikos grammateus is called on to attest that fifteen hoes are missing from the state tool shed.

Lines 4 and 5 read Λόγβασιν καὶ Πετοσίριν τὸν βασιλικὸν γραμματέα. The upper part of the text is missing and there is no context for this mention.

The Pros.Ptol. and the Guide to the Zenon Archive distinguish two men with the same name who served as basilikos grammateus in the Zenon/Apollonius orbit, one acting in the Aphroditopolite (Nos. 1 and 4 above) and the other in the Arsinoite (Nos. 2, 3, and 5). This division may well be true and the name Petosiris is common during this period in this area. The areas involved, however, are close together and with the Memphite served as a sphere in which Apollonius had many interests and in which Zenon operated both in Apollonius' interest and his own. It would be more economical to assume that these five cases involve the same man, although for our case here the distinction makes no difference. Edgar thought there could not be two basilikoi grammateis in one nome and thus assigned Axapes to the Oxyrhynchite on the basis of no other real evidence. We may note that plural mention of basilikoi grammateis is frequent in third century texts⁸ and often, particularly in the demotic texts, the designation as basilikos grammateus seems to belong to the person rather than to derive from an office.⁹ Both these considerations would make a situation in which two basilikoi grammateis were operating in the same nome unsurprising. The question must remain moot, however; we do not have for the third century any case where we have two named basilikoi grammateis explicitly acting together in one nome. This uncertainty, however, does not affect our ruling out Axapes as having any connection with the Oxyrhynchite. At the very least we would be startled to find Zenon attempting to exert any influence so far from the Fayum and neighbouring areas.

We can thus describe the situation presented in P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590 and P.Mich. I 82 in the following narrative. Paris, an Egyptian, left in whatever circumstances the Oxyrhynchite nome and came to the Arsinoite. As an unattached Egyptian, he was enrolled by Axapes, a basilikos grammateus, among Egyptians conscripted for labour of a rather menial sort, i.e., into the group called the μάχιμοι. Paris sought protection from an influential Greek settler in the Fayum, one Diokles. Diokles in turn wrote to Zenon and asks him to write to Themistokles and Petosiris, the latter also called a basilikos grammateus.¹⁰ Obviously Diokles feels that Zenon has influence with the Egyptian sector of the bureaucracy. Zenon in turn then writes to Themistokles about Paris' situation. All of this action takes place within the Fayum; there is no reason to introduce an Oxyrhynchite venue. Edgar's interpretation of P.Cair.Zen. III 59308 will not hold and there is no reason to assign this text any other provenience than the area of Philadelphia in the Fayum. Whether Petosiris and Axapes are basilikoi grammateis operating in the Arsinoite nome must remain undecided for the present, but resolution of the situation does not change the circumstances we have been examining. We have, then, been offered a glimpse into the working relationships among the Greek ruling class in Ptolemaic Egypt and something of the way in which the Greeks in turn dealt with the native Egyptian and some insight into Zenon's role in mediating between the groups, a obvious feature of his success, personal and official, during his residence at Philadelphia.

⁸We might note particularly P.Zen.Pestm. A (=P.Lille I 1), PSI V 502 and most recently P.Köln VII 314. To be sure in these and other cases where plural basilikoi grammateis are mentioned, no names are given and we have no case where we clearly are given the names of two or more basilikoi grammateis functioning in the same nome.

⁹E.g. P.dem.Louvre 2438, P.dem.Hauswaldt 2,8, and 10, and in Greek, SB I 4309. Cf. the statement by P.Pestman to P.Batav. 1 (on page 10 note i).

¹⁰Themistokles is undoubtedly an Egyptian also. His name is similar to Paris, another name a Greek would be unlikely to use.

FAMILY HISTORY IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

Sarah B. Pomeroy

In this short paper I am going to discuss the picture of the family painted by official government records, and compare it to the portrait that emerges simultaneously from private documents.¹ Population lists giving names of people who were liable for the payment of taxes function as a kind of census.² A typical full record begins with the name of a male head of household, his patronymic, and his trade. Next in the list, in descending order are his wife and adult children, sometimes followed by his siblings and slaves. The wife of a married son follows her husband in the list. Because they were exempt from taxes immature children are not included. Many families are at points in their life cycle where they do not display simultaneously all the components I have just described in the basic model, and due to demographic and economic factors, some families never acquire all these components. See, for example:

Eupolemos, son of Nikon
Eiren[e], his wife
Herakl[eitos], his son
Nik[ai]a (or Nik[e]), his wife
Polem[on], his son
Nauplion (?), his wife
Philoxenos, his son; total 7, of which 3 (men)
sheep: 170; lambs: 25; calves(?):1
pigs: 10

(P. Lille dém. III 99, col. 4, lines 6-14, 230-228 B.C.)

Syros
Phileas, son of Theudotos
Soteris, his wife
Zopyrion
Nikaia, mother*
Theoxenos, son of Agenor
Theodoros, his brother
Nikaia, mother*
Annas, total 9, of which 6 (men)

* Reading μη(τήρ) with Clarysse, rather than γη(ραιά)
(CPR XIII.4, col. 10, lines 176-83, third century B.C.)

¹For a longer, fully annotated version of this paper see Sarah B. Pomeroy, *The Family in Classical and Hellenistic Greece* (Oxford, to be published).

²Hermann Harrauer in CPR XIII and Willy Clarysse have recently drawn attention to some of the demographic features that emerge from these documents. I am grateful to Willy Clarysse for sending me two unpublished papers on Ptolemaic census lists: 'P.Sorb. et autres listes de population,' and 'Ptolemaic Census Lists and Petrie Ashmol. *ined.*'

The format of the census declaration is not the result of practical accounting considerations. Gender is the principal factor determining the rate of taxation of free adults within a household who are liable for payment. Rates changed over the years, but the rate for free men was always approximately three times that for free women.³ Therefore it would have been more efficient to group adult males together, separately from adult females.⁴ Instead, because men and women are placed in the list according to family relationships, an extra step is required to tally the total number of persons and then the total number of males. The number of men was considered of primary importance for men are both potential soldiers and payers of the highest taxes.

The design of the census declaration was, apparently, the result of Peripatetic influence. Peripatetic philosophers including Demetrius of Phaleron advised Ptolemy I concerning the design of the administrative structures of his new state (Ael., *VH* 3.17 [= fr. 65 Wehrli]). Before coming to Egypt, probably when he was *archon* in 309/308, Demetrius had conducted a census in Athens (Athen. 6.272c = Ktesikles *FGrH*, 2, number 245). The purpose of the Athenian census is not known. Perhaps, following the tradition of the Peripatetics who were tireless compilers of knowledge, Demetrius simply wanted to have such information for its own sake. At any rate, because he left Athens, the information was not used in any practical application. We surmise that Ptolemy, a Macedonian, upon becoming sovereign of Egypt, would want to know about the population of his adoptive country, and specifically the number of tax-payers and potential soldiers.⁵

Demetrius had classified the inhabitants of Attica according to political status: Athenians, metics, and slaves. Because the resulting total number of citizens is so small, some scholars have argued that only adult males were included.⁶ In Egypt, women definitely were counted, and the inhabitants were classified into more categories than had been used at Athens. The categories and their sequence were inspired by Peripatetic patterns of thought. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1253b 1-5), every state is composed of οἴκοι ('households,' or 'families'). Each *oikos* is governed by a single ruler: the male rules over the female, the child, and the slave (*Pol.* 1260a 9-11). Human beings rule over animals (*Pol.* 1254b 10-14). Dominance and subordination are biologically determined and therefore inevitable. The form of the census, which is a vertical list, imposes a patriarchal hierarchy with a chain of being starting at the top with a male head of the household, descending through his wife, children, and slaves, sometimes down to animals. The family relationships reported are those between the male head and the other individuals in the household, but they are not reciprocal. Thus a woman may be identified as a 'wife,' and a younger man as a 'son,' but the head of household is not also termed a 'husband,' or a 'father.' Men designed the census or tax system, the male head submitted the information about other members of the household in terms of himself (i.e. 'my wife,... my son'), and male scribes recorded the information. The result is the focus on the male head of the house.

As Aristotle states, one man who heads the household plays three roles: husband, father, and master of slaves. In the classical πόλις and in Ptolemaic Egypt he might play the second and third role in relationship to several people. Marriage in the old Greek cities was strictly monogamous. In Egypt, in contrast, a man might also play the role of husband more than

³On the tax, see recently O.Ashm. Shelton.

⁴This system was adopted for the U.S. census of 1840: free white males; free white females; free colored males; free colored females; male slaves; female slaves. See further Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 30.

⁵There was also an Egyptian precedent for a census-like survey. Her. 2.177 reports that Amasis decreed that every Egyptian should report his means of livelihood annually to his provincial governor.

⁶See further Signe Isager and Mogens Herman Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Odense, 1975), pp. 12-18.

once. The census gives a few examples of bigamy.⁷ Doubtless such husbands emulated some of the Ptolemaic kings and their Macedonian predecessors.⁸ The *oikos* model easily accommodates bigamy, for, as Lévi-Strauss has declared, bigamy is simply one man playing the role of husband in relationship to two women.⁹

The economy is seen through a patriarchal lens.¹⁰ In general, occupations are recorded for men, not women. The only major exception to this rule is the occupation of τροφός ('nurse'). Usually only the occupations of the heads of the household are given, for example farmers, brewers, fullers, shopkeepers, and shepherds (P.Sorb. inv. 331, fr. 1, col. 1, lines 4, 8, 22, 29). The rest of the male members of the household are probably engaged in the same line of work as the head. The household is the unit of economic analysis, but it is the men within it who are considered the economic foundation of the state. I think it is fair to assume, that in cases where the occupation of the head of household was brewer, or food-shop keeper, or something that was carried on at or close to home, the female members of the household worked at it too, though their efforts go unmentioned. No doubt, men were taxed at a higher rate because they visibly produced and controlled more wealth. In the Peripatetic view of the ideal Greek *oikos* and *polis*, only men engage in production and control the means of production.¹¹

According to Aristotle, a woman's principal function was not production, but reproduction. Therefore within an *oikos* a woman is much more useful as a wife, than as a daughter. These notions probably supplied a rationale for the lower age of marriage for women than for men. In CPR XIII twenty-four people are listed as υἱός ('son'), but only two as θυγάτηρ ('daughter')¹² Although so few women are identified as θυγάτηρ, some two hundred are listed as γυνή ('wife').¹³ Moreover, wives are usually listed without patronymics, by a proper name, followed by γυνή. A few wives have no personal identity at all: they are nameless, and appear generically as γυνή.¹⁴ When her husband dies, the wife loses her position and sometimes her proper name as well: she is sent to the bottom of the list where she may be listed simply as μήτηρ ('mother').¹⁵ Because she is not reproducing, a widow is less valuable than a fertile young wife.¹⁶ In addition, for a widow to remain at the head of list after her husband died, appearing to exercise authority over her sons, would have been abnormal. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1269b-1270a) declared that states in which women ruled men were badly governed. In the Egyptian records, only in the few all-female households of daughter and mother does a woman appear at the top of a list.¹⁷

⁷Some examples of bigamy occur in P.Lille dém. III.101, col.4, lines 30-33 (a soldier has two wives). In P.Sorb. inv. 331. fr. 2, col 1, lines 44-45, fr. 6, col. 1, lines 106-07, fr. 10, lines 144-45, fr. 12, col. 1, lines 175-76, fr. 13, col. 2, lines 166a-67, two women, both identified as 'wife' (γυνή), appear together. The possibility of bigamy is the reason for the monogyny clause in marriage contracts: e.g., P.Tebt. I 104, lines 18-21 (92 B.C.) and BGU IV 1052, line 17 (13 B.C.).

⁸Philip II of Macedon, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, and Ptolemy VIII each were married to two or more women simultaneously.

⁹Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Family.' In *Man, Culture, and Society*, revised ed. Harry L. Shapiro (New York, 1971), pp. 333-57, esp. pp. 336-37.

¹⁰E.g., P.Petr. III 59 a.

¹¹See Aristotle's criticism of Sparta for permitting women to control large amounts of property (*Pol.* 1270a 23-27); Pseudo-Aristot., *Oikonomica*, 1; and Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1993), Chapter 4.

¹²CPR XIII, p. 276, s.v. θυγάτηρ and υἱός

¹³CPR XIII, p. 276, s.v. γυνή and θυγάτηρ.

¹⁴See e.g., CPR XIII 12, col. 2, lines 78, 84, 89.

¹⁵E.g., CPR XIII, *passim*, and P.Petr. III c and d.

¹⁶In classical Greece as they became older wives normally suffered a loss of esteem: see Xen. *Oec.* VII 42-43.

¹⁷E.g. P.Sorb. inv. 331 fr. 6, col. 2, lines 85-86.

Widows appear frequently in the census. CPR XIII and other lists furnish numerous examples of women listed as μήτηρ.¹⁸ In fact, they are so numerous that they may be designated by an abbreviation consisting of the first two letters (i.e. μή). Legal and demographic considerations indicate that these women are widows rather than divorcées. First of all, they are living with their sons rather than with their natal families. Secondly, because women married at a younger age than men did, if they survived the perils of childbirth they were younger than their husbands when their children were grown. Thus, families of at least three generations are usually due to the presence of widows. Furthermore, we need not conclude that, in general, women lived longer than men; more probably when they reached menopause or widowhood they were considered 'old' and useless, whereas men would have to be much older to be so classified. As Aristotle declares, inferior creatures, including females, reach their *telos* sooner than superior ones (*GA* 775a 18-23).

Multiple-family households are not uncommon in the census records. These groups usually consist of adult siblings sharing a household, sometimes with one or both of their parents. Mediterranean anthropologists refer to sets of siblings linked for production and living in same house as '*frères*'¹⁹ The Aristotelian model of the *oikos* does not accommodate multiple sets of spouses with their offspring living under the same roof. Thus, no single pattern emerged for reporting the members of such complex households. Although probably equal in status to a brother who is the designated head of the household, siblings are squeezed into the census list beneath him. In other lists despite being older than the children of the household head, they appear as an afterthought beneath his children. But this sequence may also be determined by the fact that the siblings are female and sons take precedence.²⁰ Once again, men listed as brothers outnumber women listed as sisters, probably as a result of the difference in the age of marriage. But some marriages apparently are matrilocal. An extra man in the household listed without indication of his role may actually be a son-in-law living with his wife in her parents' house.²¹ In the classical *polis*, unless she was an *epikleros*, a married daughter was expected to leave her parents' home and join her husband in his own home or that of his parents. Thus the *oikos* model can not easily accommodate a son-in-law in permanent residence.

Other documents from Ptolemaic Egypt suggest greater diversity in family dynamics and structure. They reveal that some of the inhabitants behaved differently, and had a different view of the family than that portrayed by the census. In these cases the androcentric *oikos* model based on the nuclear family was evidently imposed by the authorities. Families that include married siblings living together in the same household, women who are active in the economy, and dominant widows, in particular, do not conform to the model.

In order to complete this paper in the space allocated, I refer to some well-known alternatives, beginning with the *frère*. See, for example, Zenon and his brothers;²² both

¹⁸W. Clarysse, 'Abbreviations and Lexicography' *AncSoc* 21 (1990) pp. 33-34, now reads μή(τηρ) for γη(ραία) throughout CPR XIII.

¹⁹Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 72-73, describes *frères* in eighteenth-century Corsica as households constituted of siblings; but they live without their ancestors.

²⁰P.Lille dém. III 99. col. 3 19,21; col. 5 10,11.

²¹Tentatively suggested by Clarysse, 'P. Sorb. et autres listes de population.'

²²See P.W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive: Pap. Lugd. Bat. XXI A*, s.v. Epharmostus and Apollonius numbers 10, 14. There are at least 37 entries for this name in the prosopography of the archive (see pp. 292-95). The Apollonius who was Zenon's brother is doubtless the one who is listed in close proximity to Zenon and Epharmostus in the accounts of grain rations and who receives the allocation of those of privileged status (P.Cair. Zen. IV 59569, lines 6-8, 112-13 246/245, P.Col. Zen. II 77, lines 29-31, P.Lond. VII 2149, P.Cair.Zen. III 59341, lines 14-15 247 B.C.). Zenon's brother Apollonius is also probably identical with the scribe by the same name.

generations of brothers in the archive of Dionysios, son of Kephalas;²³ and, more unusually, the two generations of sisters in the archive of Apollonia and Dryton.²⁴

Unlike the census lists, private documents reflect kinship links through females. Matronymics are used, especially along with women's names,²⁵ and plenty of business is transacted with maternal kin. See, for example, the archive of Senobastis and Melas,²⁶ and the archive of Apollonia and Dryton.

Private documents show that plenty of widows exercised authority, probably frequently because they are beneficiaries of their husband's will. Some examples are the mother and grandmother of Dionysios son of Kephalas, and the mother and grandmother of Senobastis, wife of Melas.

The genealogical tables are produced, largely, from what family historians call 'effective kin,' that is kin who are mentioned in the documents of an archive because they are involved with one another. As scholars we sometimes do violence to the evidence of the private documents by continuing to impose the model of the Aristotelian *oikos* on them automatically, as though we thought it was standard in Egypt.²⁷ Patriarchy shapes the evidence even of what might at first glance appear to be some of the least biased of documents: that is, lists of inhabitants liable for a tax.

²³F. Boswinkel, and P. W. Pestman, 'Les Archives Privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas.' *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* 22 (Leiden, 1982).

²⁴For the genealogy, see most recently R.K. Ritner, 'A Property Transfer from the Erbstreit Archives. *Festschrift E. Lüddeckens* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 171-87.

²⁵E.g. Boswinkel, and Pestman, 'Les Archives Privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas,' doc. 3.

²⁶Carol A.R. Andrews, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. 4: Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area* (London, 1990), pp. 81-88.

²⁷Designating an archive in which the wife is at least as active as the husband by the name of the husband alone is an obvious example of such distortion.

ALEXANDER'S GRAVE BETWEEN THE TWO IDIOMS OF: σῆμα καὶ σῶμα.

Zeinab Tawfik

It is widely recognized that King Φιλάделφος had transferred from Memphis to Alexandria the corpse of its citizen the Great Conqueror.¹ He had put it in a golden sarcophagus and had consigned it to a graveyard which was perhaps situated in the palace-area, τὰ βασιλεια, near the coast.² He gave this μνήμα a name which is controversial among ancient scholars, whether it is τὸ σῶμα³ or τὸ σῆμα.⁴

The modern researchers, too, are still uncertain, since disagreements arise between them.⁵ They neither extend new theses, nor do they forward substantial, relevant evidence.

In this paper I am presenting a modest argument to the congress.

The difference between the two idioms is one letter, small in its form big in its significance.

Concerning τὸ σῶμα it means "body". Although one researcher, relying on Plutarch's term πρόσφατον,⁶ explained it as a living body.⁷ However, pardon me, I find fault with such an interpretation, because the great literary man purports that the corps of the corpse of the king remained clean and fresh as if he had died recently. Besides, in Homer the word signifies the dead body,⁸ while the living is normally called τὸ δέμας.⁹ The restricted living body which could be called τὸ σῶμα was the slave, either male or female.

Thus the word τὸ σῶμα meant nothing more than "the dead body". Such a word prompted ill-omen and gloominess to the Greeks, including the Macedonians who, according to the myth of the Heraclides,¹⁰ deemed themselves part of the *Hellenes*. Such a race which was - and still is - extremely optimistic, in spite of the hard circumstances of their community both in antiquity and in modern times.

It can also be added that Alexander the Great, even before his death, was esteemed as a god and the son of a god. And, as we know, the gods never die inasmuch as they have no bodies, but they are spirits, immortal and transparent, whose drink and food are nectar and ambrosia and whose residence in Heaven upon the silver top of Mt. Olympus.

¹ Paus. *Att.* VII 1 οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεῖς ... τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν καταγαγὼν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· Curt. X 10,20, 25-27 *Alexandriam translatum est*.

² Strab. XVII 8.14,17 μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ ...

³ e.g. Strab. MSS; Ps. Call. B', Arm.

⁴ e.g. Strab. XVII 8,18; Ps Call. *Alex.* III 34,6; Zenob. *Paroem. Gr.* I

⁵ e.g. Bevan, *Hist. of Eg. Ptol. Dyn.* pp. 19-20; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagid.* II pp. 124, 142, 214; Breccia, *Alex. ad Aeg.* pp. 82-86; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I pp. 15-16; Mahaffy, *Hist. of Eg. Ptol. Dyn.* p. 30; Roncière, *Hist. Nat. Eg.* 114. About this textual problem Prof. Fraser (*op. cit.* II note 79) says that it is not so complicated, because most of the sources refer neither to σῶμα nor to σῆμα, but to μνημεῖον.

⁶ *Vit. Alex.* 77,5 ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχετοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημείον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον.

⁷ Lotfy Abdel-Wahab, *Studies in History of Egypt*, I pp. 120-122.

⁸ *Il.* III 23 ὡς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλη ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας. *Il.* XVIII 161 ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σώματος οὗ τι λέοντ' αἰθῶνα δύνανται

⁹ *Il.* 1.115 οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυγήν, οὐτ' ἄρ φρένας οὐτέ τι ἔργα. *and.* XI.596 Ὡς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθόμενοι.

¹⁰ In the 5th century, at the time of the Persian wars, the Hellenic origin of the Macedonian kings had been generally agreed by the Greek authors. It depended on the myth of their descent from Temenos, the grandchild of Heracles and on the verdict of the judges at the Olympic games when King Alexander I (495-450) as a victor claimed acceptance as a Ἕλληνα.

In the light of these reasons it was improbable for Ἕλληνες καὶ Μακέδονες καὶ Πτολεμαῖοι to regard the deified Alexander¹¹ son of the deity Ammon¹² merely as a dead body.

As for τὸ σῆμα, it has few senses like 'a mark', 'a signal', or 'a token for a tomb'. I pretend that it was the proper idiom which had been preferred by Philadelphus as a guiding word for the grave of our topic. His motives, I suppose, were to maintain the grave's name permanently linked with its magnificent host, in such a manner that whenever and wherever τὸ σῆμα is mentioned, it comes to be aimed only at the grave of Alexander.

Anyway, at the end of the third century B.C. King Philopator erected at the crossing point of the largest two roads, *Canopus* and *Sarapis*,¹³ a huge mausoleum wherein he once again gathered and put to rest the ashes of his four royal ancestors: Alexander and the Ptolemies. This new sepulchre had been given its very own name,¹⁴ which, whether it was σῶμα or σῆμα, is definitely out of comparison with its contents. How simple such a name is and how great such a content is indeed!

¹¹ Cleit. τὰ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου fr 13-15.

¹² Diod. XVIII 3.5 κομίζειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως εἰς Ἄμμωνα. Iust. Epit. Trog. XIII 4, 6-7 *rex corpus Alexandri in Ammonis templum deducere*.

¹³ Presently they are El-Horreya Avenue and El-Nabi Danial St.

¹⁴ Though according to Zenobius, i.c. the temple-tomb had no name through the era of Philadelphus, but was named only by his grandson, Philopator.

VERLEGUNGEN VON DREI SOLDATEN AUS PATHYRIS*

J.K.Winnicki

Nach der Unterdrückung des Aufstandes in der Thebais wurden in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jhs.v.Chr. in Pathyris und Krokodilopolis Militärlager gegründet, die vor der Bedrohung aus dem Süden schützen sollten. Die darin diensttuenden Soldaten lebten und besaßen ihre Liegenschaften in deren Nachbarschaft, was auf die Beständigkeit dieser Zentren und die der Dienstuweisung der Soldaten hinweist.¹ Ihre Anwesenheit spiegeln zahlreiche griechische und demotische Papyri wider. Die Quellen sind aber gewöhnlich Privaturkunden und tragen nur selten zu diesen Zentren und ihrer Geschichte bei. Eine gewisse Hilfe leisten uns die Familienarchive, wo mehrere Urkunden sich auf eine Person beziehen. Dieser Umstand erlaubt es uns, Verlegungen von einigen dieser Soldaten zu bestimmen.

Horos, Sohn des Nechutes, wurde zwischen 155 und 140 v.Chr. geboren.² Er stammte aus Syene.³ In Pathyris beobachten wir ihn in den Jahren 124-88, wo er ein Haus, ein Grundstück, einen Weinberg und einen Taubenschlag besaß. Er war Söldner (*rmṯ iw=f šp ḥbs*)⁴ und in den Jahren 103-101 nahm er wahrscheinlich am Feldzug nach Syrien teil.⁵ Die jetzt verfügbaren Urkunden geben im Jahr 124 seine Zugehörigkeit zum Lager in Krokodilopolis (*iw=f šḥ r h3pjtrs n 3mwr*) und später (110) zu dem in Pathyris (*iw=f šḥ r rsj.t n Pr-H.t-Hr*) an, um schließlich (103-93) wieder seine frühere Zuweisung (*iw=f šḥ r 3mwr*) zu nennen. Wir können daraus schließen, daß er und wahrscheinlich auch andere Soldaten zeitweise von einem Lager ins andere verlegt wurden.⁶

Die bestbekannte der Gestalten, die in diesem Gebiet aufgetreten sind, ist Dryton.⁷ Das genaue Datum seiner Niederlassung ist unbekannt, weil wir nur von seiner Heirat am 4. März 150 v.Chr. in Latopolis wissen.⁸ Später lebte er mit seiner ganzen Familie in Pathyris. Er war ein wohlhabender Mann. In seinem Testament von 126 nennt er fünf Sklaven, ein Haus, einen Weinberg, einen Taubenschlag, sowie einen zweiten im Bau befindlichen Taubenschlag.⁹ Seine Liegenschaften vergrößerten sich mit der Zeit. In demselben Testament gibt der in Pathyris wohnhafte Dryton an, daß er auch τὰ...οἰκόπεδα [καὶ ψι]λοὶ τόποι in Diospolis

*Herrn Prof. H. Heinen möchte ich hier für das Korrigieren der deutschen Fassung recht herzlich danken.

¹Vgl. J.K. Winnicki, *Ptolemäerarmee in Thebais*, Wrocław - Warszawa 1978 (*Archiwum Filologiczne* 38), 68-78; S. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15, 1987, 156-162.

²*Pros.Ptol.* II 4145 (Add.); IV 11152; P.W. Pestman, *Aegyptus* 43, 1963, 51-53; W. Clarysse - J.K. Winnicki, in: E. Van't Dack e.a., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C., A Multilingual Dossier concerning a "War of Scepters"*, Brussel 1989 (*Collectanea Hellenistica* 1), 53-54.

³Es fällt auf, daß die Bezeichnung *rmṯ Swn* "Mann aus Syene" (*P.Adler dem.* 15, 5-6) erst aus dem Jahr 96 stammt.

⁴Zur Lesung des Titels siehe S. Vleeming, *P.L.Bat.* 23, 1985, 204-207.

⁵W. Clarysse - J.K. Winnicki, o.c.(Anm. 2), 53-54.

⁶Da die Zugehörigkeit zu Pathyris nur in einer Urkunde angegeben wird, stellt S. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15, 1987, 159-160, diese Deutung in Frage, indem er hier einen Schreibfehler des Schreibers vermutet.

⁷*Pros.Ptol.* II 2206 (Add.); 2884 (Add.); IV 11343. Eine von K. Vandorpe vorbereitete Reedition und Publikation weiterer unbekannter Urkunden des Drytonarchivs ist gegenwärtig im Druck.

⁸P.Kairo 10349Verso (W. Clarysse, *CdE* 61, 1986, 99-103). Wahrscheinlich war diese Zuweisung mit dem Lager (*rsj.t*) in Latopolis verbunden, das schon im Jahr 163 v.Chr. bestand (*P.Ryl.dem.* 15, 4). Vgl. S. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15, 1987, 158.

⁹*P.Grenf.* I 21, 6-14 (= *MChr.* 302; *Sel.Pap.* I 83; R. Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, Stuttgart 1990, Nr. 57).

Magna in Ammoneion (Gebiet um den Amuntempel in Karnak) und in Kerameia (jetzt Medamud, einige Kilometer nord-östlich von Karnak) besitzt und testamentarisch vermacht.¹⁰ Diese sind sicherlich mit den ἔγγαίδια in Diospolis Magna gleichzusetzen, die er in seiner früheren (135-130) Eingabe an den Strategen der Thebais nennt.¹¹ Es ist nicht bekannt, wann und wie Dryton in deren Besitz gekommen ist.¹² Er war sicherlich kein Großgutbesitzer, der seine Liegenschaften in mehreren Regionen Ägyptens gekauft hat. Es scheint wahrscheinlich, daß er sie, ebenso wie in Pathyris, während seines Militärdienstes in dieser Ortschaft erworben hat und nach dem Umzug nach Latopolis/Pathyris sein Eigentum behielt. Da die Urkunden seine ständige Anwesenheit in Pathyris nach 150 aufweisen, müssen wir annehmen, daß der Erwerb dieser Liegenschaften, also auch sein Militärdienst in Theben, früher stattgefunden hat. Diese Periode seines Lebenslaufes ist nicht genau bekannt. Man weiß lediglich, daß er 164 in Diospolis Mikra wohnte und dort in Garnison stand.¹³ Vom Jahr 174 stammt dagegen ein Getreidedarlehen, nach dem er zusammen mit seinem Bruder von einem Kollegen aus der Infanterie 100 Artaben Getreide geliehen hat.¹⁴ Der Abfassungsort dieser Urkunde ist nicht erhaltengeblieben. Sie wurde aber [...ἐπὶ ... τοῦ πρὸς τῆ] ἀγορανομία τοῦ Περιθήβας καὶ Παθυρίτου geschrieben, und dieses Notariatsamt umfaßte seinem Namen gemäß die beiden genannten Gaue. Wahrscheinlich wurde dieser Vertrag während seines Dienstes in Theben geschlossen, was seinen Aufenthalt in dieser Stadt um das Jahr 174 datieren würde.¹⁵

Die ganze Sache ist aber komplizierter. In seinem Testament, das wohl im März 150 in Latopolis verfaßt worden ist, nennt Dryton als seinen Eponymenoffizier Diodotos (τῶν Διοδότου ἱππέων).¹⁶ Seine Untergebenen finden wir in einigen weiteren Texten. Es waren Reiter- und Fußsoldaten in den Garnisonen in Theben, Krokodilopolis und Pathyris.¹⁷ Die

¹⁰P.Grenf. I 21, 14-15 Über die Lokalisierung von Kerameia siehe A. Bataille, *CdE* 21, 1946, 237-244; P.W. Pestman, *P.Tor.Amenothes*, S. 74, n.4.

¹¹P.Amh. II 36, 9-11. Vgl. W. Clarysse, *ZPE* 41, 1981, 256; zum Datum siehe L. Mooren, *Anc.Soc.* 5, 1974, 140 n. 17. Auf diese Liegenschaften beziehen sich auch τὰ πατρικὰ ἔγγαία in Perithebas, die die Töchter Drytons schon nach seinem Tode nennen (*P.Lond.* II 401, 8 (S. 13-14); *MChr* 18).

¹²In seinem früheren Testament vom Jahre 150 (P.Kairo 10349+P.Grenf. I 12+SB I 4637, 18. Vgl. P.W. Pestman, *P.L.Bat.* 19, 1978, 33; W. Clarysse, *CdE* 61, 1986, 99-103) bezeichnet Dryton seine Liegenschaften nur allgemein als ἔγγαί[α], ohne ihre Lokalisierung zu nennen.

¹³Auf Grund von P.Grenf. I 21, 5 wurde dieser Aufenthalt auf das Jahr 174 datiert. Dieses Datum korrigieren jetzt die letzters veröffentlichten Florentiner Fragmente (G. Messeri Savorelli, *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, II, Firenze 1990 (*Papyrologica Florentina* 19), 429-436).

¹⁴P.Grenf. I 10; *BL* I, 178. Die Zugehörigkeit dieser Urkunde zum Archiv Drytons wird bestritten. Vgl. G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten*, Leipzig 1910, 67 n. 4; N. Lewis, *CdE* 57, 1982, 318 A. 3. Das von N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Oxford 1986, 88-89, angeführte Argument, daß Dryton in P.Grenf. I 10, 11 als hellhäutig (λευκὸχρως) bezeichnet wird, während er in P.Grenf. I 12, 15 (Jahr 150) μελίχρως ist, scheint jedoch nicht maßgebend zu sein. Diese Art von Bezeichnungen waren oft ungenau. Die in den Jahren 154-90 in Pathyris wohnhafte Frau Nahomsesis wurde um 112 als μελάγχρως und 109 als μελίχρως bezeichnet. Vgl. P.W. Pestman, *P.L.Bat.* 19, 1978, 51.

¹⁵Dieser Schluß findet jetzt eine Bestätigung in den unedierten Urkunden dieses Archivs. Vgl. K. Vandorpe, *Dryton-Archive* (in Druck).

¹⁶*Pros.Ptol.* II 1881 (Add.).

¹⁷Ptolemaios (*Pros.Ptol.* II 2977; IV 10713); Psennesis (*Pros.Ptol.* II 4138); Horos (*Pros.Ptol.* II 4143; Add.); Hr[...] (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 3844a); Kallimachos (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 3976a). Der Name dieses Eponymen kommt auch in dem fragmentarischen P.Kairo 30662 (145-116(?)); (W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Denkmäler*, II, CGC, Straßburg 1907, S. 99; ohne Tafel; der Text ist nur aus einer Beschreibung bekannt) und in P.Heid. 737g, x+2 (U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg 1964, Nr. 21) vor. Weitere Beispiele dessen, daß die Untergebenen desselben Eponymenoffiziers in verschiedenen Ortschaften und sogar in verschiedenen Gauen weilten, siehe *Pros.Ptol.* II 1828 (Add.; Herakleopolites oder Oxyrhynchites - Arsinoites); 1919 (Add.; Perithebas - Arsinoites); 1994 (Latopolis - Syene).

Ursache dieser Sachlage waren Verlegungen der Truppen oder von Teilen davon von einer Garnison zu einer anderen.¹⁸ Es fällt auf, daß ein Untergebener des Diodotos, Psenesis, Sohn des Imuthes, sich am 31. Januar 150 in Theben befand,¹⁹ während die übrigen ihren Dienst später in Krokodilopolis oder Pathyris ausübten. Der nächste war zeitlich gesehen Dryton, der sich am 4. März 150 in Latopolis befand. Es ist nicht ganz klar, ob diese Abteilung in beiden Ortschaften stationiert war, oder ob diese bzw. ein Teil davon zwischen dem 31. Januar und dem 4. März 150 von Theben nach Latopolis/ Pathyris verlegt wurde. Möglich ist, daß Dryton nach einer Dienstzeit in Theben nach Diospolis Mikra versandt wurde, um von dort wiederum nach Theben und noch später nach Latopolis/Pathyris geschickt zu werden. Darüber haben wir weitere Angaben.

In Pathyris begegnen wir auch dem Schwiegervater Drytons, Ptolemaios/ Pamenos²⁰ und dessen Vater, Hermokrates/Panas, der Söldner war (*rmṯ iw=f šp ḥbs*), zum Lager in Pathyris (*iw=f sḥ r t3 rsj.t n Pr-Ḥ.t-Ḥr*) gehörte und dort Liegenschaften besaß.²¹ Von Ptolemaios wissen wir, daß er ein Söldner (*rmṯ iw=f šp ḥbs*) war und ein Grundstück in Pathyris 187 gekauft hatte, wo er sicherlich auch lebte. Dies ist wohl der älteste Fall einer Niederlassung in diesem Gebiet. Er hatte vier Töchter, die griechisch-ägyptische Doppelnamen führten: Apollonia/Senmonthis (die Frau Drytons), Ammonia/Senminis, Herakleia/Senapathis, Herais/Tiesris. Wir wissen, daß sie 141/140 volljährig (ἐνήλικοι γεγόμενοι) waren,²² also in den sechziger-fünfziger Jahren des 2.Jhs.v.Chr. geboren worden sein mußten. Es fällt der seltene Name Tiesris (Var. Tasris, Tisris; demot. *T3j-3jšr, T3-Išr3, Ta-Išrw*) auf, der sich auf den heiligen See der Mut in Karnak bezieht, wo diese Göttin mit Hera gleichgesetzt wurde.²³ Auf diese Weise beziehen sich die Namen Tiesris und Herais auf denselben Kult. Einen ähnlichen Zusammenhang zwischen den griechischen und ägyptischen Namen beobachten wir im Fall der übrigen Schwestern. Ihre Namen nehmen bezug auf die Götter in Karnak und Luxor.²⁴ Dieser Umstand erlaubt es uns zu vermuten, daß sie so gemäß der bekannten ägyptischen Sitte genannt wurden, weil sie dort geboren worden sind.²⁵ Wir können annehmen, daß die ganze Familie dort in den sechziger-fünfziger Jahren lebte. Es wird klar, daß Ptolemaios nach einer Dienstzeit in Pathyris nach Theben verlegt wurde und in späterer Zeit nach Pathyris zurückkehrte. Ptolemaios, der vor 141/140 gestorben ist, wurde als τῶν Διοδότου πεζῶν bezeichnet.²⁶ Er stand also unter demselben Kommando wie Dryton. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß seine letzte Verlegung mit der des Dryton zusammenfiel.

¹⁸Vgl. oben den Fall des Horos sowie Anm. 17.

¹⁹*Pros.Ptol.* II 4138. Die frühere Gleichsetzung dieser Person mit dem Schwiegersohn Drytons (P.W. Pestman, *P.L.Bat.* 14, 1965, 47 n. 4; J.K. Winnicki, o.c. (Anm. 1), 73; N. Lewis, o.c. (Anm. 14), 96) lehnt mit Recht K. Vandorpe, *Dryton-Archive* (in Druck) ab.

²⁰*Pros.Ptol.* II 2977; IV 10883; 10998.

²¹*Pros.Ptol.* II 2976. 4214; IV 10713 - P.Chicago OI 10551 (R.K. Ritner, in: *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens*, Würzburg 1984, 171-187, Taf. 24-30).

²²Vor dem 30. Regierungsjahr von Ptolemaios VIII. (*SB* I 4638, 11-12).

²³E. Otto, *LÄ* 1, 1975, 460-462. Über die Interpretation dieser Formen siehe J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, Leuven 1975 (*OLA* 2), 204.

²⁴Vgl. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, 31-32. 796; E. Otto, *LÄ* 1, 1975, 239-240; J. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7, 1975/1976, 463-472. Den Zusammenhang dieser Namen mit den Kulturen in Theben bemerkte auch K. Vandorpe, *Dryton-Archive* (in Druck).

²⁵P. Vernus, *LÄ* 4, 1982, 328 n.29

²⁶*SB* I 4638, 4-5.

Die Deutung der hier dargestellten Beobachtungen ist nicht ganz sicher. Es ist auch nicht möglich, auf Grund des so beschränkten Materials über die besprochenen Lager allgemeinere Schlüsse zu ziehen. Die obigen Beobachtungen geben uns aber einen Einblick in die Geschichte dieser Zentren. In einer konkreten politischen Situation gegründet, unterlagen sie späteren Änderungen nach den zeitgemäßen Bedürfnissen. Die letzteren können wir jedoch nicht bestimmen.

THE THESAURUS LINGVAE GRAECAE: A UNIFYING FORCE

Theodore F. Brunner

In terms of background and training, I have no business addressing an audience of papyrologists: I am not even a member of the International Association, and am certainly not a papyrologist. My teachers were not Youtie, Keyes, Wells, or West, but Otis, Fraenkel, Webster, and Higham. When I was a graduate student, I was taught plenty about philology and literary criticism, but I never even got to see a piece of papyrus - there were no papyrologists at Stanford then. Names such as Kenyon, Wilcken, Schubart, and Hunt never entered into my graduate curriculum, and the only image which the word Fayum evoked in my mind was that of dates and oranges. My doctoral dissertation focused on the function of the simile in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. After leaving Stanford, I ended up publishing in journals such as *CJ* and *AJP*, and the annual Christmas convention of the APA was the only scholarly meeting I would attend each year. To make a long story short: I was trained as, and became, a Classicist, a generalist, to whom papyrology was a field as arcane and foreign as (let us say) microbiology or nuclear physics. Yet, here I am today. How did this happen?

It happened, because a new scholarly resource and tool opened doors to me, a generalist - doors which had previously been closed to me and others like me. That new tool is, of course, the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG). Over the next few minutes, I should like to give you at least a brief status report on the TLG; speak briefly about the TLG's impact upon Classics and papyrology; and indicate what - as I see it - still needs to be done to maximize and optimize the benefits that can be derived from the use of electronic resources such as those of the TLG.

By now, the TLG has been at work for two decades; in fact, the project celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its founding just a few weeks ago. During the past twenty years, the TLG did what it was told to do by a panel of fifteen Classicists who - under the leadership of Bruno Snell - convened in 1972 to set the project's objectives. This is what their marching orders to us were: (1) define the corpus of Greek literature from Homer to A.D. 600. There may be as many as 500 separate authors who survived from that period; find them, and procure their texts. Include bona fide literary text editions deriving from papyri (such as Lobel and Page), but do not - for the time being, at least - deal with literary papyri scattered over papyrological collections. Do not deal with papyrus documents, inscriptions, or numismatic materials - for the time being. And do not - for the time being - deal with text variants found in the critical apparatus. Once you have defined such a corpus of Greek literature, convert the texts into a format that allows for quick and efficient consultation. Do not generate a lexicographical product fixed along the lines of the Munich TLL, but create an organic product that - to be sure - can be used for lexicographical purposes, but that will also allow for a multiplicity of other scholarly pursuits, be they of a philological, linguistic, historical, theological, or whatever nature.

In essence, our orders were to create an electronic data bank of ancient Greek literature from Homer to 600. That is what we did for the next 15 years. By late 1987, the TLG data bank contained all of the ancient Greek authors and texts surviving from Homer to 600 after Christ (not 500 authors, as had been estimated in 1972, but some 3,200), roughly 60 million words of text altogether. What to do next?

By then, new data bank projects addressing materials which we had been told to disregard "for the time being" were already under way. Duke University, in collaboration with other institutions such as the University of Michigan, had begun computerizing documentary papyri. Inscriptions were being dealt with at Cornell, Princeton, and other locations around the United

States. Yes, the apparatus critici were still untouched - some 10 million words of them, but the field of Classics, asked by us to develop the principles that should underlie data entry of app. crit. materials, was not ready to provide the needed guidance.

In the meantime, the Byzantinists had begun to clamour for attention; as they saw it, an A.D. 600 TLG cut-off point was unreasonable and indefensible. Ultimately, the TLG did extend its focus from 600 to 1453, but only with respect to certain specific text corpora. Those are the scholia, lexicography, and Byzantine historiography. The scholia and lexicography because of their obvious impact upon the pre-600 texts already in the data bank, and Byzantine historiography because the Byzantinists themselves felt that this particular genre should be given priority over others. Data entry of all of these materials is now virtually completed, and the TLG is about to cease large-scale data entry of new generic corpora. Henceforth, we will focus upon "retrofitting" the TLG data bank in order to reflect progress in text editing that has occurred during the past twenty years (by now, many of the texts incorporated into our data bank during the 1970s and 80s have been superseded by newer and better editions). Admittedly, this will leave one major gap in the data bank; I will return to it in a moment.

As of this moment, the TLG data bank contains approximately 67 million words of text. Right now, some 1,200 copies of TLG CD ROM "C", each containing 42 million words of ancient Greek text, are located in 34 countries around the world. That's an aggregate of roughly 50 billion words of electronic text, being used daily to enhance our understanding of the ancient world. A recent user survey conducted by the TLG asked respondents to identify themselves by academic specialty; out of 371 respondents, 22 (or 6%) identified themselves as papyrologists. I know that some members of this audience are users of TLG CD ROM "C"; you will be pleased to know that CD ROM "D", containing about 57 million words, is currently being tested in advance of being released to the field. Much gratitude is owed to the Packard Humanities Institute (along with Mr. William Johnson) for extensive technical support provided in conjunction with the pre-mastering of this disk. TLG CD ROM "D" is the end-result of twenty years of labour, and an investment of approximately \$8 million. Is it worth its cost? In particular, is it worth its cost to papyrologists - the topic of this panel is, after all, "The Future of Papyrological Tools in the Era of Electronic Information." In fact, is the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae a papyrological tool?

As far as I am concerned, the answer to all of these questions is an unqualified "yes". Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος - without an understanding of the words that it carries, any piece of papyrus would be merely a meaningless scrap of desiccated organic matter. One of the primary purposes of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae is to provide us with a better understanding of text - of the use of words, and the relationship between words. Electronic data banks are superbly suited to facilitate the attainment of such understanding. Philologists, historians, linguists, theologians, and other non-papyrologists have been using the TLG's resources for quite some time as a means to analyze and understand their raw material - their texts. In fact, the past few years have witnessed almost a quantum jump in the quantity and quality of scholarly publication in direct consequence of the availability of the TLG resource. Moreover, the availability of large text corpora in electronic (and thus easily accessible) form has stimulated research in areas long neglected simply because the raw materials were too extensive to be dealt with by means of traditional methodologies: 2.5 million words of Galen, or 4.5 million words of John Chryostom suddenly no longer seem quite as formidable, now that they are accessible via a computer search consuming but a few minutes.

Papyrologists can reap equal benefit from using the TLG as one of their basic research tools. Let me give you just a few concrete examples. In 1939, Bradford Welles concluded that P.Dura 2 fr.A matched Appian's *Mithridatika* 101. It was a reasonable conclusion in an era when printed word indices and concordances were the only tools available for locating text

parallels. In 1984, and in direct consequence of the availability of the TLG data bank, fr.A was reassigned properly to Appian's *Bellum Civile* 2.8. Fr.B of P.Dura 2 defied identification by Welles; we now know - thanks to the TLG - that it matches Appian's *Iberica* 16. Coincidentally, the latter finding also provided us with clear evidence that we have not one but two separate rolls of Appian among the Dura papyri, doubling the number reported in Pack's catalogue.

P.Oxy . 2628, published in 1966 under the rubric of anonymous choral lyric, turned out to be our first concrete evidence of Euripides' *Andromeda*. This fact was quickly revealed by a computer search through the TLG data bank which - almost effortlessly - matched the papyrus with Nauck's *Andromeda* fr. 119 and 120, text which Nauck had reconstituted and assigned to the *Andromeda* on the basis of scholiasts' comments. Here, the availability of the scholia, recently added to the TLG data bank, helped significantly.

In 1978, Gronewald published in *ZPE* a Fackelmann papyrus which he was unable to match with any known text; he suspected, however, that the text was of a patristic nature, and that it discussed the topic of *Willensentscheidung*. With the help of the TLG data bank, it took less than five minutes to determine that the papyrus contained a sizeable portion of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*, and that the text indeed discusses the subject of free will.

And, to anticipate the next issue of *ZPE*,¹ P.Amst. I 24, published in 1980 as simply yet another "Christlicher Text," turns out to be our first papyrus evidence for a Romanus Melodus hymn previously known to us only via 10th and 11th century manuscripts. Again, it was the TLG's data bank that produced this finding, alerting us - in the process - to the fact that our previous understanding of Romanus's hymnody may not necessarily have been correct.

Yes, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* can be used as a papyrological tool. In fact, it is a tool capable of giving even non-papyrologists a glimpse into this highly specialized discipline, access to which - in essence - had been virtually denied to them until just a few years ago. The examples that I just gave you - P.Oxy. 2110, P.Dura 2, P.Oxy . 2628, and P.Amst. I.24 - all refer to research findings produced in the recent past by this self-confessed papyrological ignoramus with the help of the TLG. No, the TLG has not made a papyrologist out of me - I still have occasional problems remembering the difference between the *Sammelbuch* and the *Berichtigungsliste*. And I will probably never hold an actual piece of papyrus in my hands before I retire. But the TLG has given me an opportunity to involve myself in, and - however modestly - to contribute to, a field which - without the TLG - would have been totally beyond my reach. There are others like me today; in fact, some of my students - purely generalists - are now working with adespota published in papyrological collections whose titles would have remained totally foreign to them just a few years ago.

All of this means that the pool of those who can contribute to our understanding of the papyri is rapidly growing. And that is a good thing for papyrology. It also means that generalists and papyrologists are no longer like ships passing each other at night: lately, I have spent a lot of time talking to papyrologists, learning a lot about their discipline. And, it is not simply the TLG that opens new horizons - other electronic resources do also. I have been amazed to observe some of my colleagues in my department - generalists all of them - consulting the Duke Data Bank CD ROM, a resource containing papyrological text that they would never have touched when it was available only in printed form.

This is what I mean when I refer to a unifying force exerted by an electronic resource such as the TLG. Scholars work together more than they did in the past, and they work better than they could in the past. Classics, papyrology, and epigraphy are light years ahead of other disciplines in this realm. The average level of computer literacy in Classics, papyrology, and epigraphy in fact, is vastly higher than in other humanities fields such as English and

¹*ZPE* 96, 1993, 185-189 (AB-J)

Comparative Literature, History, or even the modern foreign languages. Why? Because Classicists, papyrologists, and epigraphists successfully created, in the 1970s and 1980s, massive electronic data bank resources the kinds of which - in the other humanistic disciplines - will most likely not even be in their planning stages until well into the 21st century. It was the early availability of these electronic resources that changed the modes of thinking in our fields, thus stimulating both scholarly communication and progress in scholarship.

Another member of this panel, Professor Hagedorn, has already spoken about the potential desirability of electronic tools other than those composed of sizeable text corpora along the lines of the TLG or the DDBDP. He is far better equipped than I to judge whether *Namenbücher* or *Berichtigungslisten* should be maintained in printed or in electronic form in the future. Or whether both formats should be available as time goes on. I myself do have a few items on my wish list for the future, however.

One of them goes back to those early days of the TLG that I spoke about a few minutes ago - those days when we were instructed to bypass, for the time being, a number of text categories, including all papyri other than those published as bona fide text editions à la Lobel and Page. Yes, the DDBDP subsequently stepped into the breach by capturing the documents. That, however, still leaves the literary fragments unaccounted for. It has been my hope for quite a number of years now that - once data entry of documentary papyri is completed at Duke University - one of the Ds in DDBDP will disappear, and that a Duke Data Bank of Papyri will ultimately contain literary fragments and documents alike.

This would make eminent sense. Yes, we at the TLG have been urged on more than one occasion to deal with the literary papyri ourselves. But you must remember that we are not papyrologists. Conversion of material as complex as papyrological text requires special expertise that is not reflected on the TLG's staff. To be sure, we had to learn - and did learn - a lot of new tricks as we were building the TLG data bank: a staff that, by virtue of original training, once considered Plutarch a rather late Greek writer, nowadays moves quite comfortably in the company of John Chrysostom and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the bibliography of Philodemus - not every Classicist's forte - does not scare us. I don't believe, however, that we should (or could) learn to become papyrologists equipped to incorporate the literary papyri into the TLG data bank. The expertise and experience already exists elsewhere, and I shall take this opportunity to - once again - encourage my colleagues and friends from North Carolina to include "the other half" of the collections in their long-range planning.

I have another desideratum. This one, I believe, is equally important. It is software - computer programs sufficiently powerful and sophisticated to take maximum advantage of our new electronic resources. Yes, we now have large data banks of texts along the lines of the TLG and the DDBDP. And we are doing wonderful things with them. But just imagine how much more wonderful our computer-aided research findings could be if we had available to us software just a bit more clever than what most of us are limited to at the moment, namely searches of rather limited sophistication. I often wish, as I work with a papyrus text (or any text, for that matter), that I had a program that would allow me to do a wild-card search. Programs that would generate various categories of statistical data for me from the text. Programs capable of providing metrical information. Programs tying together literary-historical and bibliographical data (such as those found in the electronic TLG canon) with the TLG's electronic texts. And many other programs that would make my life easier, speed up my research, and optimize the quality of my published end-product.

Most of us, when we talk about "tools in the era of electronic information" tend to think about all of our new and wonderful electronic data collections, forgetting that sophisticated electronic data without sophisticated user software are a waste. Yes, Classics, papyrology, and epigraphy were first within the humanities to create large discipline-specific data banks.

We moved fast. So fast, in fact, that the potential inherent in our data bank products is vastly greater than the actual benefits that can be derived from them, given the still very limited range of our software resources.

My final desideratum: wisdom on the part of all of us, as we approach the 21st century. We spent the last twenty years, millions of dollars, and yet more millions of hours creating our existing electronic data collections. We did not do this for ourselves - the people in this room, and our colleagues currently active around the world. No single generation of scholars and academicians deserves sole claim to the products of such immense investments. We - data bank producers and data bank users alike - have a responsibility to assure that our new toys and tools will remain healthy and sound for the next generation of scholars, and for future generations thereafter.

Wisdom means that we will do everything it takes to maintain the quality of our electronic data. Data banks must continuously be kept up to date to reflect, at all times, the current state of the art of scholarship. If we must make a choice between expanding our electronic resources, and enhancing them, we must opt in favour of the latter. The TLG itself has to confront this dilemma all the time. Yes, it would be good to be able to add (let us say) hagiographical materials to our Byzantine text holdings. But if the financial consequences would be that Stallbaum, rather than van der Valk, would continue to reflect *Iliad* Σ to Ω , then we will opt in favour of data bank enhancement, rather than data bank expansion. In the final analysis, the true value of a data bank does not lie in its size, but in its quality, and any electronic data bank that becomes frozen in time will soon turn into an antiquarian curio.

Wisdom also means that we will strictly adhere to the rules and policies under which we, the electronic data users, obtain our texts from the electronic data producers. Data bank managers do not create the policies and prohibitions reflected in their license agreements in order to make their users' lives difficult, or to hamper research and scholarship. They do so because they - better than anyone else - understand that totally uncontrolled circulation of electronic texts will quickly lead to data contamination which, ultimately, will render the data useless. Yes, the CD ROM, today's data dissemination medium, is a Read Only device. Tomorrow's medium may not be. And even today, TLG (or DDBDP) texts transferred to another storage device in violation of a license agreement can readily be manipulated, changed, and transferred to third and fourth parties who may well end up modifying them further yet. Textual chaos would be the end result. Electronic texts are far more efficient than texts in printed books; they are also far more fragile, and we - today's generation of users - have a responsibility to pass them on to those who follow us unadulterated, and in a state of integrity unaffected by our personal prejudices and whims.

The bottom line: we - Classicists, papyrologists, epigraphists - have available to us new electronic tools which bring with them new ways of thinking, along with new responsibilities. Our new tools are so spectacular as to have been unimaginable to those who were our teachers. They expand our capabilities, both within our narrow and specific disciplines and on a much broader scale. They give us glimpses into the subject matter of others, and even permit us to make contributions (however modest) to fields which, but a few years ago, would have been totally beyond our ken. They connect with each other: if I investigate some textual or lexical phenomenon with the aid of the TLG data bank, I will automatically consult the DDBDP texts and the growing body of PHI inscriptions also, in order to fully satisfy my curiosity. And they connect us with each other. This is my first papyrological congress, and I am rapidly beginning to realize that it is no more foreign and threatening than P.Dura 2, the first papyrus text I ever tried my hand at with the help of the TLG. I am honoured and grateful to have been invited to this meeting, and may - some day - even find the courage (or is it *hybris*?) to become a formal member of this association.

HEIDELBERG DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI PROJECT

James M.S. Cowey

Some years before the present project was started in July of 1989, the late Professor Seider had planned to undertake a project, the aim of which was to provide a comprehensive list of all published papyri, which contained a definite date and of which there was also a published photograph. This was then to have been processed as a series of photographic volumes, the intention being to provide a tool to help in the dating of papyri, which had no date and had to be dated on the basis of the handwriting.

Professor Hagedorn was in the fortunate position of being supported by the Akademie der Wissenschaften of Heidelberg in reviving a project which had never properly come to fruition. A decision was made to broaden the aims of the original project. A computer data-base seemed an obvious choice, in as much as this is able to make available a lot of information in its most accessible form. Moreover a data-base which included not only dated papyri, of which there was also a published photograph, but all published papyri, whether with or without a photograph, seemed more desirable and sensible an undertaking than to confine the project simply to those papyri of which there is a published photograph. Apple Macintosh computers have been used and the programme Filemaker was chosen to process our information.

Two aspects of the original plans remained of central importance to the present project: these are the dating of each papyrus and whether there is a published photograph of it. It is in these two areas that most of our work lies. Certain overlap of what has already been provided by the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri was deemed necessary, in order that the information presented would not be rendered too unhelpful to the potential user. As far as the presentation of the Greek text of each document is concerned, however, the information has been kept to a minimum. All that is included is the original title and a brief summary of the contents in the form of key-words, which describe the type of document rather than giving details of each individual papyrus text. For detailed word searches and an ability to call up the text, the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri remains unbeatable.

In the following paragraphs, I shall present and describe what information from each papyrus has been included and how we have laid out the information which is given. It is important to stress, at this stage, that each piece of information is entered in its own field. This means that searches can be done in each and every field, as well as in combinations of fields. In this way the flexibility of the programme is used to a very full extent and searches can be made according to a large number of different criteria or combination of criteria.

The title, volume and number of each papyrus is entered, each in their own field (**Publikation, Band, Nummer**). The appearance of the index to the *Berichtigungsliste* has proved extremely helpful here, as in other places. There are many papyri which have been published more than once and it is obvious that each papyrus should be accounted for only once in our data-base. In such cases we enter such a papyrus according to what is considered the main edition in the index to the *Berichtigungsliste*, that is all those papyri which are printed in bold type in that volume. Previous editions of the papyrus, which appear in papyrological series and volumes are listed in a separate field called **Andere Publikation**. First publications which appear in journals are ignored until they have been taken up in the *Sammelbuch* or in the appropriate series. Here again we have followed the *Berichtigungsliste* and presented the same main edition, as is given there.

Recto and verso are accounted for in the field **Seite** only when two separate texts, one on the recto and the other on the verso, are published under one number in any edition. Otherwise

this project has ignored the question of recto and verso. In the field **zusätzlich** such additions to a publication as the letters a, b, c, etc., which distinguish different fragments published under one number, or, occasionally, the inventory number, where it is the only way of specifying precisely the papyrus in question (e.g. P.Alex.), are entered. Otherwise inventory numbers have not been included. It was felt that this would be too complicated an undertaking and the results not worth the effort.

In the field **Material** account is given of the writing material. Ostraca published in the *Sammelbuch* have been included as well as the use of rag paper and wood and other materials. Such inscriptions and graffiti as appear in the *Sammelbuch* have been left out. The project was undertaken to deal with published papyri and a line had to be drawn somewhere as to what would be included. In the case of inscriptions and graffiti it was felt that the scope of the project would start to drift into other disciplines in a way which would not be helpful and complicated by the fact that it would have no claim to any sort of principle other than including such texts which had found their way into the *Sammelbuch*.

Now we come to the dating. First and foremost it should be noted that, in every case, the dating of the various editions has been checked carefully and corrected where necessary. These corrections are published in *ZPE* (e.g. *ZPE* 91, 1992, pp.91-94) and reference is made to these articles. In cases where the date has already been corrected and is in the *Berichtigungsliste*, we refer quite simply to the appropriate volume of the *Berichtigungsliste*.

Throughout an attempt has been made to be as precise as possible in entering the available material at our disposal. For example, instead of being content to refer to the month of Hathyr as corresponding to October/November, the specific dates for the beginning and end of any specific time span have been converted, in this case 28 (or 29, if allowance for a leap year has to be made) October to 26 (or 27, if allowance for a leap year has to be made) November. In the case of documents which can only be dated to a regnal year, the year in which that regnal year started as well as when it ended are stated. If a dating is not certain, we specify whether it is the day, the month or the year which is uncertain and has led an editor to put a question mark next to the date. If a document is datable to a century and includes either a specific day and/or month, but no year survives, then the century is entered as normal and the day and/or month is stated in the field **Bemerkungen**.

The title given to the papyrus in the original edition is entered in the field **Originaltitel**. The language of the original title is maintained. If the original title has proved to be inaccurate, it is, nevertheless, entered as it is and corrections are noted in the field **Bemerkungen**.

We now move to the content of the text. It was decided at the outset of the project that we would not attempt to provide a standardised way of putting the various types of documents into strict categories. That would be a complete undertaking in itself. Nevertheless we have used a system of key-words to describe the most salient features of the document. It was borne in mind that the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri is the best tool available for searching for specific words. For this reason we content ourselves with making clear in the field **Inhalt** whether the document is, for example, a lease of land or official correspondence or a private letter.

In the field **Ort** the place of origin of the document is supplied. In this case there is the problem of whether we mean the place where the papyrus was found or the place where the papyrus was originally written. It is the latter which is of more interest for the purposes of handwriting and historical interest. Usually we have followed what is supplied by the editors, unless it is patently obvious from the text that it is mistaken, in which case it is corrected and such corrections are published separately as with the dates. Otherwise we have not gone to the trouble of distinguishing between where the papyrus was found and where it was probably

written. The name of the nome is always included (in brackets, when the village or town is mentioned) as well as the name of the villages or towns, when they are known.

All instances of published photographs are included in the field **Abbildungen**. The best has been done to check through all possible publications or treatments of the papyrus in question to track down published photographs. The *Berichtigungsliste* has been a tremendous help in this area, but for the older editions we present material that is not to be found elsewhere in such a systematic form.

For the field **Bemerkungen** our principle was to keep to a minimum the information that is presented. References to corrections and publication in corpora such as *New Documents* or re-publications, that have not yet reached either the *Berichtigungsliste* or the *Sammelbuch*, are included. If any such information is already to be found in reference books such as the *Berichtigungsliste*, then it was judged unnecessary to burden our information with repetitive material. It is here that we make a note of what was written on the other side of the papyrus, in as much as it has received proper publication. Corrections made during the course of the work and published in *ZPE* are entered in this field. Any corrections to the text, which have not been taken up by the *Berichtigungsliste*, are noted, whereas general bibliographic and interpretative material has been left to one side.

The field **Erwähnte Daten** includes all dates which are mentioned in the text, which are not the date on which the text was written, in as much as that can be determined. Not included are dates in the future, such as the dates for the delivery of goods, which have already been paid for. In documents such as accounts of travel, where daily expenses are accounted for, there seemed nothing to be gained from listing every day. Often we have entered that from, say line 11 to, say, line 56 dates from 11 September to 25 November, without specifying each and every entry.

By way of example, I shall present some imaginary uses of the data-base. Let us suppose that someone is working on an unedited papyrus which has no dating criterion in the text itself and has to be dated on the basis of handwriting. It seems likely that it belongs to the first half of the second century AD and was written in Arsinoites. It is possible to produce a list of the firmly dated papyri from the first half of the second century, which come from Arsinoites and of which there exists a published photograph. A list of these comparable documents is now at one's disposal.

There are two useful by-products, which are worth mentioning. In the first case, let us say that the text which is being worked with deals with the sale of a house. It may be desirable to find a group of similar documents in order to have comparative material to work with. In the field **Inhalt** Vertrag, Haus and Kauf (Filemaker cannot deal with long German compounds and so such words are broken down into their component parts) could be entered and the return key pressed and a list will be produced. (Of course one could specify that the examples should only be taken from the first or second century AD). Such lists will not be absolutely complete as no strict system was stuck to in this field, as I have mentioned, but an initial list can be obtained and printed.

In the second case the dating of all documents has been thoroughly checked and quite often corrected. This means that the entries in our computer data-base are the most accurate guide to dated papyri. The data-base could be used to check information about the dating of any papyrus.

It is not clear yet how the results of this project will be made available and circulated, but, once the work has been completed, it should be possible to provide disks to anyone who is interested in using them. This will make it possible for anyone to use the results of the work either as a system of reference or as the basis for projects with different aims. New fields can be created by each and every person as much as she or he wants. In this way the data-base can

be the starting point for individual projects. A specific group of documents can be selected according to particular criteria, copied into a new data-base of these particular documents and then worked upon according to the specific desires of the project in hand. Fields can be dispensed with, fields can be created for new information, the information in existing fields can be extended.

Finally it remains to state how far along the road to completion the project is. Of the approximate 37,000 Greek documentary papyri, which have been published to date, we have, at present, a total of 12,440 entries in the computer data-base.

ION BEAM ANALYSIS AS A TOOL FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF MISSING CHARACTERS ON PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

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Plates 34-37

Scientific analytical work performed on various types of sketches and documents, including papyrus, has lately attracted great attention. For imaging with the objective of reconstructing degraded text, a few techniques, mostly based on optical or infrared (IR) photography, have recently emerged. The obtained images display patterns of, for example, characters and remainders of ink or paint, dirt, and the texture of the underlying document matter. In order to enhance the contrast of the text versus the background, the image is sometimes digitized and computer evaluated by means of various signal processing and pattern recognition techniques. These methods are certainly appropriate in several cases but the actual chemical components in the ink and the document respectively are not determined. If, for example, the elemental compositions, i.e. the set-ups of elements present in the document matter and the ink, is monitored a more physical investigation is possible.

Traditionally an elemental analysis would be performed using a chemical analytical procedure where a piece of the sample is removed for analysis. Naturally, this is not feasible for a major investigation of, for example, a papyrus document since it would partially or totally destroy the document. During the last decade, however, several chemical methods have been replaced by various physical techniques. This includes electron microscopy, atomic absorption spectroscopy, X-ray fluorescence analysis, and neutron activation analysis and other methods based on nuclear reactions. Again, most of these methods do destroy sections of the sample to a certain degree but a novel technique, the so called PIXE method, which is also based on nuclear physics, has the advantage of being both a highly sensitive and a non destructive analytical technique.¹

The Research Laboratory of the Museums of France (LRMF), situated in the Louvre Museum in Paris, houses sophisticated equipment and expertise for a wide range of chemical and physical analytical techniques. The purpose of the laboratory, which was founded in 1931, is to facilitate advanced analytical methods for the study of various materials and techniques used for works of art and archaeology. In 1988 LRMF acquired a particle accelerator to also facilitate ion beam analysis, including PIXE, of art and archaeological objects.² The equipment was installed in a new underground laboratory, AGLAE - Accélérateur Grand Louvre d'Analyse Élémentaire, which is the only particle accelerator laboratory in the world exclusively aimed for the study of works from the field of art and archaeology. In addition to previously installed instrumentation for various ion beam analysis techniques, a specially designed set-up for versatile and flexible analysis of papyrus and other documents is now being prepared. It should be noted that the necessary equipment for ion beam analysis is rather bulky and not portable in any sense. The AGLAE laboratory is housed in a 15x30 m² pillar-free hall, excluding control and computer rooms.

¹Johansson, S. A. E. and Johansson, T. B., *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **137**, 473, 1976; Johansson, S. A. E. and Campbell, J. L., 'PIXE: A Novel Technique for Elemental Analysis', Wiley, Chichester, 1988.

²Menu, M., *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **B45**, 597, 1990; Menu, M., *et.al.*, *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **B45**, 610, 1990.

The aim of this paper is to discuss various modes of PIXE analysis applied to papyrus documents and how the method can be used for reconstruction of worn away characters in papyrus documents.

Basic principles

PIXE, which was developed in the early 1970's in Lund, Sweden, is an acronym for Particle Induced X-ray Emission. It is essentially an X-ray spectrometry method but is normally devoted to nuclear physics since it utilizes an electrostatic accelerator, a commonly used instrument for high energy nuclear physics research. Such accelerators were introduced for basic research in numerous nuclear physics laboratories at an early stage and, hence, most of the development work of PIXE has been carried out at these laboratories by nuclear physicists.

The basic principle of PIXE is schematically illustrated in plate 34,1. When a charged accelerated particle passes through matter, usually protons are used, it may interact with an electron in a target atom causing the electron to be ejected from its shell. When this occurs for an inner shell electron, the vacancy created is filled by an electron from an outer shell and an X-ray photon may, with a known probability, be emitted as indicated in plate 34,1. The energy of this X-ray photon is characteristic for the elemental number of the targeted atom and by detecting the photons and their respective energies for a large number of reactions, the atomic numbers of the elements present in the target can be deduced from the acquired spectrum. In plate 34,2, a typical PIXE spectrum obtained from the analysis of papyrus (dashed spectrum) is shown together with a spectrum from ink (solid spectrum). As can be seen, a PIXE spectrum consists of a continuous background (mostly due to electron bremsstrahlung) on which the characteristic peaks from the elements present in the target are superimposed.

Furthermore, if the number of X-ray events is counted for every element, the amount of the various elements in the sample can be calculated in absolute terms. This is one of the main advantages with PIXE compared to other analytical methods. A second advantage is, as mentioned above, that PIXE is a non destructive method. Of course, this is a necessity when analyzing valuable documents such as papyrus. If the analysis is correctly performed, no damage can be revealed after irradiation, neither to the human eye nor by means of an optical microscope. Also important for any analytical method is the sensitivity, i.e. the lower limit of elemental concentration that can be detected. Here, again, PIXE has an excellent record almost throughout the periodic table, from manganese and upwards. As an example, the sensitivity of PIXE can be estimated to be about 100 to 1000 times better than that of the more commonly used electron microprobe. Elemental concentrations down to 1 ppm (1 part in 1,000,000) or 10^{-15} g in absolute terms, may be detected for several elements. A fourth advantage with PIXE worthwhile noting is that it is a multi-elemental method. All the traceable elements present in the target are detected in one single analysis.

In practice, the analysis of a papyrus document is performed as illustrated in plate 35,3. The protons are accelerated by an electrostatic accelerator and guided in vacuum tubes to the target set-up where the document is mounted. Since documents as targets are bulky and fragile, and to avoid excessive heating during irradiation, the proton beam is normally extracted from vacuum to air via a thin plastic foil. Thus, the document is mounted in normal laboratory environment where also the irradiation is performed. The emitted X-rays are acquired by a Si(Li) detector and the following electronics and computer system, where the X-ray energy spectrum is produced as discussed above. The document, which is mounted vertically, can be

moved mechanically under computer control for easy positioning and scanning over interesting areas.

Applications to documents

Two modes of operating a PIXE instrument may be utilized when analyzing documents. In the first mode, the beam is set to irradiate the document at a single spot. An energy spectrum is recorded and evaluated giving information about the elements present at this particular location. The information gained can be valuable for purpose of, for example, conservation and authentication or for provenance studies. The measured elemental composition may be used by the conservator to select the most suitable method for preservation or it may simply be used to reveal forgeries or repairs. The elements that should be present, or more commonly should not be present, in the ink and the document are well known for several time periods in history. For example, some elements have only appeared in production during the 20th century and, if detected, can thus give a clear indication of forgery for documents claimed to be older.

For provenance studies, which is well known from the area of chemical analysis of archaeological artefacts, the elemental composition is assumed to be characteristic for the geographical origin of the document or the ink or both.³ Here, one normally has to consider several dimensions of the problem; a difference in elemental composition within a series of documents may also be due to a chronological difference and, of course, various techniques for production of, for example, the ink may have been employed at a certain time in the geographical region of interest. This leads us also to a fourth interesting application. By detecting the elemental composition of inks and documents the technique and method of production may be determined. This may be of particular interest concerning the ink.

In the second mode of operating a PIXE instrument the beam is scanned in a step wise manner relative to the target or, as more commonly utilized when analyzing documents, the target is scanned relative to the beam. For every point irradiated by the beam in the scanning frame, a spectrum is recorded by the computer system. Usually, scanning frames of 64x64 to 256x256 pixels are used but the higher resolution can only be achieved at the expense of lower statistics for every pixel in the acquired data set for a certain analyzing time. While a point analysis can be performed within an irradiation time of the order of minutes, an analysis in scanning mode usually has to prolong for about one hour to reduce the statistical errors. During the analysis the X-ray events with energies falling within selected energy regions, matching the peak energies of the sought elements, are monitored and counted for all the spectra acquired in the scanning frame. The number of counts thus acquired for a certain element is plotted on a graphics screen for every pixel in the scanning frame, showing how the elemental concentrations vary over the target surface. Hence, "elemental maps" are obtained, matching an optical image of the document but showing images based only on the concentrations of the respective selected elements.

So far, only a few stationary point analysis of papyrus documents have been published, mainly due to the novelty of PIXE as an analytical instrument. As an example of an application, the analysis of inks on Egyptian papyrus, performed at the AGLAE laboratory, gave evidence of an early use of metal based ink, replacing carbon inks, as early as 252 BC, i.e. 100 years earlier than previously believed.⁴

³Rouse, I., *American Antiquity*, **25**, 313, 1960; Widemann, F., *Journal of Radio Analytical Chemistry*, **55** no. 2, 271, 1980.

⁴Delange, E., *et.al.*, *Revue d'Egyptologie*, **41**, 213, 1990.

More frequently, however, PIXE has been employed for the analysis of other types of documents. For example, at the University of California (the Davis institute) the Gutenberg bible has been carefully investigated using PIXE point analysis.⁵ A very characteristic composition of the ink was detected, providing information about how the printing was organized. Similar analysis of other documents, where the elemental composition of ink and paper have been determined, have given knowledge about areas of manufacture and printing workshops and also about authenticity.⁶

Preliminary analysis of papyrus documents using the scanning mode have been performed at the Lund Institute of Technology.⁷ The study of these documents had a different objective than the point analysis, namely to reconstruct missing or partly missing characters. These analysis and some obtained results will be discussed in more detail below.

Reconstruction of missing characters

The basic principle when using PIXE for the reconstruction of worn away characters is to use the difference in elemental composition between the ink and the backing material, i.e. papyrus, dirt, etc. Although the ink has disappeared, chemical changes in the papyrus due to the ink once present is likely to remain since the solvent of the ink penetrates into the papyrus. Even if these changes are very small the excellent sensitivity of PIXE should make it possible to trace where there once has been a writing on a papyrus.

A few papyrus documents have so far been analyzed, but only for testing the feasibility of the method. One of these documents is a manuscript written in Greek in the year 199 A.D., see plate 36.⁸ It was sent by Orsenoufis, the head of the clergy at the temple of Bakchias in Egypt, to Zoilos, keeper of public records. Zoilos' title appears at two places in the document but the text has been damaged in both places so that the whole word can not be read at either location. In line 1 the title is most likely βιβλιοφύλακι, the dative form but only βιβλ... can be read. The second title, which appears at the last line but one, is probably the title in the nominative form: βιβλιοφύλαξ. Here, only the characters βιβλιο... can be read. Thus, this document is well suited as a test object in the sense that there are plausible interpretations of the sections of the text that can not be read. The information gained from the analysis can then be used to corroborate or refute these interpretations.

In plate 36, three analyzed areas (A1, A2 and A3) are indicated with dashed frames. Area A1, which covers a section of the text that can be clearly read, were used to find the difference in elemental composition between ink and papyrus. The possibility of discriminating between the ink and the papyrus is indicated by the spectra in plate 34,2. Eight, elements, which are typical for papyrus matter and ink, can be identified (elements below silicon are not detected in this case). The peak corresponding to the element argon (Ar) has its origin from the argon in the surrounding air and is used to normalize the total amount of beam charge for every irradiated pixel.

It should be noted that the low-Z elements, below silicon, are not likely to give any more information since both the papyrus and the ink are based on organic matter. The basic

⁵Kusko, B. H., *et.al.*, *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **B3**, 689, 1984.

⁶Cahill, T. A., *et.al.*, *Anal. Chem.*, **59**, 829, 1987.

⁷Lövestam, N. E. G. and Swietlicki, E., *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **B43**, 104, 1989; Lövestam, N. E. G. and Swietlicki, E., *Nucl. Instr. Meth.*, **B45**, 307, 1990.

⁸Hanell, K., 'Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund, III, Kultische Texte', *Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse 1937-1938* (Berlingska Boktryckeriet, Lund) p. 119, 1938.

constituent of the ink is, in this case, believed to be soot (carbon), scraped from the inside of a furnace and mixed with water. Therefore, the higher-Z elements, such as silicon, sulphur and iron, must be utilized. Unfortunately, as can be seen in plate 34,2, no single element can be used to unambiguously distinguish between ink and papyrus, since all the elements present in the ink are also, more or less, present in the papyrus. However, by taking into account the covariation of the measured elements simultaneously, the pertinent information contained in all the elements can be described in a condensed and comprehensible way. This problem can be described as one of discrimination, i.e. how can the variation in elemental composition best be combined to optimize the discrimination between them. When the best combination has been found the brightness, ranging from black to white, of every irradiated pixel in an unknown area can be set according to how well the elemental composition for that very pixel fits the ink (black) or the papyrus (white) model respectively.

This is a so called multivariate statistical problem and several statistical methods are available but the theory for these are out of the scope of this article and will not be discussed further herein.⁹ However, examples of how different statistical approaches can influence the results are given in plate 37. The upper section in the plate shows a photograph of the analyzed area A1, see also plate 36. The upper-middle section shows the result when plotting the third principle component scores obtained from so called principle component analysis (PC), a commonly used multivariate statistical method. The lower-middle image in the plate is the plot based on the first principle component, again using PC analysis, while the lower image is the result from a so called partial least-squares regression analysis (PLS).¹⁰ Obviously, the PLS model seems to best reconstruct the original text structure and is consequently the model utilized for the further evaluations. The third principle component plot (upper-middle) is interesting in the sense that it shows the top layer fibres of the papyrus. The first principle component (lower-middle) plot shows, again, the structure of the text but only to a lesser degree than the corresponding PLS plot.

If the PLS model calculated for area A1 is applied to, for example, area A3 the result as shown in plate 35,6 is obtained. Again, the upper section of the plate shows a photograph of the analyzed area and the lower the result of the statistical evaluation using PLS. The PLS plot presents an unequivocal picture of the character υ where only scattered traces of the character are visible to the human eye on the papyrus. This υ is most likely a part of the word $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\phi\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\xi$, where the estimated position of the υ on the papyrus coincides with the area scanned by the beam.

Concluding remarks

These and other analysis show that there is a great potential in using the PIXE technique in scanning mode when reconstructing missing characters on papyrus documents. It should, however, be noted that the process is rather time consuming. As an estimation, every traced character (or about square centimetre) takes in whole about one hour to analyze, including irradiation and computer evaluation. Hence, the method is most suitable for the reconstruction of short sections of text or stray single characters.

⁹Morrison, D. F., 'Multivariate Statistical Methods', McGraw-Hill, Singapore, p. 266, 1978.

¹⁰Geladi, P. and Kowalski, B. R., *Anal. Chim. Acta*, **185**, 1, 1985.

COMPUTERS, GRAPHICS, AND PAPYROLOGY

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The spread of affordable, "user friendly," sophisticated personal computers has already affected how scholars in many disciplines work. Because of the extreme difficulty scholars have in reading demotic script, demotic studies have lagged and many basic research tools are lacking. When I reactivated the demotic dictionary project which had come to Chicago from the great German Egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg via Spiegelberg's student William Edgerton and on which my own teachers, George Hughes and Charles Nims, had worked as young scholars, we began by collecting all the vocabulary from texts published between 1955 (the year after Erichsen's *Glossar* was published) and 1979, a 25-year period which saw the publication of major collections of religious, "scientific," and literary texts as well as economic and legal documents. The first Apple Macintosh computer appeared just as we were preparing to write entries and this machine immediately appealed to us because of its graphic orientation. The Macintosh's "what you see is what you get" coordination between screen and printer allowed us to see and control our formatting directly on screen and made it easy to use various diacritics and non-Latin fonts.

Because of the cursive, ligatured nature of the demotic script, our research depends on accurate copies of texts. One of the most important elements of our dictionary would be the facsimiles of the thousands of words which would appear in it. We wanted our copies to depend as much as possible on mechanical reproduction of the form of a word and as little as possible on the human eye and hand. We began to experiment with "scanning" the photographs and electronically "cutting and pasting" the facsimiles into the document holding all the text.

A "scanner" is a piece of computer hardware which works rather like a Xerox machine. A laser beam "takes a picture" of whatever has been put on the screen and stores it in the computer. The picture is recorded as a series of small squares or "pixels" and the "greyness" of each "pixel" is noted. Our machine can read and store 300 pixels to the inch, i.e., 300dpi resolution, and 16 shades of "grey" from pure white to pure black. The stored image can then be studied "on screen" and signs, words, phrases, or sentences can be copied from the scanned image into a word processing or database program. The image or any part thereof can be printed, separately or within a word processing or database program.

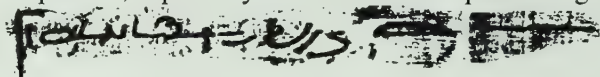


Figure 1: P. 'Onchsheshonqy, 7/14

m-;r h, rr r s, ms p£y-k ntr

Don't neglect to serve your god!

Various software programs allow modification of this image, dramatically increasing our ability to work with the text. The resolution of computer screens is approximately 75dpi, i.e., only 1/4 the resolution of the scanner we are using. Thus, if a scan is displayed on screen at the same size as the original photograph, the screen displays only 1/16 the resolution available. But it is possible to magnify the image, displaying it at anywhere from twice original size (and 1/4 the possible resolution) to 4 or 8 times original size. I have found that the display at 4 times original size, i.e., display at the same resolution as the scanned image, usually provides the best view of the text. Such a display combines the advantages of maximum resolution with magnification, making it possible to read on screen signs, words, or sections of text which are difficult to read on the original photograph. In addition, both the

brightness and the contrast of the image can be changed. This makes it possible to read both darkened, smudged areas and areas where most of the ink has flaked away leaving only very light traces. Scanned images can be combined in order to test suggested placement of fragments; it is possible even to trace fibre lines in the papyrus while doing such restoration. Broken ostraca can be restored and a complete (or more nearly complete) text seen as a whole.

It is also possible to take the "greyscale" image and produce from it both a halftone and a line drawing. When making a halftone, both contrast and brightness can be adjusted. To produce a line drawing from a greyscale image, one selects a "threshold" (one of the 16 levels of grey) at which the machine differentiates between black and white. Everything darker than this appears as black, everything lighter appears white. By adjusting the threshold, maximum resolution of the ink can be obtained. From the same greyscale, then, one can prepare and publish a halftone and a line drawing. The two types highlight different aspects of the original and nicely complement one another.

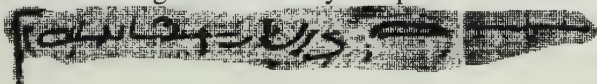


Figure 2: halftone

The scanning programs, and other programs designed for creating and manipulating graphic images, allow one to "clean up" or "restore" an image. For instance, line drawing produced from a greyscale will usually retain some "background noise": fibre lines, holes in the papyrus, palimpsest, stains, or the like. All this background noise can be erased from the line drawing, producing a clean facsimile of as much or as little of the text as is desired. The programs provide not only an "eraser" but also a "pencil," so it would also be possible to fill in damaged or destroyed areas if such were desired.

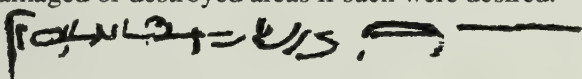


Figure 3: "clean" line drawing

We are preparing the dictionary facsimiles by taking greyscale scans of every text in our corpus which was published in photograph. When a published photograph shows the demotic especially large or especially small, reductions or enlargements are prepared from the greyscale scan. When we lack a photograph, the published hand copy is scanned and so noted. This process maximizes mechanical reproduction while minimizing the need for a good "eye" and skilled drawing "hand." The resulting copies of the words are as close to facsimiles as a photograph of the same resolution. Further, this method means that we will be able to provide copies of the complete dictionary both in standard book format and in electronic format. Scholars will be able to load a copy of the dictionary into their own machines. Users of such "disk copies" will be able to make additions and corrections directly into the text of the dictionary; we hope that this will encourage people to send us their additions and corrections for inclusion in the "master."

A valuable spin-off of the work on the dictionary will be the immense collection of scanned images which can serve as database for numerous future projects. Access to the scanned images, whether over an electronic network or via distribution of CD's containing copies of the scans, can also supplement library research. A scholar without direct access to a given publication could view the scan. In many cases viewing the scanned image would suffice to answer the question the scholar was raising. In other cases, the scholar would at least be able to ascertain whether or not a request for a photograph, or a visit to the appropriate text collection, was likely to produce the desired results. If a data-base of transliterations (and translations) of demotic texts were also compiled (along the lines, perhaps, of the Duke database), publication of and research using demotic texts could move

out of the 19th century and into the 21st. There would, of course, be various conventions which would have to be agreed upon, especially involving transliteration and the placement of diacritics.

It is not only published texts which can form a useful database. Catalogues of museum collections are more and more frequently being prepared on computer. If a scan of every item (whether it is a papyrus, ostrakon, stela, statue, or whatever) is included in the catalogue, then museum staff and other authorized scholars could study the materials as appropriate for content, parallels, joins, etc. To the extent that the catalogue and scans are available to outside scholars for "browsing," it will be possible for people to track down unpublished texts appropriate to the problem or project on which they are working and to plan their research accordingly. It is quite easy to put various levels of security on such a system so that unauthorized users do not have access, so that use of the files is tracked and unauthorized copying identified, and so that users authorized only to "browse" don't make changes to text or image.

Another aspect of the use of computers, and specifically of scans, with which I have just begun acquiring experience is the use of scans in "desk-top publishing," i.e., publishing directly from pages printed on a laser printer controlled by a computer. Not only does such publishing eliminate the cost of typesetting; more importantly, it eliminates the typos which inevitably appear during typesetting and thereby eliminates the need for yet one more round of slow, painstaking proofreading. The use of scans whenever possible for hand copies of short texts produces further advantages: Page layout is much simplified and the cost of printing the books greatly reduced.

Anyone involved in making actual scans must have a good scanner (better ones than ours are now available at "reasonable" prices) and must have a lot of disk space to store the scans. However, people simply using scans prepared by someone else need only an appropriate graphics program. Although we are using Macintosh equipment, all of what I have been talking about today is accessible to IBM and UNIX users, although in a somewhat more cumbersome fashion. One might note that the preparation of the actual scans is time consuming (as is the preparation of any massive database, on computer or otherwise) but that working with prepared scans is relatively quick. It should also be noted that although flat objects could, in theory, be scanned directly from the originals, scanning can not now take the place of a good photograph. The resolution of a high quality photograph is higher than that of most scanners. In addition, a good photographer will illuminate his object using light coming from different angles to highlight ink on a papyrus or on the curving surface of a potsherd or to highlight the carving on a stela or statue; the light from a flat-bed scanner comes from only one direction and can not be controlled by the person doing the scans.

PER UNA SCHEDATURA COMPUTERIZZATA DEI SILLABARI TACHIGRAFICI

Giovanna Menci

Nel quadro di un più ampio lavoro che intendo svolgere (un *corpus* dei papiri tachigrafici di ogni specie), mi si è posto il problema di una schedatura dei papiri tale che consenta di accedere rapidamente ai dati caratteristici di questo tipo di testi, non esclusi gli stessi segni tachigrafici.

Un metodo molto utile si è rivelato a questo scopo l'archiviazione e l'elaborazione elettronica dei dati. Ho voluto sperimentare questa soluzione, applicandola ad un ristretto gruppo di papiri e tavolette, i sillabari tachigrafici (in tutto 19 testi), con il proposito di applicarla successivamente, nel caso si fosse rivelata efficace, a gruppi più numerosi, anche di altro genere di papiri.

A questo scopo ho usato un computer Macintosh, con un programma integrato di testo e grafica, per l'esattezza HyperCard 1.2.5 (versione italiana), che ho adattato alla schedatura dei papiri avvalendomi del linguaggio di programmazione HyperTalk. Presento in questa sede i primi risultati di questo lavoro, tuttora in corso.

Il punto di partenza dell'elaborazione al computer è stata la creazione di una scheda contenente tutti gli elementi utili a descrivere un papiro che restituisca un sillabario tachigrafico. Il risultato di questa prima fase di lavoro è la sezione centrale della scheda, con sfondo chiaro (fig. 1). I rettangoli con scrittura in grassetto, i cosiddetti pulsanti, compaiono identici in tutte le schede di questo stack, cioè di questo pacchetto, a cui ho dato il nome di 'Schedario'. Dopo i dati essenziali dei primi due righi, che identificano il papiro (N° di inventario, sigla e numero, ecc.), si passa ad altri due righi dove sono messi in relazione la scrittura, sul *recto* o sul *verso*, lungo o contro le fibre, il contenuto e la datazione. Seguono altri elementi, riferiti da una parte al papiro dal punto di vista bibliologico, dall'altra alle caratteristiche specifiche del testo dei sillabari.

Gli altri rettangoli, ognuno accanto ad un pulsante, sono i cosiddetti campi, privi di scrittura quando vengono creati e quando compare una nuova scheda da compilare. Per ottenere una nuova scheda con la stessa cornice, il che significa con gli stessi pulsanti e campi ancora vuoti della prima, basta scegliere il comando 'Nuova scheda' dal menu 'Comp' di HyperCard. I campi vengono riempiti dall'utente con un contenuto che naturalmente può variare da scheda a scheda e che consiste nella descrizione degli elementi citati in ogni pulsante. Da notare che il campo relativo al pulsante 'Bibliografia' è del tipo a scorrimento: quindi il testo che vi si inserisce può occupare uno spazio maggiore di quello che appare in figura, ed essere letto avanti o indietro azionando le frecce verticali sulla destra. Inoltre qualsiasi parola o parte di parola inserita nei campi può essere ricercata con il comando 'Trova' del menu 'Vai' di HyperCard.

La seconda fase del lavoro di preparazione di questa scheda corrisponde alla fascia superiore, su fondo scuro, con i pulsanti 'Mostra per ...' e 'Ordina per ...', pulsanti che sono stati programmati in modo tale che l'utente, con un semplice clic del mouse sopra di essi, può ottenere vari tipi di scorrimento e ordinamento delle schede, basati su chiavi diverse; queste chiavi non sono altro che alcuni dei pulsanti già visti, contenuti nella sezione centrale della scheda: la sigla, la provenienza, la data. Ma la programmazione può essere estesa in modo che si possano ordinare e mostrare le schede sulla base di tutti i pulsanti che si vogliono.

Terza fase di lavoro, ovvero la fascia inferiore, su fondo scuro. Qui i pulsanti sono corredati di immagini, le cosiddette icone. I più semplici sono le frecce, a sinistra per passare alla scheda precedente, a destra per passare alla scheda successiva dello stesso stack

‘Schedario’. Gli altri pulsanti, invece, sono stati programmati in modo da estendere la possibilità di consultazione, a partire da questa scheda, verso altri stacks, altri pacchetti di schede di HyperCard o addirittura altri documenti, altri files, creati non in HyperCard, bensì in altre applicazioni, per esempio MS Word; questi nuovi stacks di HyperCard o documenti di Word hanno un loro titolo che ne identifica il contenuto e che compare sul pulsante che serve a richiamarli: un po' come i capitoli di un libro, l'introduzione, le appendici e gli indici.

I pulsanti, dunque, e i ‘capitoli’, per così dire, che vi stanno dietro, trasformano il semplice Schedario in una sorta di libro elettronico, quello che ormai si usa chiamare hypertext, in italiano ipertesto. Un hypertext, per dirla in breve, non è un testo che si sfoglia in modo tradizionale, lineare, bensì un testo in cui i singoli capitoli, paragrafi, le illustrazioni e, in certi casi, le parole possono essere collegati tra loro in modo non solo lineare, ma anche circolare. Basta un semplice clic del mouse sul pulsante voluto per poter immediatamente raggiungere un indice, una trascrizione, una tavola, senza bisogno di passare in rassegna tutte le pagine dalla prima all'ultima. Per motivi di spazio, sono costretta a presentare soltanto alcuni esempi di questi documenti in Word e stacks di HyperCard (figg. 2-4).

I primi tre pulsanti, ‘Abbreviazioni’, ‘Guida’, ‘Itinerari’, e i relativi documenti e stacks che aprono con un clic del mouse, hanno lo scopo di facilitare l'uso delle schede e dell'ipertesto. Per esempio, se si fa clic con il mouse sul pulsante ‘Itinerari’ di una qualunque scheda dello stack ‘Schedario’ (fig. 1), appare la prima scheda dello stack ‘Itinerari’ (fig. 2), che mostra i vari percorsi di lettura e i collegamenti fra le varie parti dell'ipertesto. Da questa scheda si può scegliere un percorso di lettura lineare, oppure aprire uno qualunque dei documenti o stacks individuati dai pulsanti. Il pulsante ‘Guida’, per esempio, apre l'omonimo stack, che contiene informazioni dettagliate per usare l'ipertesto; questo stack è raggiungibile da ogni altro stack e riporta nella fascia inferiore delle sue schede tutti i pulsanti per raggiungere gli altri stacks e documenti: di qui la circolarità di consultazione cui prima accennavo.

Anche gli altri pulsanti rappresentano un ampliamento dello Schedario in ipertesto. A parte il pulsante che ha lo stesso nome dello stack, ‘Schedario’, che riporta semplicemente alla prima scheda dello stack, gli altri conducono ai rispettivi documenti e stacks. I pulsanti ‘Commento’, ‘Testi’ e ‘Griglia’, aprono automaticamente i tre corrispondenti documenti, realizzati in Word 4. E questo è un grande vantaggio; chi conosce Word potrà capirlo immediatamente. Per chi non lo conosce dirò soltanto che questa applicazione ha una grande versatilità di prestazioni editoriali. Quindi in questo ipertesto è possibile, per esempio, incominciare la lettura partendo dallo Schedario o da qualsiasi stack, poi passare a leggere, scrivere, modificare e stampare un testo scritto in Word (per esempio, nel documento ‘Testi’, la trascrizione di un papiro), e infine ritornare direttamente allo Schedario o a qualsiasi altro stack. Basta infatti chiudere la finestra di Word in cui si sta lavorando e uscire dall'applicazione per ritornare automaticamente, senza nessun'altra manovra, alla scheda dell'ipertesto da cui eravamo partiti.

Facendo clic sul pulsante ‘Commento’, si può accedere ad un testo scritto in Word, che contiene un'analisi delle caratteristiche dei sillabari tachigrafici. Il pulsante ‘Griglia’ permette di consultare una tabella, ancora in fase di elaborazione, che mostrerà come i segni corrispondenti a vocali/dittonghi + consonanti (disposti, per così dire, in ‘ordinata’) si modificano se preceduti da altre consonanti (disposte in ‘ascissa’). Mi auguro che questa griglia, quando sarà completata, possa costituire un valido aiuto per interpretare i testi tachigrafici ancora irrisolti: in essa infatti i segni non sono in ordine alfabetico di sillaba equivalente, bensì in ordine, per così dire, grafico-logico, dai segni più semplici ai più complessi.

Per quanto riguarda invece l'Indice alfabetico dei segni, per ora ne ho realizzata solo una parte; questo documento è in Word e si può raggiungere attraverso il pulsante ‘Indici’. La fig. 3 ne mostra le prime voci; i segni sono stati creati manualmente, grazie ai cosiddetti ‘Strumenti’ di disegno di HyperCard; ma, avendo a disposizione un sistema di acquisizione di immagini, è


possibile trasferire i segni direttamente in video, 'estraendoli' dal papiro, da una fotografia o da un lucido. La fig. 4 mostra invece l'Indice dei papiri contenenti sillabari tachigrafici, disposti in ordine cronologico.

Il pulsante 'Tavole' apre uno stack per ora vuoto: corredato anch'esso di tutti i pulsanti in grado di aprire gli altri stacks e documenti, sarà in funzione non appena sarà stato messo a punto un sistema di acquisizione computerizzata di immagini (in corso di sperimentazione presso l'Istituto Papirologico 'Vitelli' da parte di ricercatori dell'Istituto Nazionale di Ottica di Firenze). Si potrà così accedere con un clic del mouse alle tavole dei papiri, un archivio di immagini ad alta risoluzione.

Infine una parola sulle crocette nere che compaiono accanto ad alcuni pulsanti della sezione centrale della scheda dello stack 'Schedario' (fig. 1). Anche queste crocette sono pulsanti, ma non ancora attivati; appena lo saranno, consentiranno un collegamento con quelle parti del 'Commento' che trattano gli argomenti nominati nei pulsanti contigui. Per maggiore chiarezza userò l'analogia con le parti di un libro tradizionale: mentre i pulsanti con icone della fascia inferiore aprono, per così dire, la prima pagina dell'introduzione, dei capitoli, dell'appendice e degli indici, il pulsante crocetta condurrà direttamente al singolo paragrafo che tratta l'argomento specificato dal pulsante, visto in relazione a tutto l'insieme delle testimonianze. Il riferimento, dunque, sarà ancora più rapido e dettagliato.

Naturalmente ciò che si legge sul video può essere stampato: non solo i testi scritti in Word, ma anche le schede dei vari stacks, nelle loro dimensioni reali, oppure ridotte in vario grado. E' noto che in HyperCard esiste la possibilità di non stampare i pulsanti, ma solo il testo contenuto nei campi delle schede, cioè le parti che variano da scheda a scheda; e si possono stampare in vari formati, sia come righe normali di testo, sia come colonne, una per ogni campo selezionato, comune a tutte le schede, in modo da creare un vero e proprio catalogo su più colonne.

Per concludere, vorrei sottolineare l'estrema varietà e versatilità degli schedari che si possono creare in HyperCard, meglio ancora se ampliati e potenziati in ipertesto, facendo uso, come io ho cercato di fare, del linguaggio di programmazione HyperTalk. Chiunque può crearsi - o farsi creare da un programmatore - uno schedario elettronico adatto alle proprie esigenze di studio o di catalogazione dei papiri, scegliendo i campi e i pulsanti che vuole, fra le infinite combinazioni che HyperCard e HyperTalk offrono. Il risultato sarà uno strumento di consultazione e ricerca facilmente aggiornabile e immediatamente accessibile in ogni sua parte. Mi sembra, infine, che questo tipo di realizzazione sia particolarmente vantaggioso nel caso dello studio di papiri che richiedano per la loro trascrizione e per la schedatura l'associazione di testo e grafica, non solo dunque papiri tachigrafici, ma anche tutti quelli che contengono simboli di ogni genere.

Arch Comp Vai Strumenti Disegno Opzioni Sfondi 

Mostra per... Ordina per...

Inv. N°	50 r	Sigla N° / Ed.	Wessely, DKAWW, n° 2	Scheda N°	7
Pack 2	2753	Tau.	II a	Prov.	Hermupolis M

* Lungo fibre	Contro fibre	Scrittura	Contenuto	Data
R/U R		corsiva	Sillabario	V
R/U V		corsiva	Petizione	V?

Materiale tavoletta	Luogo di cons.	Wien, Oesterr. Nationalbibl.
* Forma	Sillabe x	Tipo di sill. voc./ditt + cons.
N° frammenti	* Segni x	Tipo di segni voc./ditt + cons.
Dimensioni max	Altro	

* Direzione dei righi	vertic.	Bibliografia
N° max colonne	3	C. Wessely, Ein System altgriechischer Tachygraphie, DKAWW, philos. - hist. Cl., XLIV, Abhandl. IV, 1895
N° max righe per col.	11	









							
Abbreviazioni	Guida	Itinerari	Schedario	Commento	Griglia	Tavole	Indici

Fig. 1 La prima scheda dello stack 'Schedario'. Facendo clic con il mouse su uno dei pulsanti della fascia inferiore ci si può collegare con altri stacks di HyperCard o con altri documenti in MS Word.

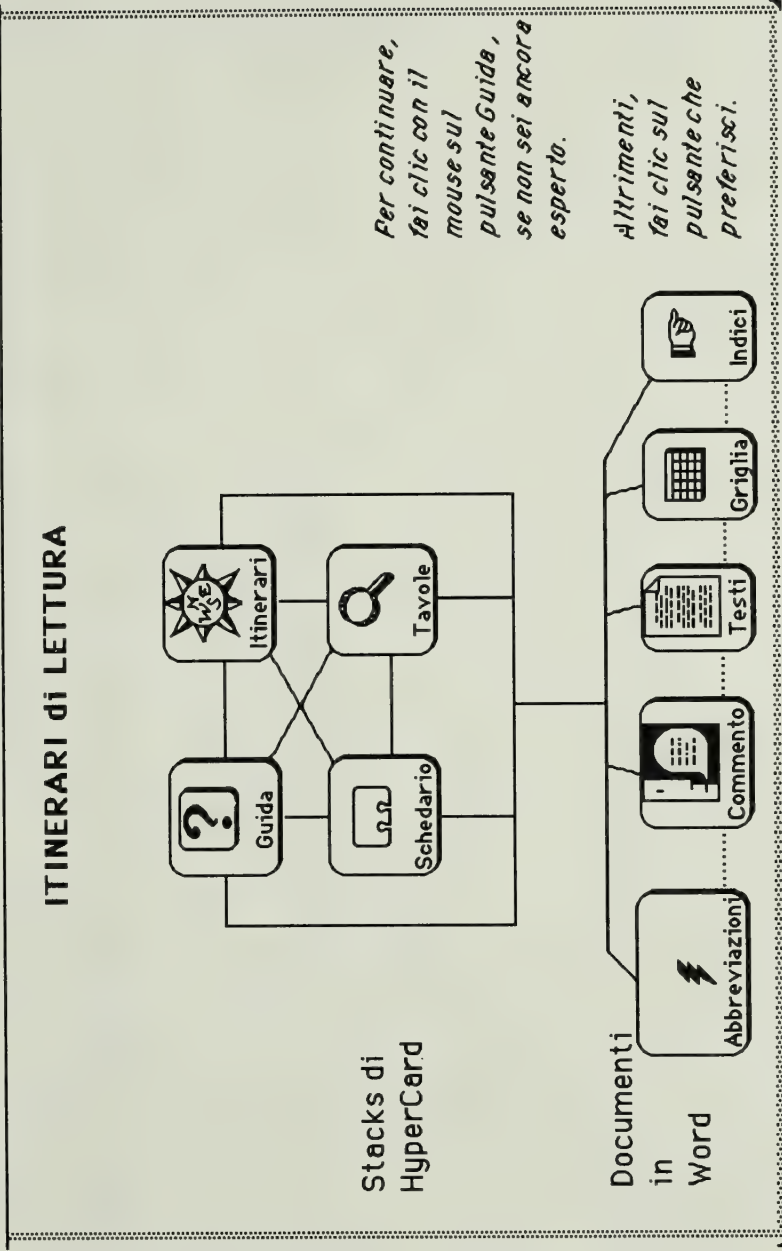


Fig. 2 Un esempio: fatto clic sul pulsante 'Itinerari' dello stack 'Schedario' (o di qualsiasi altro stack), si apre lo stack 'Itinerari', che mostra i vari percorsi di lettura e i collegamenti tra le varie parti dell'ipertesto.

INDICE DEI PAPIRI
(Sillabari tachigrafici)

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3. H.J.M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals, Syllabary and Commentary*, London 1934, pp. 7-9, 15-18, 69-70 (P.Ant. 1; Pack2 2761; III/IV).
4. Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 7, 9, 13-14 (P.Ant. 6; Pack2 2754; IV/V).
5. L. Papini, *SIFC* 43 (1971), pp. 169-172, n° 11 (PSI Inv. 2014; V).
6. G. Zlateo, *Aegyptus* 20 (1940), pp. 5-6, n° 2 (PSI Inv. 281; Pack2 2779; V).
7. C. Wessely, 'Ein System altgriechischer Tachygraphie', in *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-histor. Classe, Band XLIV, Abhandl. IV, 1895, n° 2* (Rainer Inv. 50 r; Pack2 2753; V).
8. Idem, *ibidem*, n° 3 (Rainer Inv. 46+48 r; Pack2 2753; V?).
9. " " n° 6 (Rainer Inv. 46-48 v; " ").
10. " " n° 5 (Rainer Inv. 49 r; " ").
11. " " n° 8 (Rainer Inv. 49 v; " ").
12. " " n° 4 (Rainer Inv. 47 r; " ").
13. " " n° 7 (Rainer Inv. 47 v; " ").
14. " " n° 10 (Pack2 2753).
15. G. Zlateo, *Aegyptus* 20 (1940), pp. 3-4, n° 1 (PSI Inv. 116; Pack2 2778; V).
16. C. Wessely, 'Ein System altgriechischer Tachygraphie', in *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-histor. Classe, Band XLIV, Abhandl. IV, 1895, n° 1* (Pack2 2753; V-VI).
17. A. Mentz, 'Die hellenistische Tachygraphie', *Archiv* 8 (1927), pp. 34-59 (P.Hal.; Pack2 2773).
18. Idem, *ibidem* (P.Hal.; Pack2 2774).
19. Idem, *ibidem* (P.Berol. 5464; Pack2 2775; tardo-biz.).

Fig. 4 Facendo clic sul pulsante 'Indice dei papiri', si raggiunge automaticamente l'omonimo documento scritto in Word 4. Anche da qui si può tornare alla scheda da cui si è partiti o aprire un altro documento Word.

THE NEW COMPACT DISK OF DOCUMENTARY POPYRI

William H. Willis, Duke University

At our last congress in Cairo I reported to you the publication in 1988 of Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM 2, the first compact disk to contain the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Popyri, which then comprised 275 volumes of documentary texts in Greek and Latin. Since then PHI CD ROM 6 was released in July 1991 containing, along with several thousand Greek inscriptions, the Duke Data Bank as it stood on 5 April 1991. CD ROM 6 holds 32,440 Greek and Latin documents from 375 volumes totaling 3.5 million words published in the years 1914 to 1990. Moreover, one hundred fifty more of the volumes previously entered had been proofread at the University of Michigan and corrected at Duke.

Meantime, programming experts of the Packard Humanities Institute had improved the search programs indigenous to Ibycus System computers so that a complete search of 375 volumes runs in about half the time required for searching the 275 volumes on CD ROM 2, and the results are more accurate. To accommodate these new programs our staff at Duke revised certain encoding of almost every text in the data bank. The result is to give you more information about the date and publication history of each document.

If you haven't already received your CD ROM 6, you may acquire it by writing directly to the Packard Humanities Institute, Box 1330, Los Altos, California 94022, to request a license agreement form. You will be sent the new CD as soon as you return this form with the current modest license fee. You may request also a leaflet listing suppliers of software providing modes of accessing the CD *via* other kinds of computers than Ibycus. As most of you know, the Ibycus is no longer manufactured because some of its essential components have ceased to be made by American, European or Japanese sources.

The Ibycus, if you are lucky enough to have access to one, is still the most rapid and responsive means of using both the TLG and PHI CDs. It is possible, however, to access the CDs from IBM and Macintosh machines. For IBM and its clone computers, access is provided by the L-base program. Even better, although slower and more labor-demanding than Ibycus, is the recently issued Pandora 2.5 program for Macintosh PCs. Like Ibycus it too displays the date and provenience (though not yet the publication history) of each document cited during a search. If you use a Macintosh but do not yet have Pandora 2.5, you may get it from Scholars Press Software, Box 15288, Atlanta, Georgia 30333, U.S.A. Ibycus users will want to obtain the newest CDU program diskette from the Packard Humanities Institute, which translates our Beta-format codes for numerical fractions into conventional fractions on your screen.

Whatever system you may use, you will observe that the texts in the Data Bank give you a fully expanded Greek or Latin text of all the documents we have recorded. Where earlier editors printed unresolved suspensions, abbreviations, symbols and words without accents (as for example in the enormous texts of *P.Lond. IV*), we have of necessity recast them into their full Greek equivalents because the computer cannot search the texts unless their language is conventionally expanded. We hope that this bonus will make our texts more comprehensible to our non-papyrological colleagues in ancient history and other fields. In this enterprise we are especially indebted to Dr Louise Smith and Miss Cathy Rine, who enter and correct the most difficult texts, and to our chief proofreader at the University of Michigan, Dr Peter van Minnen. His expert attention has proved indispensable in improving the accuracy of our data entry.

For the first six years the Data Bank project was supported by grants from the Lucile and David Packard Foundation in California, along with support by Duke University. Now John Oates and I do our work under contract with the Packard Humanities Institute, which alone

records and issues the CD ROMs and holds their copyright. In the year-and-a-half since publication of CD ROM 6 we have added 40 more volumes, extending our coverage from 1990 to 1992 and from 1914 back to 1907, including a number of the very large early volumes requiring extensive expansion. This raises our total to 413 of the present 438 volumes, from 86 per cent on CD ROM 6 to 94 per cent, for a current total of 4.1 million words in 37,000 texts. The forty additional volumes are available from us on magnetic tape at merely the cost of tape and postage. The table below attests the current total input. These volumes will of course be included on a future PHI CD ROM when by the time of our next congress we expect we shall have entered the remaining twenty-five volumes plus all new volumes that will have appeared.*

As soon as all volumes have been entered and corrected, we hope to turn our attention to refinements of the Data Bank, chief among which will be keying entries from the *Berichtigungsliste* to the original texts. We shall welcome your advice on how best to accomplish this task-- and indeed any other improvements you may recommend to us.

Finally I would call to your attention that at the end of CD ROM 6 you will find an introductory account of the Data Bank, a section called Advice to Users explaining our entry codes, and a complete updated electronic Edition B of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Documentary Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. A new expanded and corrected printed Fourth Edition of the *Checklist* is now in the final stage of preparation and should be published by Scholars Press before the end of this year.

We especially thank those of you who have sent us so promptly a copy of your own new volumes of papyri. Your texts are entered immediately at the head of the line.

* Since the date of this report to the XX Congress, the Data Bank team has entered 27 more volumes for a total of 67 in addition to those recorded on PHI CD ROM 6. Of these, seventeen are older volumes back to 1900: BGU 3, P.Amh. 2, P.Cair.Goodspeed, P. and O.Fay., P.Gen. 1, P.Hib. 1, P.Kar.Goodspeed, P.Lond. 3, P.Rein. 1, Stud.Pal. 1-5, Chr.Mitt. and Chr.Wilck. Ten are recent volumes: P.Aust. 1, P.Brook., P.Col.Teeter, P.Oxy. 59, PSI Congr.XX, O.BuNjem, O.Claud. 1, O.Douch 3, C.Epist.Lat. and C.Jud.Syr.Eg. Of the 456 existing volumes the Data Bank now contains 440 (96%), for a total of 4.4 million words in 41000 texts.

The fourth edition of the *Checklist* was published in December 1992.

VOLUMES OF PAPHYRI ENTERED IN PHASE I (published 1966-1991)
(Asterisked volumes have been proofread and corrected.)

*BGU 10	*P.Genova 2	*P.Mil.Vogl. 4	*P.Tebt. 4
*BGU 11	*P.Genova 3	*P.Mil.Vogl. 6	*P.Tebt.Tait
*BGU 12	*P.Hamb. 3	*P.Mil.Vogl. 7	*P.Tebt.Wall
*BGU 13	*P.Harr. 2	*P.Münch. 1	*P.Theon.
*BGU 14	*P.Haun. 2	*P.Münch. 3.1	*P.Thmouis 1
*BGU 15	*P.Haun. 3	*P.Nag Hamm.	*P.Tor.Amen.
*CPR 5	*P.Heid. 4	*P.Neph.	*P.Turner
*CPR 6	*P.Heid. 5	*P.NYU 1	*P.Ups.Frid
*CPR 7	*P.Hels. 1	*P.Oxy. 33	*P.Vat.Aphrod.
*CPR 8	*P.Herm.Landl.	*P.Oxy. 34	*P.Vind.Sal.
*CPR 9	*P.Hombert	*P.Oxy. 36	*P.Vind.Tand.
*CPR 10	*P.IFAO 1	*P.Oxy. 38	*P.Vind.Worp
*CPR 13	*P.IFAO 2	*P.Oxy. 40	*P.Wash.Univ. 1
*CPR 14	*P.IFAO 3	*P.Oxy. 41	*P.Wash.Univ. 2
*CPR 15	*P.Ital. 2	*P.Oxy. 42	*P.Wisc. 1

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| *CPR 17A | *P.Köln 1 | *P.Oxy. 43 | *P.Wisc. 2 |
| *CPR 17B | *P.Köln 2 | *P.Oxy. 44 | *P.Yale 1 |
| *CPR 18 | *P.Köln 3 | *P.Oxy. 45 | *P.Zen.Pestm. |
| *P.Alex.Giss. | *P.Köln 4 | *P.Oxy. 46 | *O.Amst. |
| *P.Amst. 1 | *P.Köln 5 | *P.Oxy. 47 | *O.Ashm.Shelt. |
| *P.Anag. | *P.Köln 6 | *P.Oxy. 48 | *O.BruX. |
| *P.Ant. 3 | *P.Köln 7 | *P.Oxy. 49 | *O.Cair. |
| *P.Ashm. 1 | *P.Kron. | *P.Oxy. 50 | *O.Douch 1 |
| *P.Babatha | *P.Laur. 1 | *P.Oxy. 51 | *O.Douch 2 |
| *P.Batav. | *P.Laur. 2 | *P.Oxy. 52 | *O.Elkab |
| *P.Berl.Bork. | *P.Laur. 3 | *P.Oxy. 54 | *O.Florida |
| *P.Berl.Brash. | *P.Laur. 4 | *P.Oxy. 55 | *O.Leid. |
| *P.Berl.Leihg. 2 | *P.Leeds Mus. | *P.Oxy. 56 | *O.Lund |
| *P.BruX. 1 | *P.Leid.Inst. | *P.Oxy. 57 | *O.Masada |
| *P.Bub. 1 | *P.Lond. 7 | *P.Oxy. 58 | *O.Medin.Madi |
| *P.Cair.Mich. | *P.Masada | *P.Oxy.Hels. | *O.Mich. 4 |
| *P.Charite | *P.Matr. | *P.Panop. | *O.Oasis |
| *P.Col. 7 | *P.Mert. 3 | *P.Petaus | *O.Ont.Mus. 1 |
| *P.Col. 8 | *P.Mich. 9 | *P.Prag. 1 | *O.Ont.Mus. 2 |
| *P.Coll.Youtie 1 | *P.Mich. 10 | *P.Petr. ² 1 | *O.Tebt.Pad. |
| *P.Coll.Youtie 2 | *P.Mich. 11 | *P.Princ.Roll ed.2 | *T.Varie |
| *P.Congr.XV | *P.Mich. 12 | *P.Quseir | *T.Vindol. |
| *P.Customs | *P.Mich. 13 | *P.Rain.Cent. | *SB 8 |
| *P.David | *P.Mich. 14 | *P.Sakaon | *SB 10 |
| *P.Diog. | *P.Mich. 15 | *PSI Congr.XVII | *SB 12 |
| *P.Dion. | *P.Mich.Mchl | *PSI Corr. 1 | *SB 14 |
| *P.Erasm. 1 | *P.Mil. 1 | *P.Soter. | *SB 16 |
| *P.Erasm. 2 | *P.Mil. 2 | *P.Stras. 5 | *C.Pap.Gr. 1 |
| *P.Freer | *P.Mil.Cong.XIV | *P.Stras. 6 | *C.Pap.Gr. 2.1 |
| *P.Freib. 4 | *P.Mil.Cong.XVII | *P.Stras. 7 | *Pap.Agon. |
| *P.Gen. 2 | *P.Mil.Cong.XVIII | *P.Stras. 8 | *Pap.Biling. |
| *P.Genova 1 | *P.Mil.Cong.XIX | *P.Stras. 9 | |

VOLUMES OF POPYRI ENTERED IN PHASE II (published 1924-1966)

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| *BGU 7 | *P.Enteux. | *P.Mich. 4.2 | *PSI 9 |
| *BGU 8 | *P.Erl. | *P.Mich. 5 | *PSI 10 |
| *BGU 9 | *P.Fam.Tebt. | *P.Mich. 6 | *PSI 12 |
| *P.Aberd. | *P.Fouad | P.Mich. 7 | *PSI 13 |
| *P.Abinn. | *P.Freib. 3 | *P.Mich. 8 | *PSI 14 |
| *P.Achm. | *P.Fuad Univ. | *P.Michael. | *PSI 15 |
| *P.Adl. | *P.Giss.Univ. 1 | *P.Mil.Vogl. 1 | *PSI Congr.XI |
| *P.Alex. | *P.Giss.Univ. 3 | *P.Mil.Vogl. 2 | *P.Sarap. |
| *P.Ant. 1 | *P.Giss.Univ. 6 | *P.Mil.Vogl. 3 | *P.Select. |
| *P.Ant. 2 | *P.Got. | *P.Mur. 2 | *P.Sorb. 1 |
| *P.Apoll. | *P.Gron. | *P.Ness. 3 | *P.Stras. 3 |
| *P.Athen. | *P.Hamb. 1 | *P.Oslo 2 | *P.Stras. 4 |
| *P.Bacch. | *P.Hamb. 2 | *P.Oslo 3 | *P.Tebt. 3.1 |
| *P.Bad. 4 | *P.Harr. 1 | *P.Oxf. | *P.Tebt. 3.2 |
| *P.Bad. 6 | *P.Haun. 1 | *P.Oxy. 16 | *P.Vars. |
| *P.Bal. 2 | *P.Heid. 2 | *P.Oxy. 17 | *P.Vind.Bosw. |
| *P.Berl.Frisk | *P.Heid. 3 | *P.Oxy. 18 | *P.Vind.Sijp. |
| *P.Berl.Leihg. 1 | *P.Herm. | *P.Oxy. 19 | *P.Warr. |
| *P.Berl.Möller | *P.Hib. 2 | *P.Oxy. 20 | *P.Würzb. |
| *P.Berl.Thun. | *P.Iand. 6 | *P.Oxy. 22 | *UPZ 1 |
| *P.Berl.Zill. | *P.Iand. 7 | *P.Oxy. 24 | *UPZ 2 |
| *P.Bon. | *P.Iand. 8 | *P.Oxy. 27 | O.Ashm. |

*P.Bour.	*P.Iand.inv.653	*P.Oxy. 31	O.Bodl. 1
*P.Brem.	P.Ital. 1	*P.Panop.Beatty	O.Bodl. 2
*P.Cair.Isid.	*P.Jena	*P.Phil.	O.Buch.
*P.Cair.Zen. 1	*P.Kroll	*P.Prag.Varcl 1	O.Camb.
*P.Cair.Zen. 2	*P.Leit.	*P.Prag.Varcl 2	*O.Edfou 1
*P.Cair.Zen. 3	*P.Lille 1	*P.Prag.Varcl NS	*O.Edfou 2
*P.Cair.Zen. 4	*P.Lond. 6	*P.Princ. 1	*O.Edfou 3
*P.Cair.Zen. 5	*P.Lund 2	*P.Princ. 2	*O.Mich. 1
*P.Col. 1	*P.Lund 3	*P.Princ. 3	*O.Mich. 2
*P.Col. 2	*P.Lund 4	*P.Rein. 2	*O.Mich. 3
*P.Col. 3	*P.Lund 6	*P.Rev. ed.2	O.Minor
*P.Col. 4	*P.Marm.	*P.Ross.Georg. 2	O.Oslo
*P.Col. 5	*P.Mert. 1	*P.Ross.Georg. 3	O.Petr.
*P.Col. 6	*P.Mert. 2	*P.Ross.Georg. 4	O.Wilb.
*P.Corn.	*P.Mich. 1	*P.Ross.Georg. 5	T.Alb.
P.Dura	*P.Mich. 2	*P.Ryl. 4	*SB 3
*P.Edfou 1	*P.Mich. 3	*PSI 7	*SB 4
*P.Edfou 2	*P.Mich. 4.1	*PSI 8	*SB 5
*P.Edfou 3			*SB 6

VOLUMES OF PAPYRI ENTERED IN PHASE III (published 1897-1923)

BGU 4	P.Giss.	*P.Oxy. 8	Stud.Pal. 8
*BGU 5	*P.Grad.	*P.Oxy. 9	Stud.Pal. 10
*BGU 6	*P.Gur.	*P.Oxy. 10	*Stud.Pal. 13
*P.Bad. 2	*P.Hal.	*P.Oxy. 12	*Stud.Pal. 14
*P.Bas.	*P.Iand. 2	*P.Oxy. 14	*Stud.Pal. 17
*P.Cair.Masp. 1	*P.Iand. 3	P.Ryl. 2	*Stud.Pal. 20
P.Cair.Masp. 2	*P.Iand. 4	PSI 1	*Stud.Pal. 22
*P.Cair.Masp. 3	P.Lond. 4	PSI 3	O.Berl.
*P.Cair.Preis.	*P.Lond. 5	PSI 4	O.Deiss.
*P.Eleph.	P.Meyer	*PSI 5	O.Erem.
P.Flor. 1	*P.Oxy. 1	PSI 6	O.Joach.
P.Flor. 2	*P.Oxy. 2	P.Stras. 1	O.Sarga
*P.Flor. 3	*P.Oxy. 3	P.Stras. 2	O.Stras.
*P.Frankf.	*P.Oxy. 4	P.Tebt. 1	O.Tebt.
*P.Freib. 1	*P.Oxy. 6	P.Tebt. 2	O.Theb.
*P.Freib. 2	*P.Oxy. 7	Stud.Pal. 7	*SB 1

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- Plate 20,2 P.Berol. inv. 21302 (Brashear, photo Margarete Büsing)
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- Plate 22 P.Berol. inv. 21309 (Brashear, photo Margarete Büsing)
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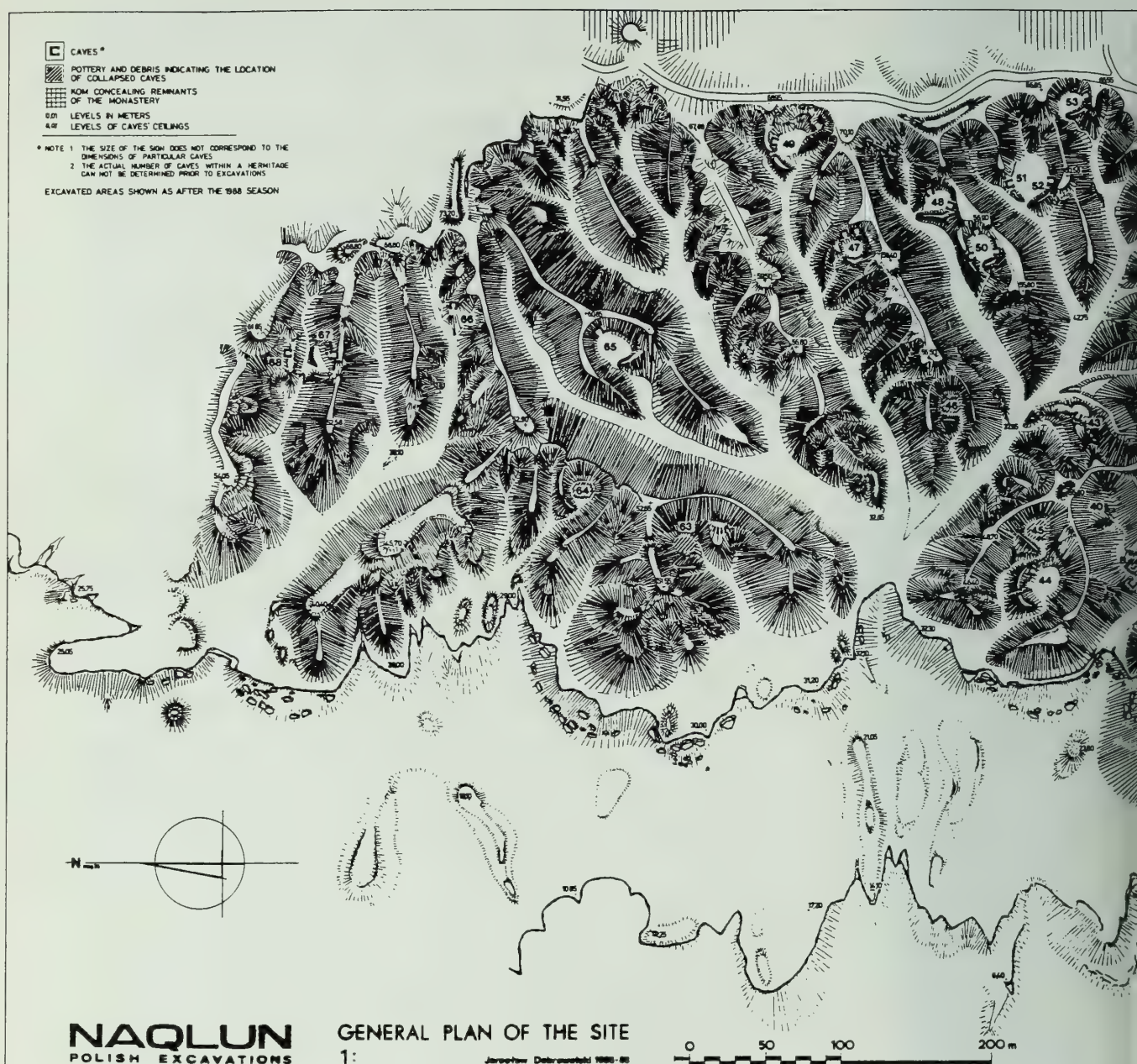
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Plate 37. Photograph of the analyzed area A1 (upper), the plot based on the third principle component (upper-middle) using principle component analysis, the plot based on the first principle component (lower-middle) and the plot based on a partial least-squares regression model (lower). The dashed frame in the photograph indicates the analyzed area. The two lower figures show the original text to various degrees and the upper-middle mainly the texture of the papyrus. (Lövestamm).

Plate 35,6. Photograph of area A3 (upper) and plot based on a partial least-squares regression analysis model (lower) for this area. The dashed frame in the photograph indicates the analyzed area. Notice that the character υ is clearly visible in this plot, whereas only fragments of the character can be seen in the photograph. (Lövestamm).

- C CAVES*
- POTTERY AND DEBRIS INDICATING THE LOCATION OF COLLAPSED CAVES
- ROM CONCEALING REMNANTS OF THE MONASTERY
- 0.01 LEVELS IN METERS
- 4.07 LEVELS OF CAVES' CEILINGS

* NOTE 1 THE SIZE OF THE SIGN DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE DIMENSIONS OF PARTICULAR CAVES
 2 THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF CAVES WITHIN A HERMITAGE CAN NOT BE DETERMINED PRIOR TO EXCAVATIONS
 EXCAVATED AREAS SHOWN AS AFTER THE 1988 SEASON



NAQLUN
 POLISH EXCAVATIONS

GENERAL PLAN OF THE SITE
 1:
 Jarosław Dobrowolski 1989-90

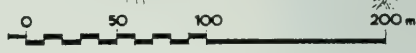




PLATE 2



NAQLUN

25

89

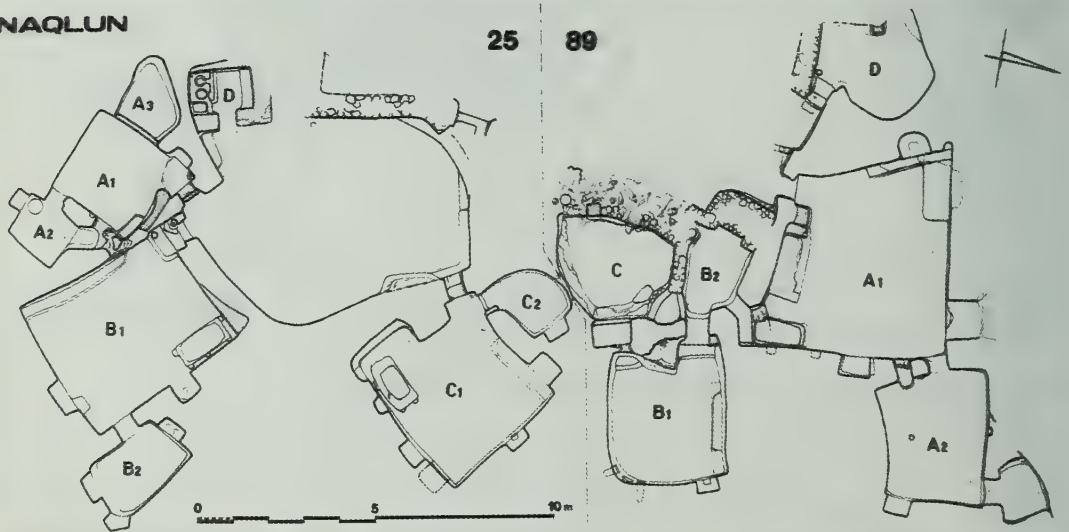




PLATE 4

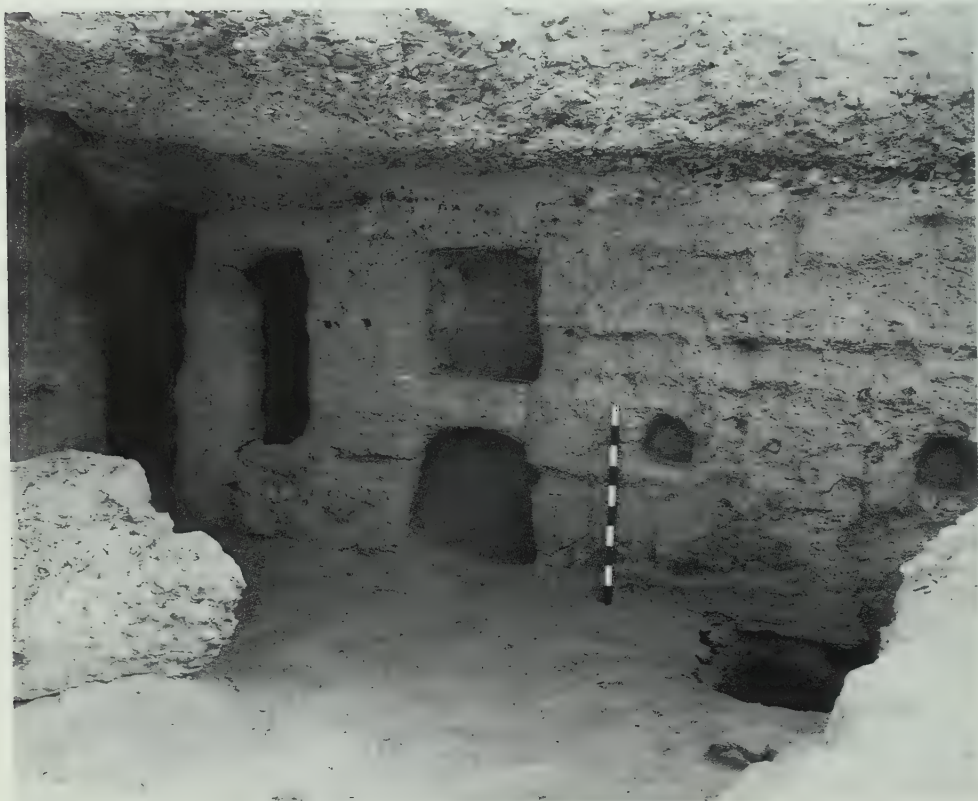




PLATE 6



N64/90





PLATE 8





PLATE 10



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8
9
10

1. ΝΙΟΝΗΡΙΑ
2. ΝΕΛΥΝ
3. ΤΡΑΟΛΕ
4. ΓΕΡΑΥΤΕΟΝ
5. ΜΑΖΙΜΟC
6. ΚΑΠΩΝΗ
7. ΑΡΤΙΟΧΡΗ
8. ΤΡΑΙΤΑΚΗ
9. ΔΡΗΕ
10. ΕΡΜΙΔΕ
11. ΒΕΚΙΟ
12. ΧΑΡΙΚΟC
13. ΑΡΤΟΙC

PLATE 12

16
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2

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines, sloping downwards from left to right. The ink is dark and the paper appears aged and slightly textured.

16
15
14
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12
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2

Handwritten text on a dark, irregularly shaped fragment of paper or parchment. The text is written in a cursive script, similar to the one in the top image, but is significantly darker and less legible due to the low contrast and the dark background of the fragment.

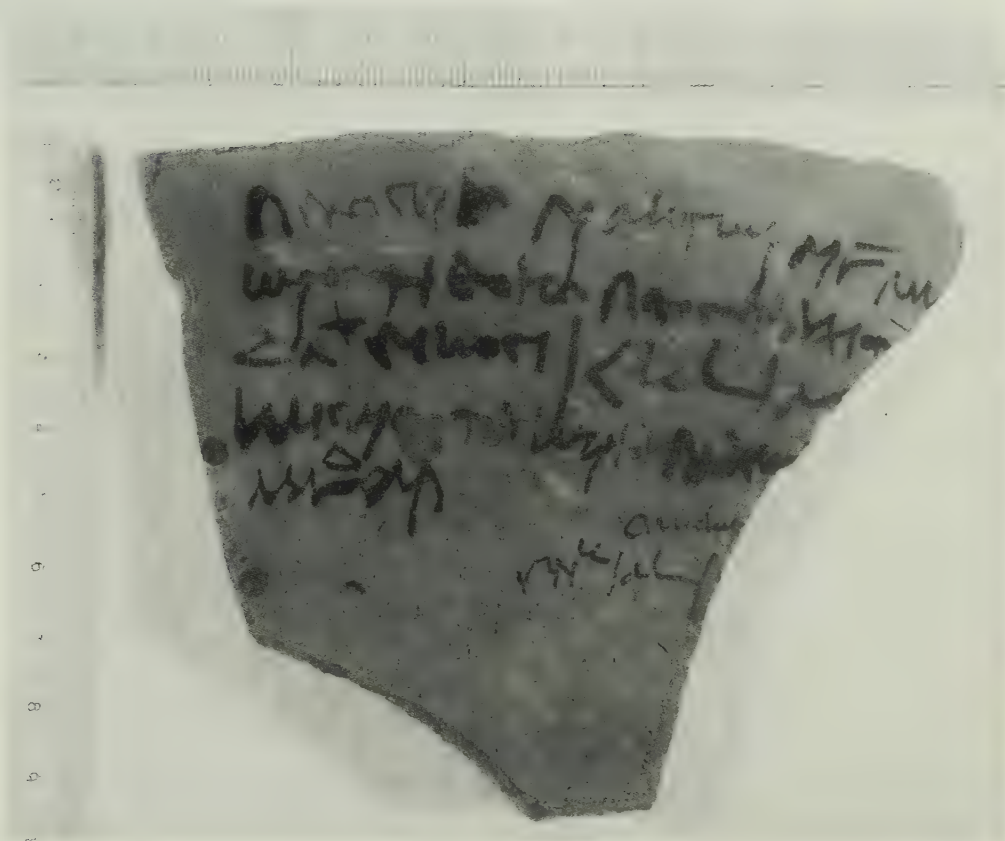
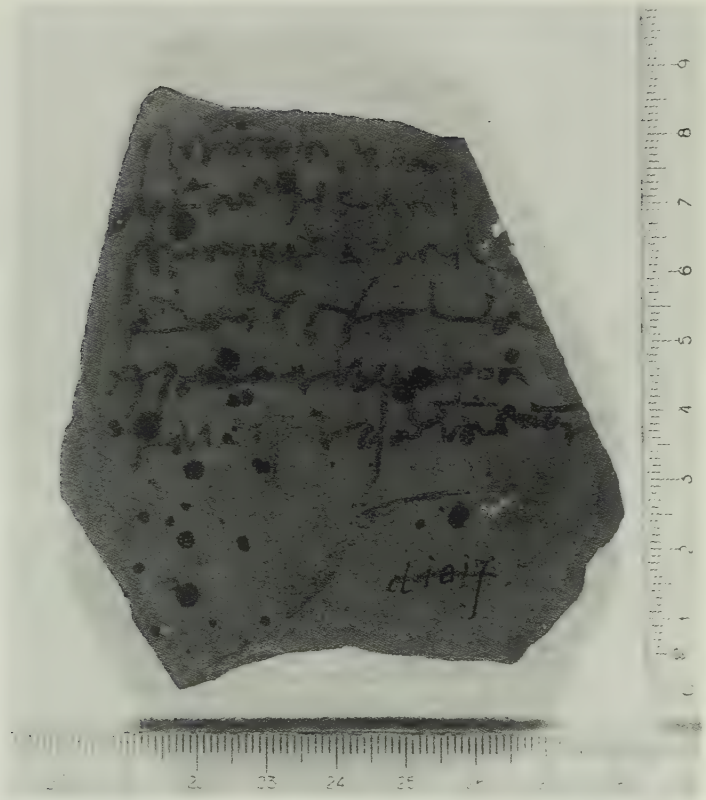
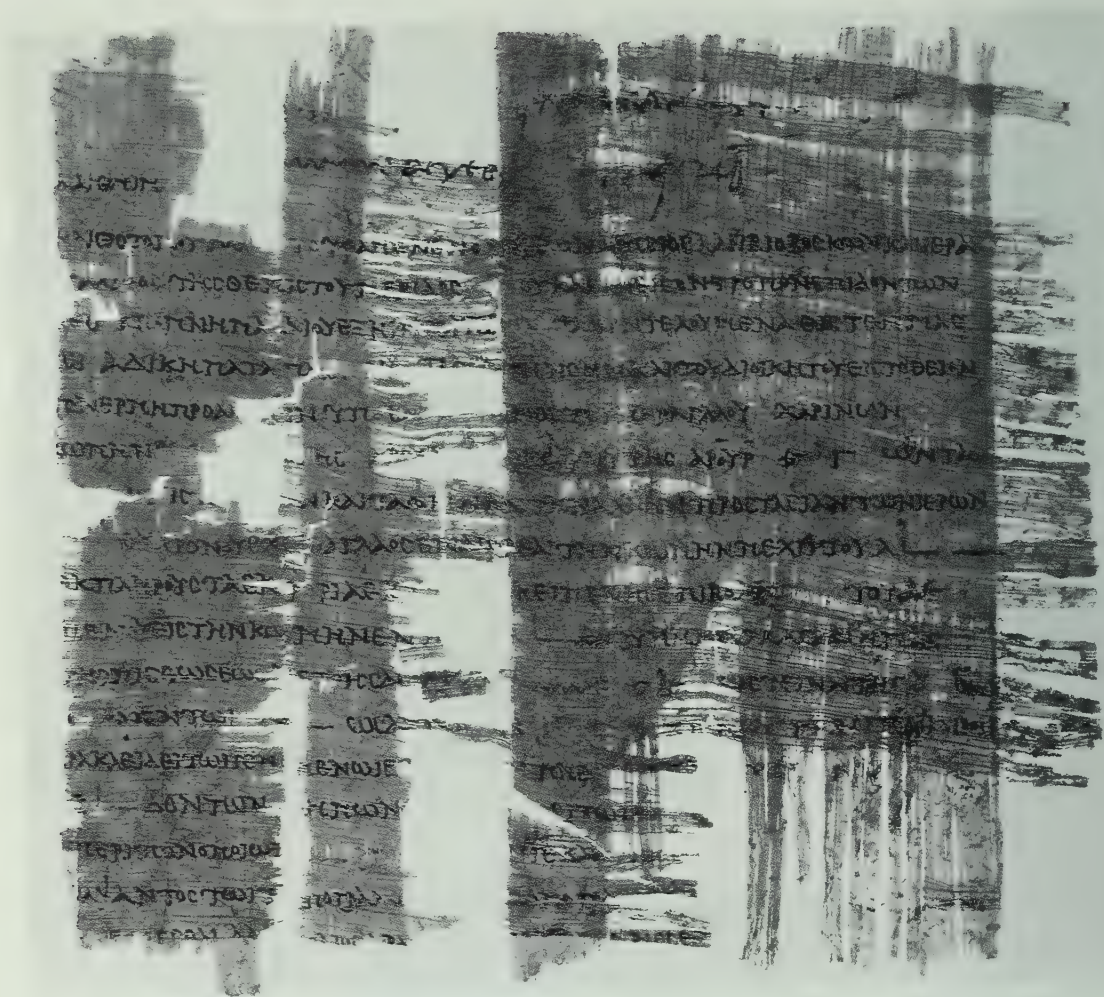
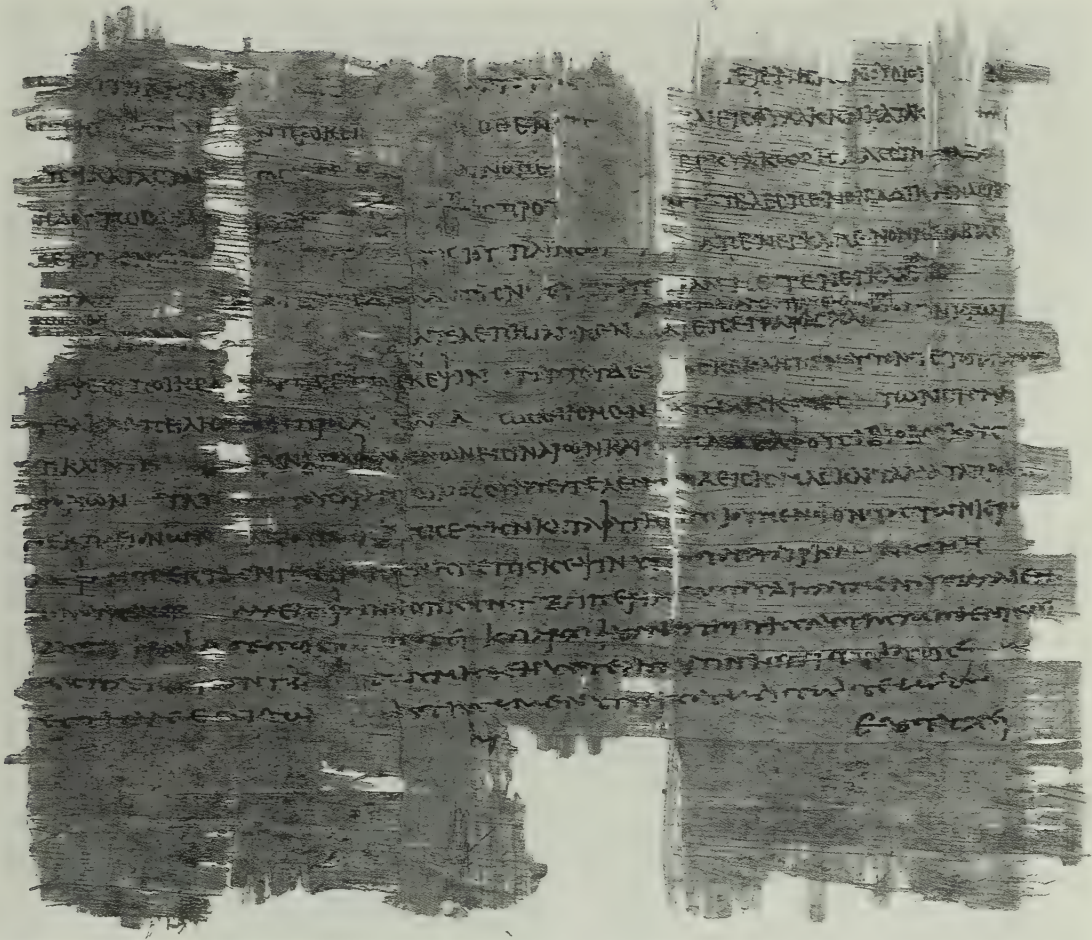
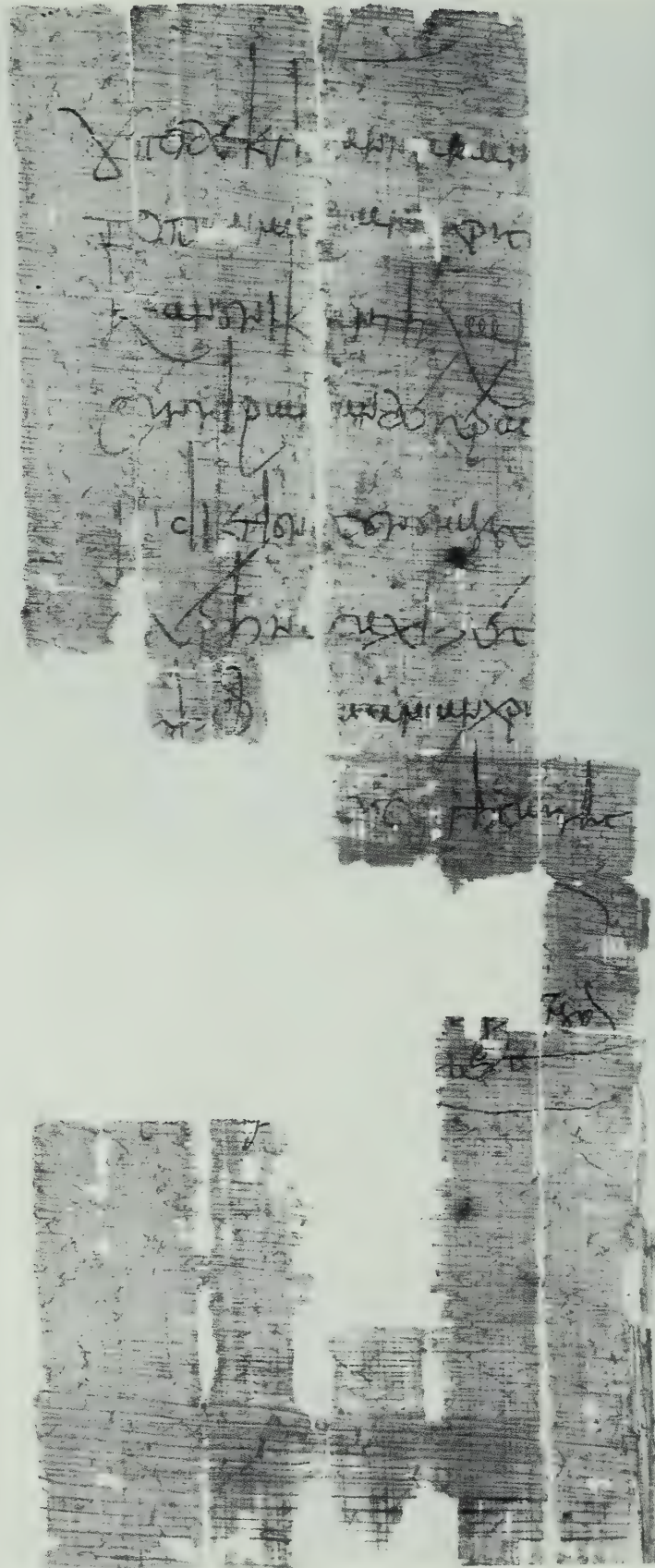


PLATE 14







P. Col. Inv. 101

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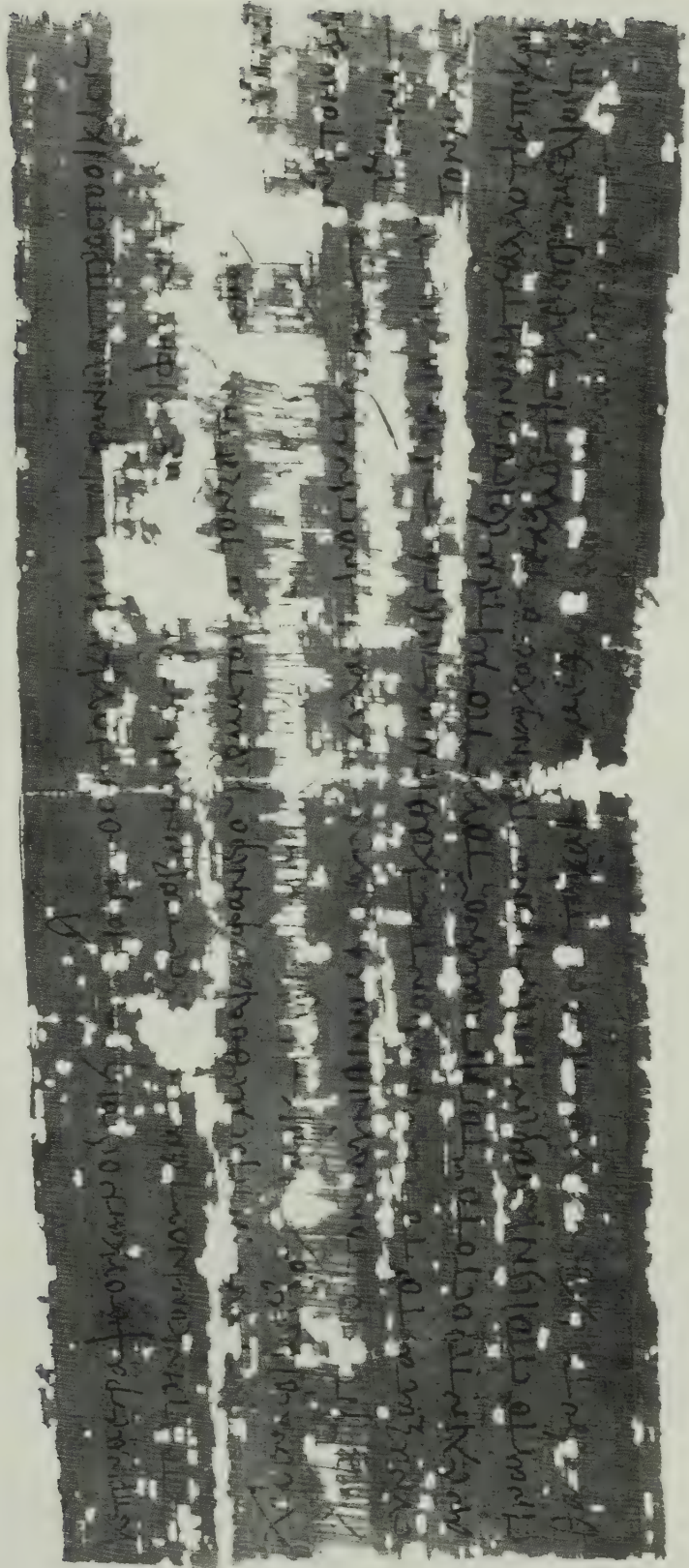
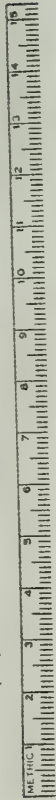
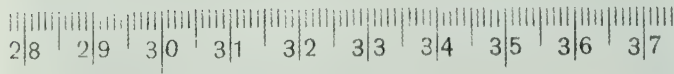


PLATE 18

Fragment of ancient text, possibly in Greek or Latin, showing several lines of characters.



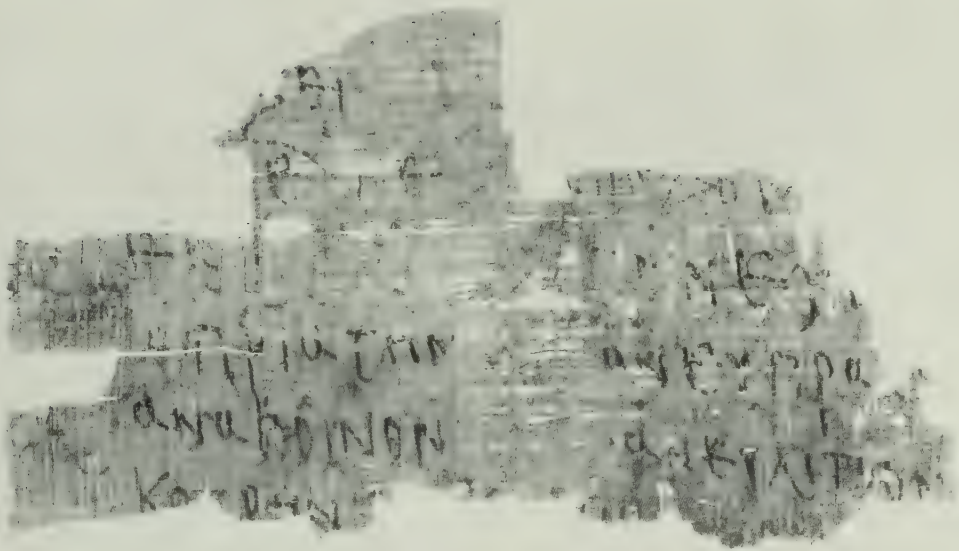
21339

Fragment of ancient text, possibly in Greek or Latin, showing several lines of characters.



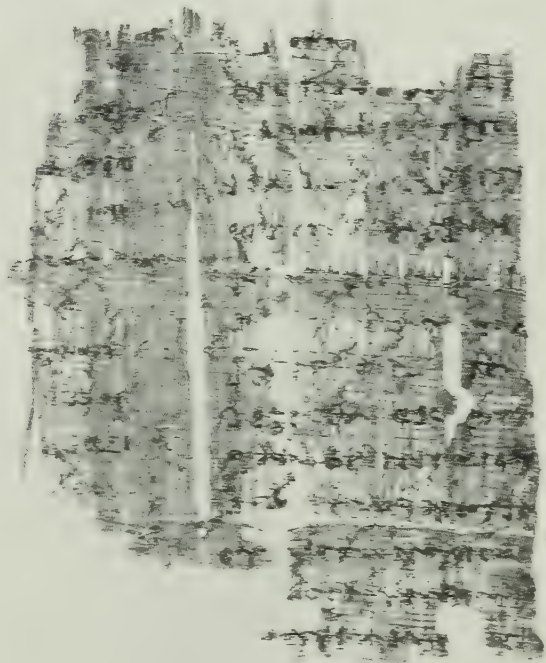
Fragment of ancient text, possibly in Greek or Latin, showing several lines of characters.

21300



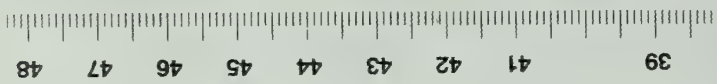
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

21304



21340

Η ΝΕΥΜΟΝΟΡΑΕ.
 ΙΝΑ ΤΑΙΣΙΝΙΟΝ
 ΕΡΕΤΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΤΕΜΟΥΣΟΝ
 ΣΕ ΤΙΝ ΕΟΙΚΕΦΛΗΝ
 ΥΤΟΥ ΔΕΡΟΣΧΗ
 ΤΑ ΝΥΣΚΙΚΟΧΥΕΑΙ
 ΕΑΣΤΗΡ ΡΟΥΤΑΝΕΤΕ
 ΑΡΜΜΕΤΕΙΑ



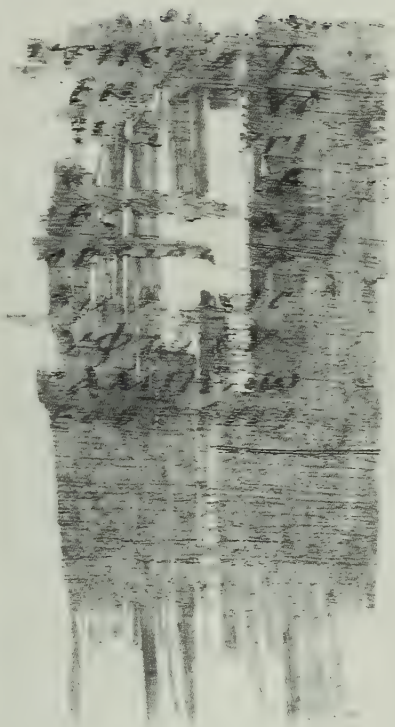
21302

11 12 13 14 15
 16 17 18 19 20

ΑΝΑΤΑΙ
 ΝΕΤΙΟΕΙ
 ΝΥΠΙΟΝ
 ΝΑΝΙΟΠΙ
 ΝΑΝΙΟΠΙ
 ΝΕΤΙΟΕΙ
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 ΝΑΝΙΟΠΙ

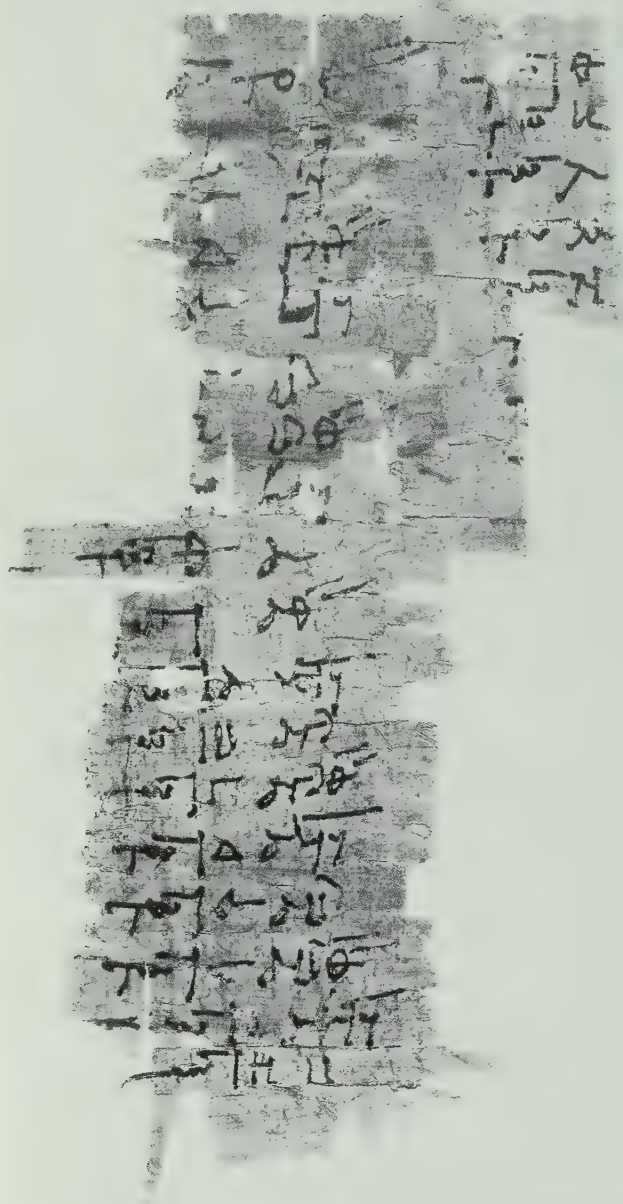
21342

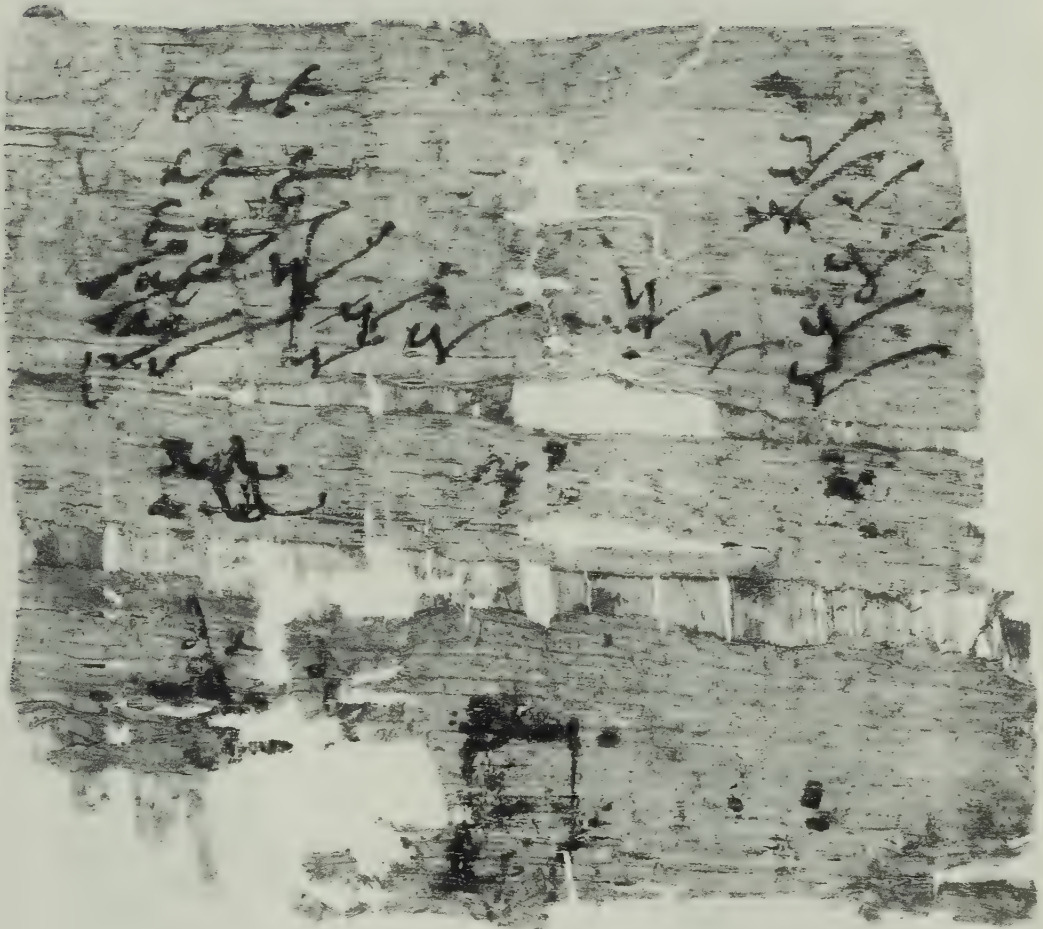
51
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39



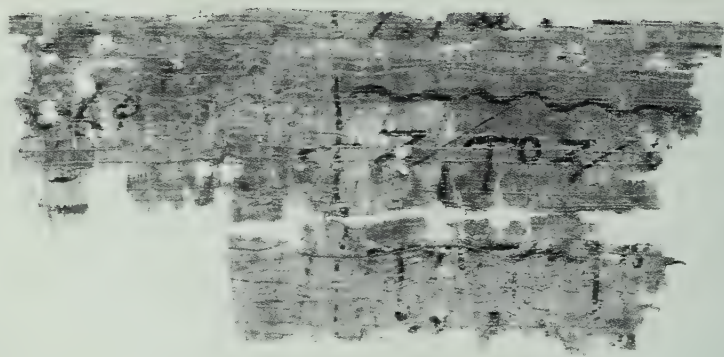
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51







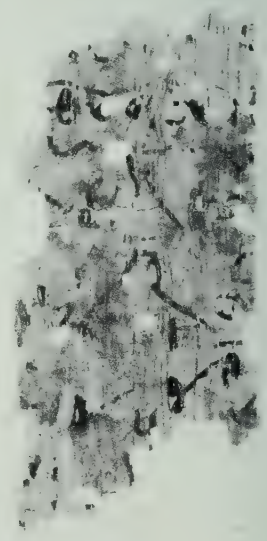
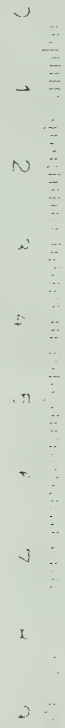
21308



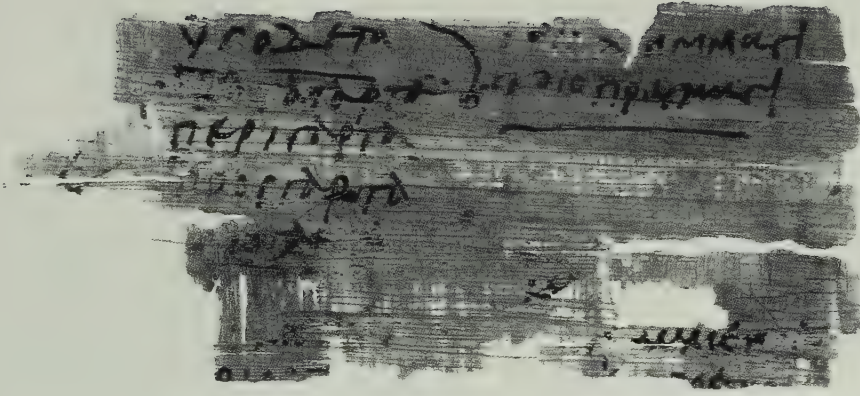
21307

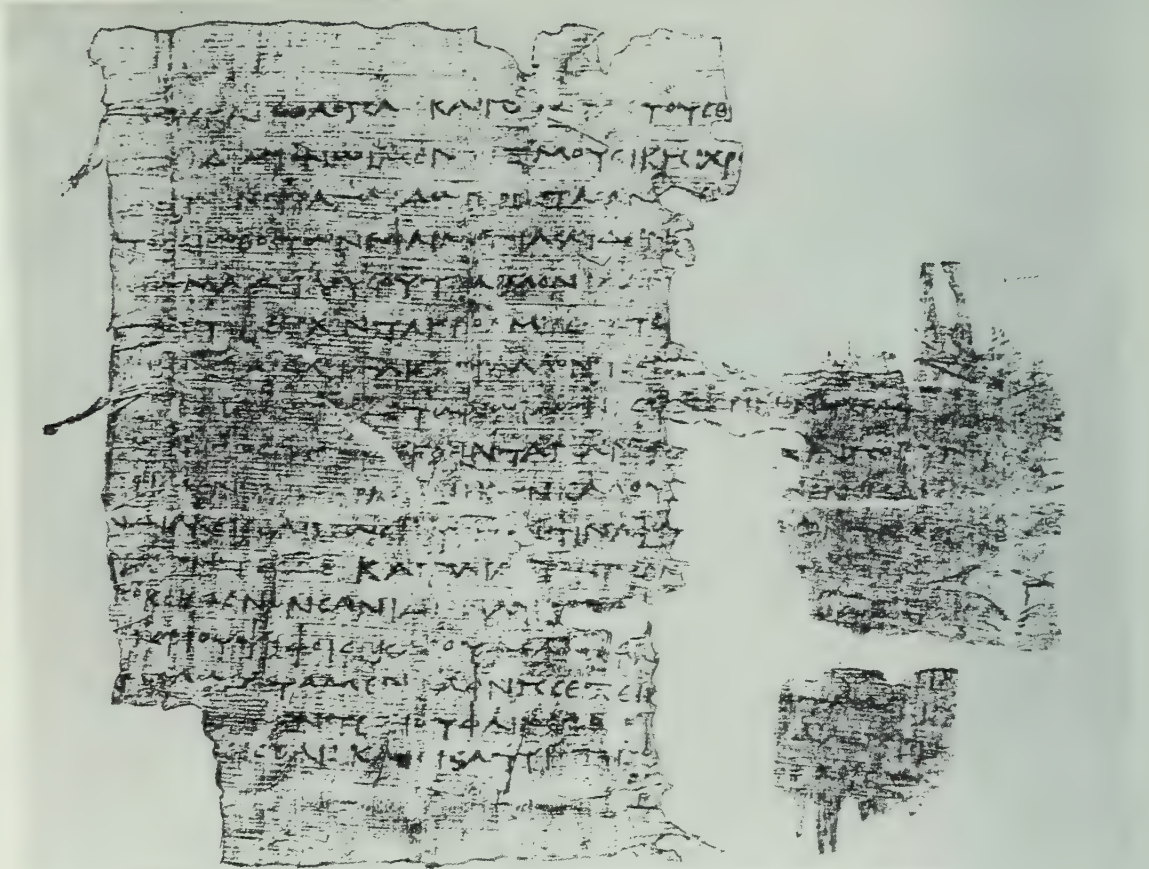
Fragment of papyrus with handwritten text, including the words "DON" and "STON".

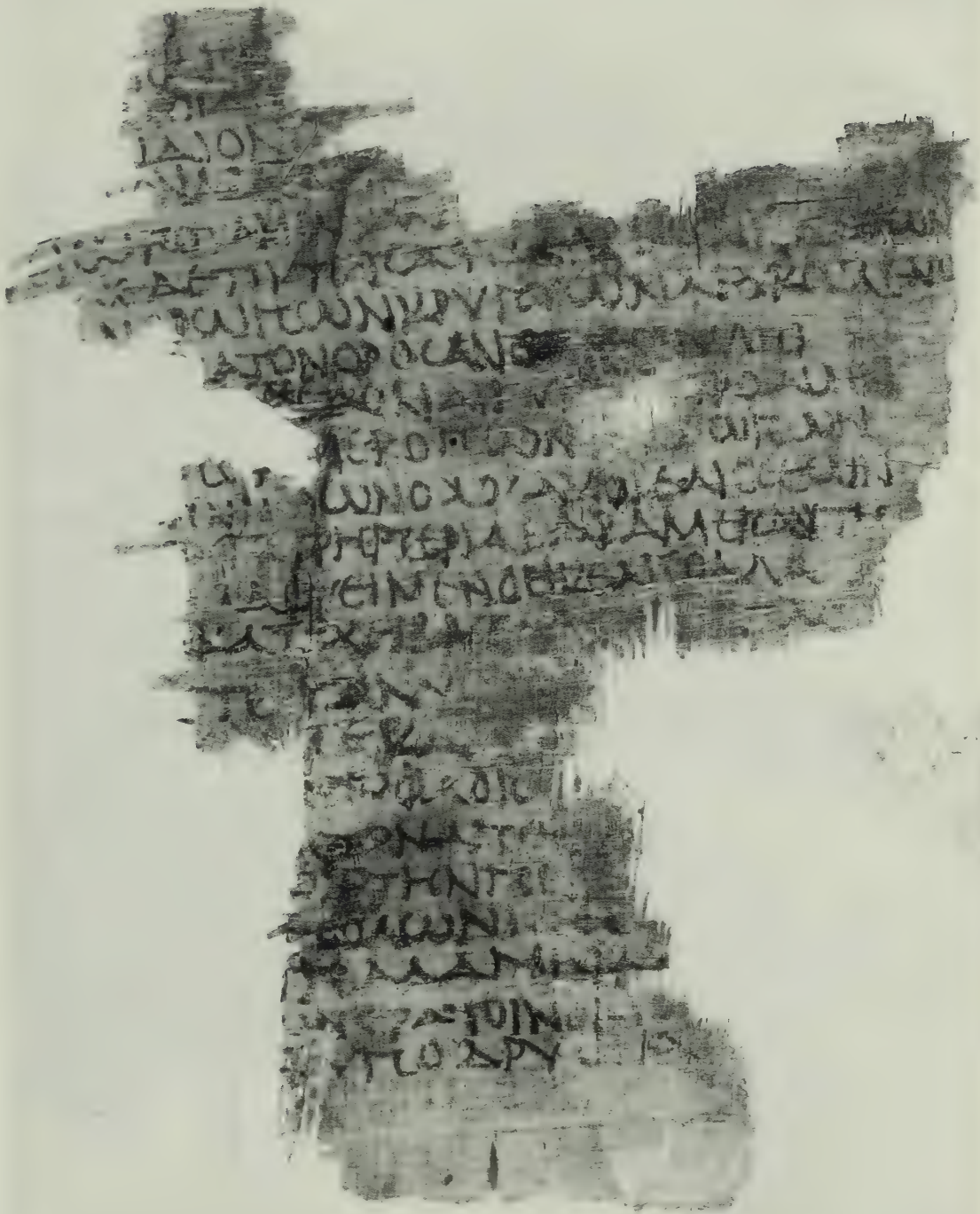
Fragment of papyrus with handwritten text, including the words "DON" and "STON".



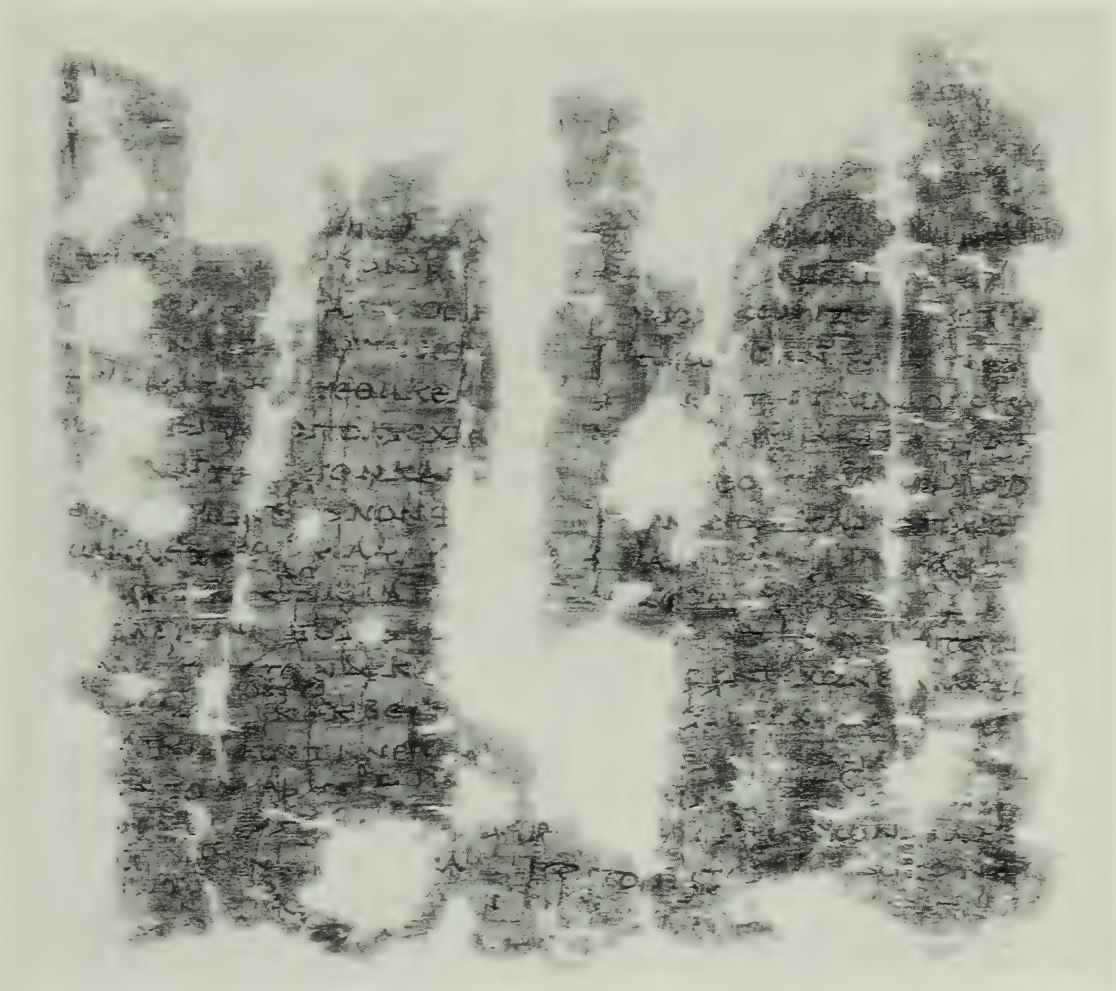
21330



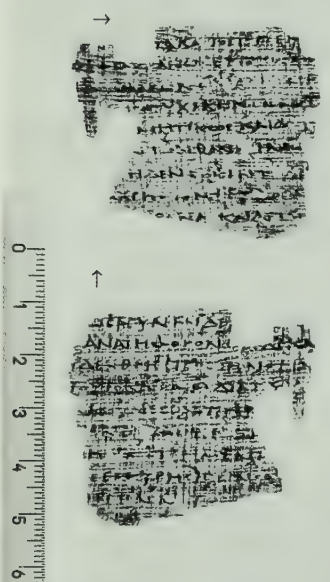








P.Berol. inv. 9015
= BKT III, 29-30, Taf. 8 [I-III^e ed. pr.]
[ripr. integrale]



confronti per una datazione alla metà del III^e

P.Oxy. VII 1016, col. V 5-19
[ass. III^e, ripr. parziale]

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΦΙΚΑΝΙ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΑΥ ΤΟΝ
ΔΗΜΟΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ
ΤΙ ΑΓΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΙ
ΛΕΚΟΜΕΝΟΒΕΝΔΙ
ΡΕΙΝΕΛΕΓΑΤΑΥΤΑ
ΝΕΝΟΟΘΕΤΟΙΝΟΙ
ΜΕΝΟΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΟ
ΑΝΕΛΕΓΟΝΚΟΠ
ΤΟΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΜΕΝ
ΕΙΤΕ ΔΗΡΙΑΝΤΕΥ
ΤΥΦΑΝΟΠΡΟΧΕΥ
ΤΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟ
ΤΕΒΗΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙ
ΜΕΡΙΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΕΚΑ

P.Flor. II 259, rr. 1-12 [ca. 260^e ripr. parz.]

ΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ ΠΡ
ΦΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙ
ΚΑΝΝΥΝΚΑΙ
ΝΑΤΕΜΕΤΑΥΤΗ
ΗΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΑΙ
ΘΕΤΙΟΚΙΟΤΟ
ΔΗΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ
ΝΕΛΘΗΚΟΥΤΟΚ
ΘΙΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗ
ΕΠΙΔΥΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟ
ΝΑΤΕΜΕΤΑΥΤΗ

P.Mil.Vogl. I 15 [III^e ed. pr.]
[ripr. parziale]
→ = I 16-32

ΑΔΑΜΒΑΝΟ ΕΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΙΑ
ΦΑΔΕΙΤΕ ΕΣΡΑ ΤΕΙΑΣ
ΙΝΑΠΟΤΕΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΥΤΗ
ΗΟΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΑΤΑΦΟ
ΛΕΝΗΣ ΤΙ ΑΝΑΔΙ
ΤΙ ΔΗΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΙ ΚΥΡΕΣΤΙ
ΟΙΚΩΝ ΕΝ ΛΟΓΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΙ
ΕΥΡΑΔΙΜΝΙΑΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΚΡΙΑ
ΥΠΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΠΑ ΕΣΣΩΚ
ΕΥΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΙΛΩ ΑΤΩΝ
ΤΙΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΠΙΤΑ
ΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝΤ ΔΕΘΟ
ΒΕΡΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟ
ΝΟΥΝΤ ΤΟΥΤΑ
ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙ
ΕΚΥΑ
ΚΟΝΤΕ

confronti per una datazione al IV^e in.

P.Herm.Rees 4, rr. 1-7 [ca. 320^e, ripr. parz.]

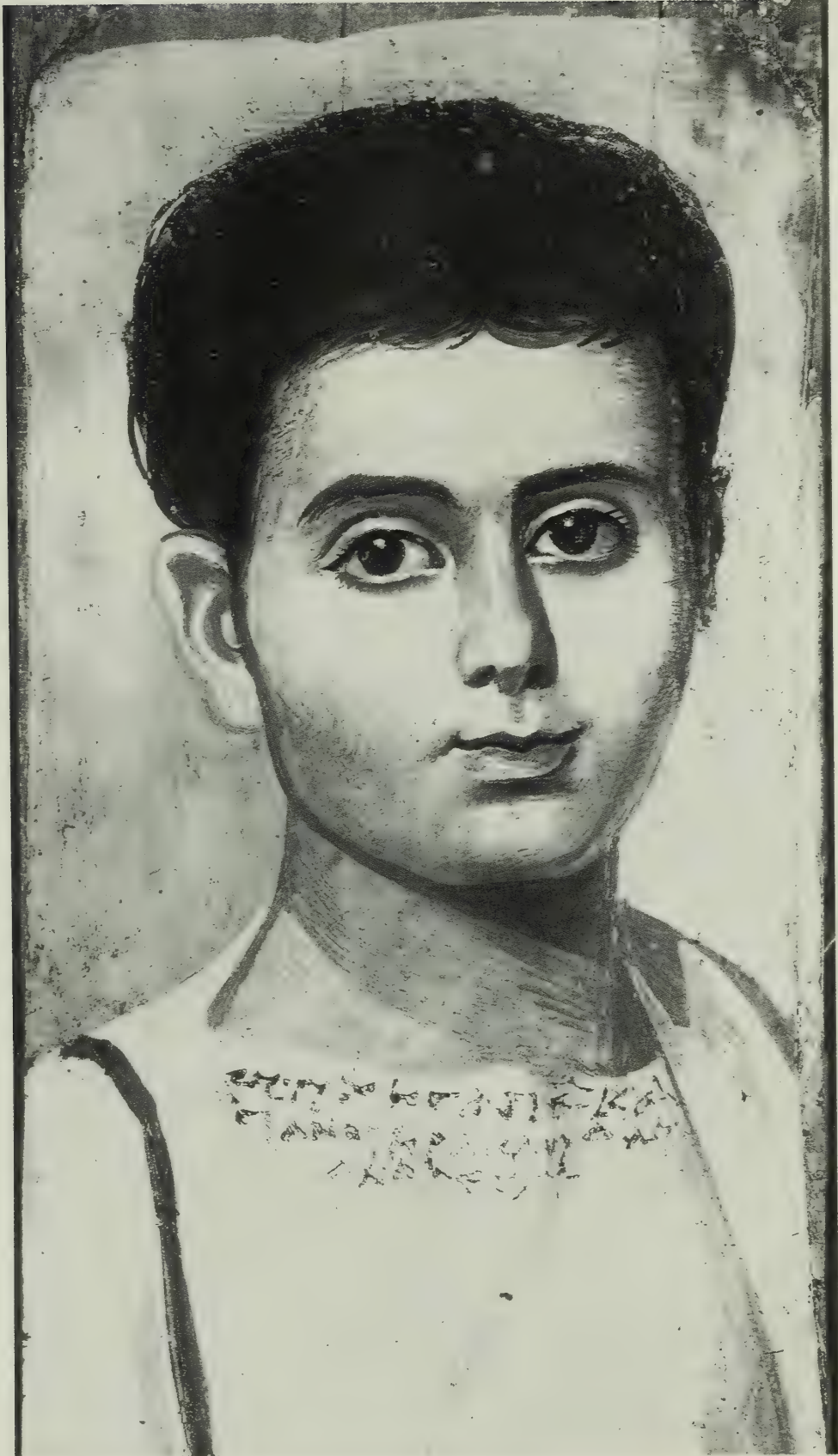
ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΩΙ ΔΕΔΥ
ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΕΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΙ
ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΗΓΗΘΑΜΕΘΑ ΠΡ
ΡΕΥΣΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΡΑ ΜΑΤΩΝ Ε
ΛΕΝΟΙ ΥΠΗΛΙΝΟΝΤΙ ΟΙΚΑ ΜΕΤΙ
ΕΥΘΥΜΟΥΝΤΙ ΔΕ ΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙ
ΕΥΣΟΛΕΘΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ Ε

↑ = II 22-25

ΕΤΩΝΙ ΕΚ ΔΗΚΩΝ ΤΩ
ΕΥΠΟΛΕ ΑΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΣΕΙΔΕΝ
ΕΙΩΝ ΠΑΛΩΝ ΤΑΡΗΓΟΡΙ
ΛΑΤΙΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΣΜΕ

P.Bodmer IV, Pag. 19, vv. 878-887
[ass. IVP in., ripr. parz.]

ΝΗΤΩ ΘΩ ΜΕΖΟΝ ΠΝΥΝΕΤΙ
ΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΘΩΝ ΟΤΟΜΑΔΕΡ
ΑΥΛΗ
ΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΑΥΧΕΙ ΣΑΒΗ ΟΥΤΟ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΩ ΧΟΛΗ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑ ΚΑΘΙΣ ΘΩ ΓΕΓΩΝΑΝ ΤΩΙΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΑΜ
ΕΤΩ ΔΑΤΟ ΚΕΧΕΥΣΑΡΟΦ ΜΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΘΑ
ΤΑΥΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΗ ΓΝΑΠΕ ΔΕΘΑΙ ΝΟ ΥΝΕΥΣΕΒΕ
ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΒΕΡΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΕΣΤΩ ΠΑΛΛ
... ΛΟ ... ΜΗΝ ΔΕ ΔΑΤΟ
ΕΚΑΤΩΝ



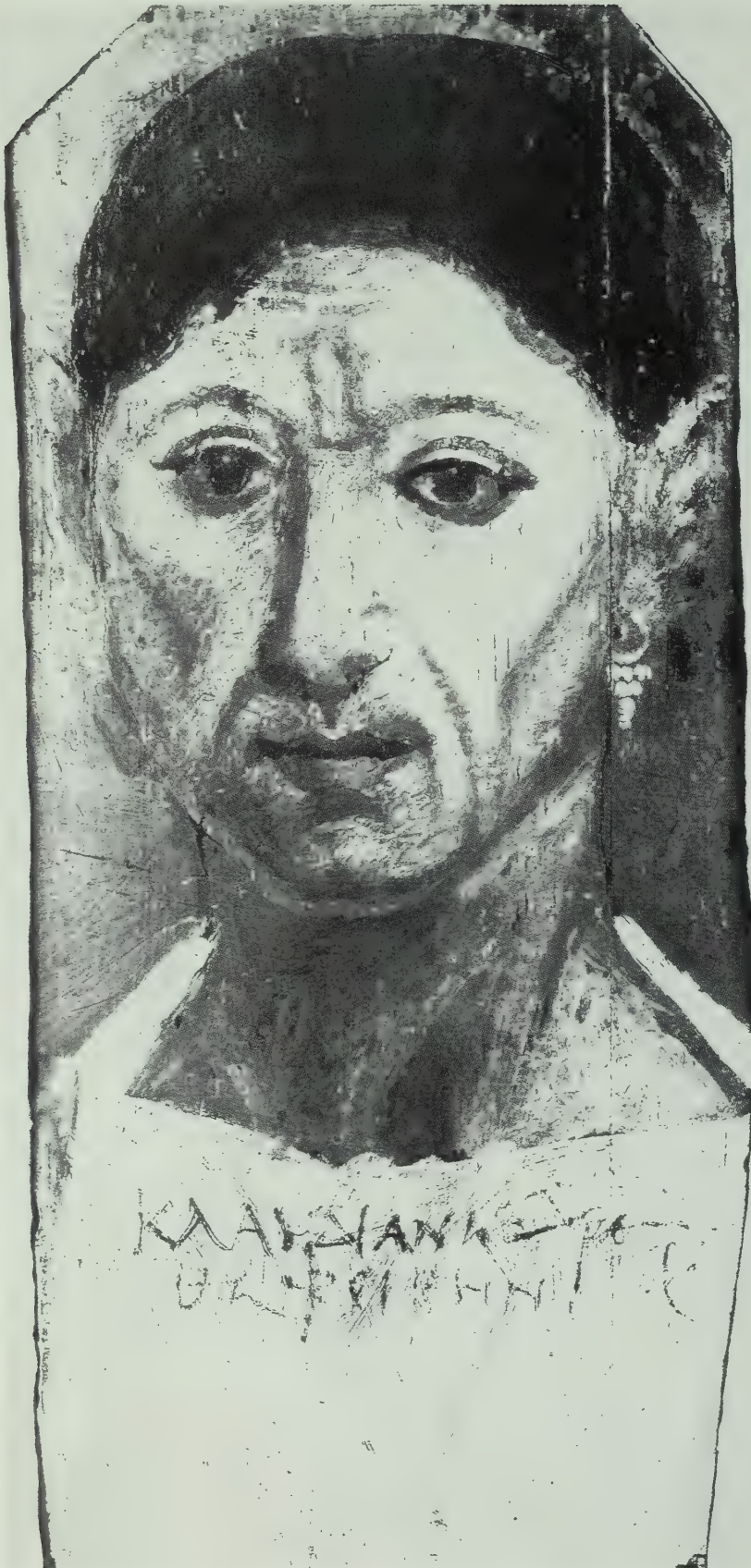
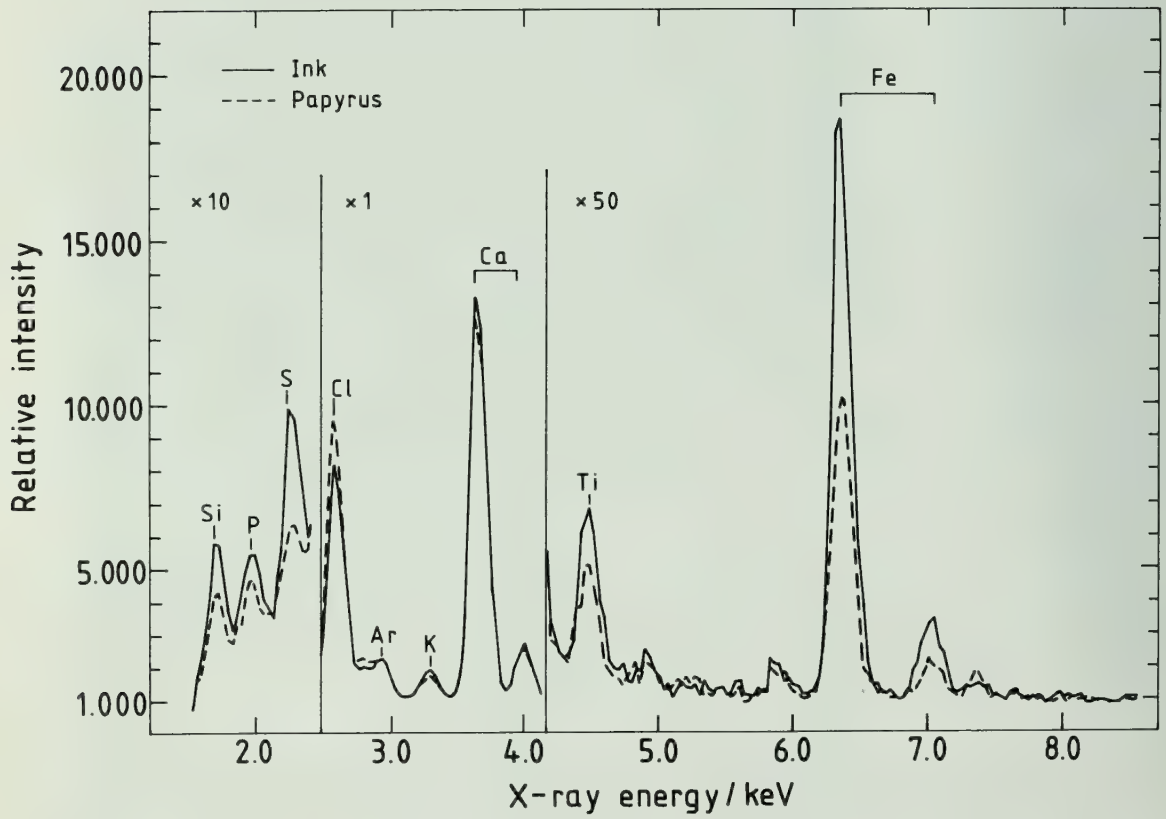
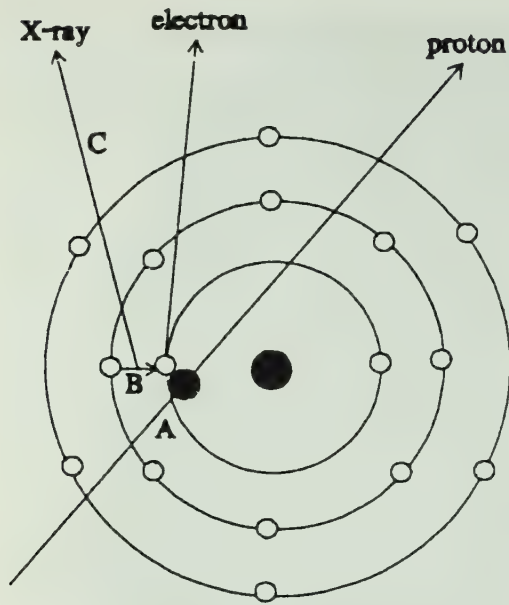
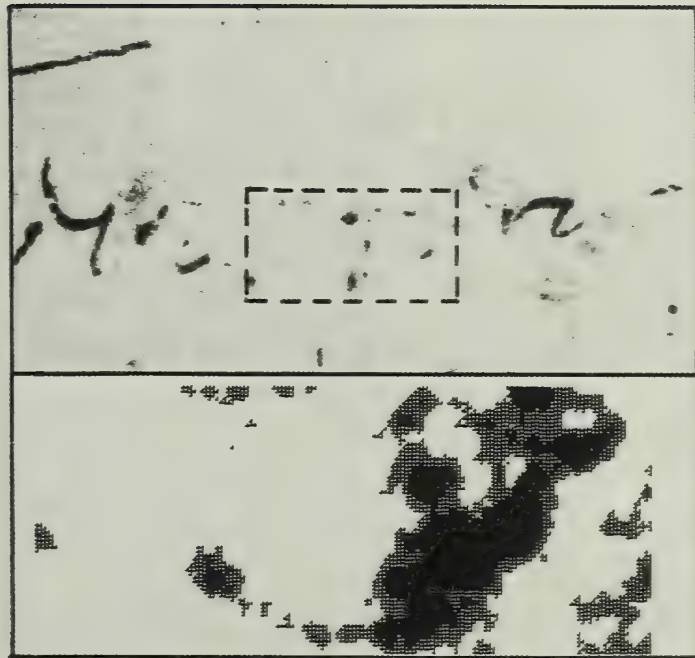
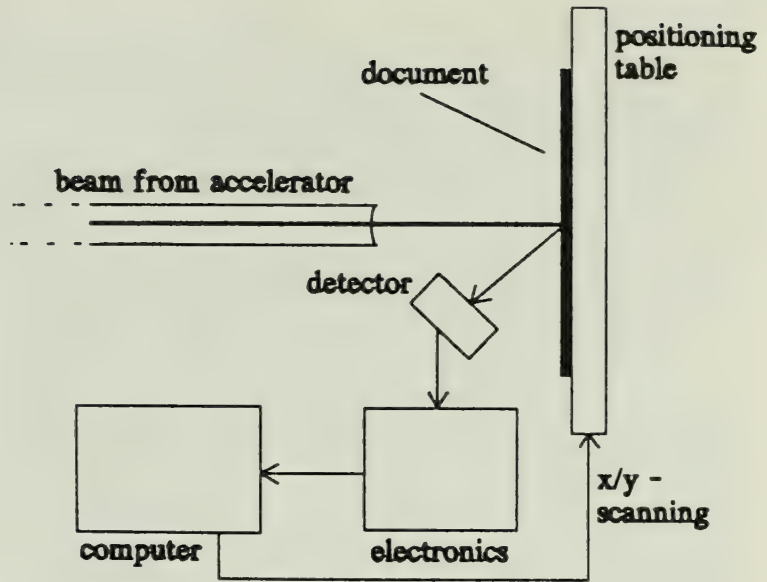


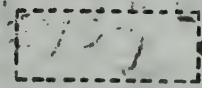


PLATE 34





Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.



A2 ←

A1



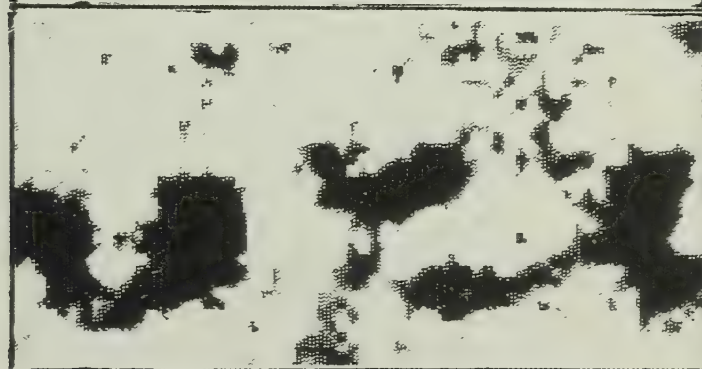
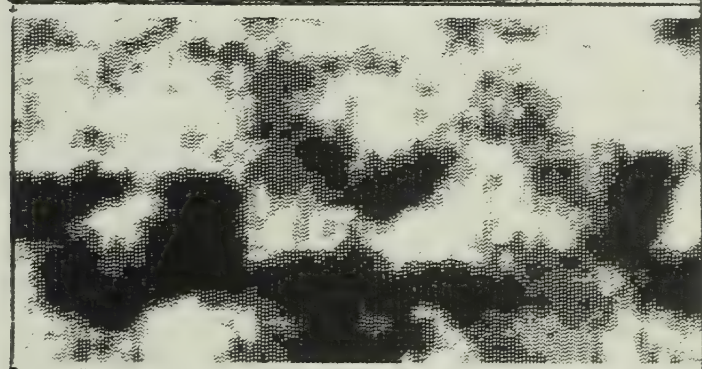
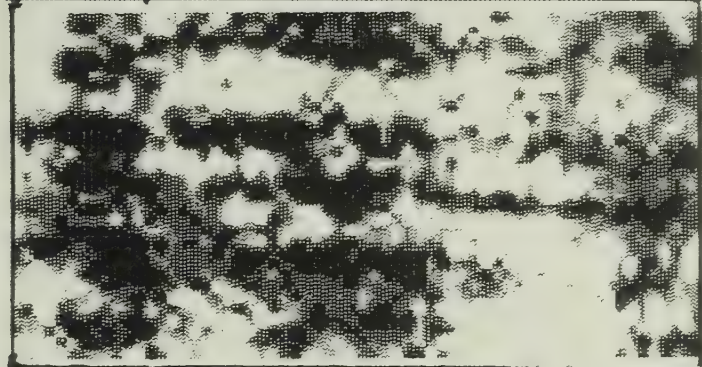
Main body of handwritten text, consisting of approximately 12 lines of cursive script.



A3 ←

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or footer.

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